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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLV.

### JANUARY, 1884.

	PAGE
Annexation and Confederation in Australasia. By the Earl of Carnarvon . . .	1
Thoughts about Apparitions. By the Bishop of Carlisle . . .	13
Outdoor Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. By Vernon Lee . . .	25
Ought Women to Preach ?	
I. The Ministry of Women. By the Dean of Wells . . .	43
II. Women's Share in the Ministry of the Word. By Professor Godet . . .	48
The Soudan and its Future. By Sir Samuel W. Baker . . .	64
Lazarus at the Gate. By the Author of "Social Wreckage" . . .	81
The Board of Trade and Merchant Shipping. By Sir Edward J. Reed, M.P. . .	97
England and South Africa. By the Rev. John Mackenzie. With Map and with Memoranda by Sir Henry Barkly and Sir Bartle Frere . . .	111
Contemporary Records :—	
I. Apologetic Theology. By the Rev. Prebendary Row . . .	139
II. Poetry. By Professor Ker . . .	143
III. Physical Science. By Richard A. Proctor . . .	148
New Books . . .	151

### FEBRUARY, 1884.

The New Toryism. By Herbert Spencer . . .	153
The Church Courts Commission. By the Bishop of Liverpool . . .	168
The Irish Land Act and Land System. By W. O'Connor Morris . . .	175
Pottery, Old and New. By Jennie J. Young . . .	190
Parliament and the Government of India. By John Slagg, M.P. . .	210
The Housing of the London Poor :—	
I. Where to House Them. By Alfred Marshall . . .	224
II. Ways and Means. By M. G. Mulhall . . .	231
III. The Cost of Tenements. By Elijah Hoole . . .	238
The Christian Revolution. By W. S. Lilly . . .	241
The Outlook in Egypt. By Baron Malortie . . .	266
Contemporary Records :—	
I. Modern History. By the Rev. M. Creighton . . .	280
II. Mental Philosophy. By Professor Seth . . .	288
III. Social Philosophy. By John Rae . . .	295
IV. General Literature . . .	300

### MARCH, 1884.

Frederick Denison Maurice. By the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies . . .	305
Terrorism in Russia and Terrorism in Europe. By Stepniak . . .	325
The Amusements of the People. By Walter Besant . . .	342
The Churches and the Ideal of Religion. By Principal Fairbairn . . .	354
The Gold Treasure of India. By Professor Bonamy Price . . .	378
About Old and New Novels. By Dr. Karl Hillebrand . . .	388
The Balkan Provinces. By H. O. Arnold-Forster . . .	403
Proportional Representation. By John Westlake, Q.C. . .	417
Contemporary Life and Thought in France. By Gabriel Monod . . .	424
Contemporary Records :—	
I. New Testament Criticism—"Weiss's Life of Christ." By Arch- deacon Farrar . . .	444
II. Fiction. By Julia Wedgwood . . .	449
III. General Literature . . .	456

## CONTENTS.

## APRIL, 1884.

	PAGE
The Coming Slavery. By Herbert Spencer . . . . .	461
Provincial Home Rule in Ireland. By the Marquis of Lorne . . . . .	483
Countersense. By Dr. Carl Abel . . . . .	494
Upper Egypt under English Rule. By Professor Sayce . . . . .	504
The Ballad of the Midnight Sun. By Mrs. Hamilton King . . . . .	513
The Expansion of England. By Goldwin Smith . . . . .	524
Euripides as a Religious Teacher. By Canon Westcott . . . . .	541
Neo-Christianity and Mr. Arnold. By H. D. Traill, D.C.L. . . . .	564
Shipowners, Seamen, and the Board of Trade. By George Lidgett, Chairman of the General Shipowners' Society . . . . .	577
Contemporary Life and Thought in Germany. By Dr. H. Geffcken . . . . .	587
Contemporary Records :—	
I. Church History—(The Newly-found Early MS.) By Professor G. T. Stokes . . . . .	599
II. Physical Science. By R. A. Proctor . . . . .	604
III. General Literature . . . . .	608

## MAY, 1884.

The Sins of Legislators. By Herbert Spencer . . . . .	613
An Anarchist on Anarchy. By Elisée Réclus . . . . .	627
Cardinal Newman. By R. H. Hutton . . . . .	642
Some Neglected Periods of History. By Professor Freeman . . . . .	666
The Logic of Pain. By Dr. J. Milner Fothergill . . . . .	680
Ireland and the Franchise Bill. By James Stephens, late Fenian Head Centre . . . . .	687
The "Teaching of the Apostles." Translation, with Notes. By Archdeacon Farrar . . . . .	698
Charles Reade. By the Rev. Compton Reade . . . . .	707
The Representation of Minorities. By the Right Hon. G. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P. . . . .	714
Contemporary Life and Thought in the United States. By Professor C. K. Adams . . . . .	734
Contemporary Records :—	
I. Oriental History. By Professor Sayce . . . . .	751
II. New Testament Criticism. By Archdeacon Farrar . . . . .	754
III. General Literature . . . . .	758

## JUNE, 1884.

The Sins of Legislators. II. By Herbert Spencer . . . . .	761
The Historical Assumptions of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission. By Edwin Hatch, D.D. . . . .	776
London Centralized. By Edwin Chadwick, C.B. . . . .	794
The Poor Man's Gospel. By Richard Heath . . . . .	812
A Rhyme for the Time. By Emily Pfeiffer . . . . .	828
An Ideal University. By James Bryce, M.P. . . . .	836
The Princess Alice's Letters. By Mary Gladstone . . . . .	857
The Situation of General Gordon: A Conversation . . . . .	866
Contemporary Life and Thought in Switzerland. By C. Secrétan . . . . .	879
Contemporary Records :—	
I. Apologetic Theology. By Prebendary Row . . . . .	893
II. Classical Philology. By Professor Mahaffy . . . . .	901
III. General Literature . . . . .	906

## ANNEXATION AND CONFEDERATION IN AUSTRALASIA.

LAST summer England was startled by the news that a Police Magistrate from Queensland had proclaimed the annexation to the British Crown of all that part of the island of New Guinea which lies East of the Dutch possessions—a vast tract of territory rich in minerals and all the products of tropical agriculture, possessed of fine harbours, but unexplored except along the coast, and inhabited by a numerous native population of whose customs, life, and comparative civilization little is known. It was a step which was doubtless calculated to provoke much criticism; and discussions in the Press, in Parliament and in blue books followed. I need say nothing here of the act of annexation or of the comments upon it, except perhaps to observe that there was little in these last, so far as I saw, of an unfriendly nature. At the same time it seemed to me that comparatively few appreciated the importance of the question either to the Australian Colonies or generally to the Empire and to England. In any case, other questions of a more domestic or parochial character speedily arose and diverted the public interest. Colonists sometimes complain that matters of the gravest import to them are misunderstood or overlooked here; and there is some truth in the complaint. Elections are not to be won, or votes gained, or House of Commons divisions turned, by a careful understanding of Colonial questions; and it is small wonder that bills and contentions which may affect the balance of parties should outweigh the consideration of measures, which involve the distribution and adjustment of Imperial forces, but which are thrown by their geographical distance into comparative obscurity. There is always great risk that, in popular estimation, things small and present may overshadow things great and remote. But if the Empire, of which this Island is the centre, is to



remain and grow—and growth and existence are but synonymous terms—Party Government must make some sacrifice, and some larger consideration must be accorded to Imperial interests.

Will the politicians, the wire-pullers, the vestrymen, the rival parties, the gigantic electorates, the vast machinery of democratic government, which it has been the endeavour of recent years to create, condescend to this task? Kings and aristocracies have in former times succeeded in holding together the complicated fabric of Empire; will the English people fail? This is the largest and most serious question a nation can be called upon to answer, and the juncture now before us is only one illustration of it. As in many other instances in the present day, it is not possible to delay long the answer, when events follow upon each other with almost breathless rapidity.

Last summer then, as I have said, the news of the annexation of New Guinea reached us. The question seemed new, but it was really old; for it had long been the subject of controversy and debate in Australia. Hitherto, however, it had been impossible for the Imperial Government, with the greatest desire to meet any reasonable wishes of the Australian Colonies, to accept the proposition in the form in which it had been presented. Not only was the political necessity for it not manifest, but it was proposed to cast the entire burden of the cost and responsibility, in defiance of fairness and expediency, upon the English taxpayer.

But with last summer came a new departure. Queensland, supported by the other Colonies, declared her willingness to bear a full share in the expense and responsibility of the undertaking. The motive, too, for annexation had somewhat changed. It was no longer, as in former years, a vague fear that some other Power might assert inconvenient claims, or a vague desire for the extension of Anglo-Saxon authority: it had now become a defined and genuine apprehension of the probable acts of a particular foreign State, combined with a consciousness on the part of these Colonies, of their growth and increased power, both in themselves and in relation to the Empire of which they are so proud. With this, too, were blended a strong sentiment and pride of race, and a conviction that the South Pacific was the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon family. These and such like considerations swelled the volume of an almost unanimous public feeling, and for the first time the Australian Colonies were moved by the same spirit and spoke with the same voice. Those who knew the meaning of this remarkable change pressed it on the attention of the Government.

I thought then, as I think now, that an answer which recognized the soundness of these alarms and claims, and which pledged the whole strength of the Empire to the maintenance of Australian rights

would have allayed all agitation, and that the Colonies would gladly have left the settlement of the question in the hands of the Home Government.

Unfortunately this was not the course adopted. The Government were not disposed to act the part of Richard II., and to say, "I will be your leader." Nor was the progress of events such as to allay anxiety; for French aggression in Madagascar and Anam was succeeded by proposals for fresh importations of criminals to New Caledonia, and by fresh stories of an intention to establish some new penal settlement in the New Hebrides, or on the New Guinea coast. Thus it came to pass that, by declining to act, we left all action to the Australian Governments.

And now we receive the report of the Inter-Colonial Conference at Sydney. The resolutions there adopted are couched in no intemperate or disrespectful language; but the tone is now firmer, and while they call for much larger action than was originally desired, they lay down new principles, and indicate a new departure. In the old days of Roman legend, it was said that a stranger once offered to King Tarquin nine books of the prophecies of the Sibyl for a certain price. The king refused, and the stranger burnt three, offering the remainder for the original price. Again the offer was refused, and again three books were burnt, and the remaining three were once more tendered. This time wise though late counsels prevailed, and the surviving volumes became and remained for ever the heritage of the Roman people. It is an old and well-known story, but it has been repeated over and over again in the life of nations and individuals, and I do not desire that it should find a fresh illustration in the story of our Australian Colonies.

I am not, indeed, prepared to say that these resolutions, as they stand, are to be accepted as the best or as a final conclusion. They need not be construed with the severe and technical accuracy of an Act of Parliament. They rather indicate the general spirit in which their framers have approached their task, and the direction in which they desire that the Imperial Government, to whom they fully recognize that "the responsibility of extending the boundaries of the Empire" belongs, should move. But I am satisfied that if this and any similar questions are discussed with these great Colonies in a spirit of frank and wise statesmanship, they will be found to meet us with temper and fairness. Small communities are often sensitive and jealous; but the Australian Colonies are large enough to bear with equanimity discussion, criticism, and friendly contradiction in matters which have a common interest for them and us.

Let me then briefly notice the general scope and character of the seven resolutions agreed to at Sydney on the 5th of December by a Conference or Convention, in which all the Australian Colonies, New



Zealand, and the Fiji Islands were represented by men of the highest mark and ability. The resolutions, which for convenience' sake I have summarized, are as follows :—

1. *That the further acquisition of dominion in the South Pacific by any foreign power would be highly injurious to Australasia and the Empire.*—It is an unqualified and sweeping proposition which finds its counterpart in the famous Monroe doctrine of the United States, and which, as a matter of diplomacy, it would have been, I think, more politic to phrase in somewhat less stringent language. It is, too, as the subsequent resolutions recognize, a question for diplomatic action on the part of the Home Government, and it is generally wiser not to lay down abstract doctrines, which may offend, and which do not directly advance the object in view. "*Toute vérité,*" as the French say, "*n'est pas bonne à dire ;*" and it is, I believe, safer to trust to the natural growth of the Anglo-Saxon race and the almost certain march of events than to propositions of this nature. At the same time the Home Government may understand, and even accept the doctrine in a general sense. And by the next resolution, indeed, they are invited to place their own interpretation upon the best manner of giving effect to it. Meanwhile it is to be noted that the Australasian Colonies do not ask us to annex the whole of the South Pacific, as has been rather hastily inferred in some quarters, but that such steps should be taken as will prevent other Powers from establishing themselves in commanding positions in those seas.

2. *That the Conference refrains from suggesting how best to give effect to the resolutions, in the confident belief that the Imperial Government will adopt the wisest and most effectual measures for doing so.*—I need not, therefore, here discuss the best mode of satisfying Colonial wishes. It is a question which is prudently left in its present stage to the Home Government, and it admits, as is plain, of several alternatives, according to the extent to which British and Foreign influences should be admitted and adjusted.

3. *That having regard to trade and other considerations, and fully recognizing that the responsibility of extending the bounds of the Empire belongs to the Imperial Government, the Conference desires the immediate incorporation of all of that part of New Guinea which is not claimed by the Dutch Government.*—Whilst agreeing in the preamble of this article, and, indeed, in the general object of its conclusion, I think that the Conference goes to an unnecessary length in urging the immediate annexation of the whole of the great island which is not claimed by the Dutch Government. To protect the growing industries and trade in Torres Straits, to restrain lawless adventure, to enforce civilized law, alike in the interests of white and of coloured men, I believe now, as I publicly said last summer, that it is wise to affirm the Queen's sovereignty on the New Guinea coast, or a large

portion of it. For this much of action the time has come; but I do not see that we are as yet either compelled in self-defence, or induced by self-interest, to annex the interior of that vast and unknown territory. Annexation has a moral, as well as a material and commercial side; and it means not only the acquisition of rich lands, and harbours, and minerals for the wants of a more civilized or commercially-minded people, but of duties to be performed to the native races who pass under our protection.

This task we are not as yet prepared to undertake; we are scarcely, indeed, informed of the state and character of the numerous tribes of New Guinea; but when once we have made it clear to the world that the key of the position is in our keeping, we may well leave the formal declaration of full and final sovereignty till Australia herself is more able to discharge the duty of administering the Continent which she aspires to possess. It was on a somewhat similar principle that the Queen's Government exercises a control over the long line of seaboard on the Gold Coast, and that this country has for many years declined, against the wishes of many persons, to embarrass itself by the assertion of a territorial jurisdiction in the interior. The result has fully justified the course thus adopted.

4. *That, while in general terms respecting and regretting the Anglo-French Convention of 1878, which recognizes the independence of the New Hebrides, the Conference urges the expediency of negotiating with France in order to obtain the control of those islands.*—The Conference, indeed, here recognizes the difficulty of making any recommendation inconsistent with the understanding arrived at in 1878 between the English and French Governments; but a proposal to France to retire from any occupation in the New Hebrides that she already enjoys, could hardly be made to a nation with whom we are in friendly relations. It might, however, be possible with the concurrence of France herself, as suggested by the Conference itself, to "make the understanding give place to some more definite engagement," by which the neutralization of the islands might be secured. In other words we are not in a position to insist upon our claims, but we may properly make use of the resources of a friendly diplomacy to prevent any mischief accruing to our Australian Colonies by the neighbourhood of a foreign State.

5. *That the Governments represented at the Conference will recommend to their legislatures a measure of permanent appropriation, defraying according to population such share of the cost incurred, as the Imperial Government may deem fair.*—This resolution, which I understand to apply to all those that have preceded it, is the spontaneous admission of the principle for which I personally have contended, a condition precedent to any sound and wise scheme of



Colonial union. The proposal is now at last offered freely and gracefully by the Australian Colonies; and I need not say that I hail it as a first and necessary step to that closer co-operation of the Colonies with the Mother Country, which means an acceptance of common liabilities and a partnership in the duties and risks of Empire.

6. That the Conference protests in the strongest manner against the declared intention of the French Government to transport large numbers of released criminals to their possessions in the Pacific, and urges the use of every means to prevent the adoption of this course.—It is perhaps questionable how far, with strict accuracy, the French Government can be said to have “declared their intention to transport large numbers of released criminals” to the South Pacific: but the gravity of the question cannot be overrated, and there can be little doubt that with a cynical disregard of the feelings and conditions of our colonies in those seas they are extending the dimensions and increasing the practical inconveniences of the moral leprosy which they have created in New Caledonia. “So there that is almost too bad” is a saying that is international as it is in municipal law: and the anxiety of nations may fairly claim that a friendly State should not allow one of its neighbouring states, whether military or commercial, to turn it into a pest-house, to taint the moral atmosphere of a young community. In connection with this subject, however, two facts may have to be noted, first, that if the Australian Colonies are unusually sensitive in this subject they at least know by actual experience the evils of which they complain, and secondly, that the capacity of French colonies is not always as great as it should be, and that criminals in innumerable numbers succeed in finding their way from New Caledonia to the shores of Australia. I cannot for a moment think that the Majesty’s Government have made such representations to the French Government as the gravity and urgency of the case require.

That the Conference expresses a conviction that the general settlement of European criminals will long exist in the Pacific, and urges the Japanese Government to make serious representations on the subject to the French Government.—This resolution endorses the doctrine of its predecessor, and counts rather more than in the present position of French public opinion, its likely to be secured. It would be very desirable if we could induce other nations to accept our view of the case, and to make the same sacrifices as we make when we give up our penal colonies abroad, although they were such as to interfere in any way with our neighbours. But while we accept the burden of a scrupulous morality, it is not likely that the French Government and people will accept a great practical recommendation, may be the case if what they will consider as “this.”

So much, then, as regards these resolutions. Not important as they

are, they do not exhaust or indicate the full measure of the grave question which this Sydney Conference has raised. We live in an age of large nationalities, when men of the same race are disposed to fuse their differences, and to gather themselves into a single community; and the tendency is felt in Australia, as it has been already felt in Europe and America. But out of these resolutions—some of them abstract, and some of them practical—for the extension of British territory, or for the exclusion of foreign influence, springs the yet larger question of a closer union among themselves; and, as a possible consequence, some administrative changes in their public and official relations with England. Some few years ago Australian Confederation was no popular subject in Australia. I can remember the time when the mere allusion to such a contingency with the authority of a Downing Street utterance would have been, to say the least, considered very infelicitous. Long, too, after that time, the certain conflict of interests, the opposition of tariffs, and the risk of local jealousies, would have made any such proposal absolutely idle. In all these respects we may note a great change, sufficient to warrant us in taking a distinct forward step. Not indeed that the time has come when a system of confederation perfect and complete in all its parts is possible. Questions like these, involving the sacrifice of private feeling and public policy, the disturbance of existing interests and the readjustment of parties, ordinarily move gradually. It is not often that a great scheme can step forth full grown and panoplied, either from the resolutions of a Conference, or from the brain of a statesman; and the schemes which do not come too rapidly to maturity have in them the promise of a sounder and longer growth. Canadian Confederation was no exception to this rule, though at first sight it may seem to be so. It was preceded by many Conferences and some abortive attempts, and the ground was prepared for the final and successful consummation of 1867 by full and frequent discussions, by the exercise of frank conciliation and tact, by the sacrifice of personal interests and claims, and by the common action of statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic. It fell, indeed, to my lot to gather up the threads, and to carry through Parliament, the great measure which has incorporated, for many generations I trust, the separate provinces of that magnificent territory in the Dominion of Canada; but it would have been impossible for me or for any English Minister to do this, unless aided by much preliminary preparation. I may, in the instance of Canada, say how much I owed to the conscientious industry of my immediate predecessor, Lord Cardwell. In 1867, Canada was ripe for the great change, the conditions were not unfavourable, and if the opportunity had been lost, the great scheme would probably have been long—very long—retarded. But it is clear that the full confederation,



for which Canada was ready in 1867, is not to-day practicable in the Australian Colonies.

Melbourne and Sydney stand in stronger rivalry to each other than Halifax and Quebec, or than Fredericton and Toronto ever did; the antagonism of tariffs is more marked in Australia than it ever was in Canada; and, although the establishment of penal or military stations by a foreign Government in the neighbouring islands constitutes a strong motive for some form of union, there is nothing in Australasia that corresponds in real political force and pressure to the presence of a powerful State marching with the Canadian frontier for 3,000 miles.

But though ultimate and complete union must probably be approached by successive steps, the last few years have contributed somewhat to this result. As regards Australia itself the rivalries and jealousies of former times are lessened; there has been an insensible growth of common action in matters of postal, telegraphic, ocean, and railway communication, there has been a larger intercourse both social and commercial; and there have been inter-colonial conferences on matters of general welfare or safety, binding one and all to a sense of common interest and action. Last, but not least, the time is close at hand when one line of railroad, though unfortunately the gauge is not uniform, will unite all the principal towns along the seaboard of the great Continent with each other.

But if this is the case as among the Australasian Colonies, it is not less so as between them and the Mother Country. Those ties which are created by commerce, frequent intercourse, the interchange of thought, opinion, and material interests, have been greatly strengthened between England and Australia. Eminent Australians frequently visit us; their sons come "home"—as we and they rightly call it—for those educational advantages which an old country like England must possess above all other places. Australians buy our land, and Englishmen hold Australian securities; whilst in the poorer classes of our society, in large towns or country hamlets alike, there is a curiously large Australian connection—far larger than is ordinarily supposed—created and maintained by the frequent communications which pass between well-to-do emigrants and their families at home. In other words there is a steadily increasing drift of circumstances and feeling from England to Australia, and from Australia to England.

There is a class of politicians who are always predicting the disruption of the Empire, and the separation of our great Colonies from the Imperial fold—prophets of evil, in whose heart sometimes the wish is father to the speech. It would, indeed, be a glorious day for the enemies of England if ever that marvellous fabric of English hardihood and statesmanship should fall to pieces; if the stately column should be broken; the beacon light be quenched; the promise

of high hopes and matchless destinies be disappointed. But I myself can see no solid reason for such fear. Granting only the exercise of common prudence on both sides of the globe, and the same sympathy for them here, as there is affection for us there, nothing short of public lunacy need break the bonds of self-interest and loyalty which bind Australia to England.

From this point of view there are three great forces which must be pillars in any system of Confederation, and must affect all its parts and relations, whether internal, as between Colony and Colony, or external, as between Australia and the mother country; the vastness of our commerce—the cementing influences of combined defence—and the pride of race and Empire, united to the loyalty felt for a common Sovereign.

By the latest returns to which I have access, I observe that in round figures the value of the trade between the United Kingdom and Australia is stated to exceed considerably £40,000,000, whilst the local trade between the various Australasian Colonies and other countries is about as much again. It is a very large interest, representing the wealth and welfare of many individuals on each side of the globe; but the purely British interest which it represents is far beyond what the figures seem to show; for the greater portion of the inter-colonial and foreign trade of Australia is really British owned. Three great streams of commerce—from Europe by the Cape and the Suez Canal—from India and the East—and from America pour their rich flood into the Australasian group, and mainly through the channels of English enterprise and capital.

This joint trade, which it is the vital interest of Australia not less than of Great Britain to cherish, and which year by year is increasing in volume, needs for its security in time of war the protection both of English ships and of Australian fortifications. Both parties are equally concerned in providing that the defence of our united commerce should be effectually secured in both ways; and both have yet much to do before that result can be said to be completely achieved. Our squadron in the South Pacific is much below the standard which prudence requires; and though New South Wales and Victoria have expended no mean sum upon the necessary armaments and fortifications, there yet remains both there and in other parts of the Continent, as well as in New Zealand, much to do before the material and commercial interests of Australasia can be pronounced to be safe. The principle indeed upon which a joint system of defence of English and Australian interests in those waters can be framed—including as it must Imperial fleets and Colonial ships or contributions, harbours, fortifications, armaments, stores, land forces, discipline, local organization, home supervision with a variety of other details—has often been mooted, but never yet solved. I have



repeatedly expressed my belief, that the question is only one of time. The outlines are in existence, and it only needs to fill them up in detail and to apportion the duties and liabilities to the contracting parties; the Colonial Parliaments and Governments have given proof of generosity and patriotism; and if only there is patience and steadiness of purpose in working out this combined sum in politics and arithmetic, I have little doubt of a satisfactory solution.

For I must again and again say that Englishmen never make a greater mistake than when they regard these Colonial questions from a hard political or material stand-point. The ledgers of commerce and the manuals of political economy do not shut up within their pages the whole philosophy of this matter; and the recollections of home, the love of kith and kin across the sea, the traditions of the old country, and above all, that strange feeling—which is unintelligible to some classes of English politicians, but which, as a matter of fact, exists so strongly in distant Colonies, as those well know who have witnessed it, and which we call loyalty to the person of a Sovereign whom the vast majority have never seen and never can see—all these are influences of incalculable power in determining the nature and duration of the connection of England with her Colonies.

Two other questions indeed remain, which, though it is impossible to discuss them here, ought to be noticed; first, the form of federation, or—to speak more correctly—of the federal action, which may result from the Sydney Conference, and secondly, the changes in our official and public relations with Australia, which directly or indirectly this may involve. The second of these two questions so obviously depends on the nature of the federation to be established, that it is impossible to do more than to allude to it, but it may not perhaps be premature to say, with all reserve and caution, a very few words upon the first subject.

The Sydney Conference is reported (*Times*, December 8), to have resolved in favour of a "Federal Council to deal with matters in which united action may be desirable, and to have prepared a Bill for the constitution of this Council which the Imperial Government will be requested to carry through next Session." Since this appeared in the *Times*, some further explanation has been given of the powers which it is proposed to assign to the Council; and the absence of a common fiscal policy has been made subject of comment. It is said that any scheme confederating New South Wales and Victoria without a revolution in the tariff of one or the other could not last out a decade. It is doubtless a very grave difficulty, which I cannot believe that the members of the Inter-colonial Conference, comprising as it does men who have grown grey in the public service, and who are familiar with the fiscal conditions of these Colonies, can have overlooked; but if the arrangement should endure for ten

years there is time for many compromises and adaptations, and the rival principles of Protection and Free Trade brought face to face within closed lists may fight out the controversy. The victory will remain to the stronger, and in politics as in most other human things the chapter of accidents is a long one. Serious, therefore, as the difficulty is, I cannot regard it as a necessarily fatal one.

Independently, however, of this consideration, the resolution, if I rightly understand its object, points, not to a close federation such as was adopted in Canada, where the Central Government embraces all matters of administrative importance, except those that are reserved to the several Provinces, but to a Federal Council for objects of common interest, and chiefly external. Federal Government is an institution which is not limited to one single form, though many persons, if they were asked to name an illustration of this form of Government, would probably not be able to proceed in their enumeration beyond the Swiss Cantons, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada, if indeed they succeeded in advancing so far. But there have been many instances, as every student of History knows, some of them closer, some looser in their bond of connection; some of a more, some of a less perfect kind of union; and, although government by means of a federal machinery is of an eminently artificial kind, and the product of a later rather than an earlier civilization, it has the merit of being elastic, and capable of adaptation to the varying conditions of public life and society in different communities. The three illustrations that I have given represent comparatively high forms and organizations of Federal Government; but the Federal Council which I understand to be in the contemplation of the Sydney Conference is clearly of a looser, and, so to say, of a less perfect kind, embracing fewer subjects, and for that reason perhaps better suited to the present condition of the Australasian Colonies, and their relations to each other. Divided by long distances of sea and land, and consisting of vast tracts of territory as yet unpeopled, and necessarily to remain unpeopled for many years to come; with different climates and commercial interests, the Australian Colonies cannot probably yet bear the strain of a uniform Legislation and Government. That conflict, which exists in every federal system, between the central authority and the constituent States, would be now unduly in favour of the latter; and it would be impossible in present circumstances, permanently to adjust the rights and duties of the several parts with any fairness. For the moment the central control must be administered with a prudent reserve, and a silken and elastic band is needed rather than a severe and rigid chain. As the Australasian Colonies grow in strength and experience, they will better judge of the burden that they can carry: but I believe that wisdom and policy in this early period of union point to the old stage

coach maxim, so to adjust the powers and duties of Government as to "ease the springs and subdivide the load"—this only being carefully provided that no fundamental or irrevocable provision be now introduced into the system, which may cramp its natural expansion in the direction which it ought ultimately to take.

A great deal might be written in detail on this question, full of great and practical results both to Australia and to England; but I have said all that it now seems to me either necessary or indeed desirable to say. I cannot, however, conclude without the expression of a most earnest hope that the Home Government may show in no hesitating manner that they share the anxieties, and that they desire, as far as in them lies, to meet the wishes of our Australian fellow-subjects; and that they may know how to inspire the conviction that Australia and the Australian people are regarded by us here in England as integral parts of this Empire—flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone—as fully as if we were dealing with Yorkshire or Hampshire, instead of the Antipodes. Happily no party feeling need colour this question, or sway its decisions; and it will be a grave and even criminal mistake if it is ever allowed to do so. What is required is, not only the sincere desire to promote Australian interests, and to bind them up as closely as possible in the common bundle of Imperial rights and duties, but to remember that while these great Colonies are, and are proud to be, identified with us, as part of the same nation living under the same Sovereign, the circumstances and conditions of their life in the South Pacific are so far different from ours, that objects which seem to us of minor, are to them of the highest importance, and that dangers upon which some here look as remote, if not visionary, appear to them to be near and real.

CARNARVON.

## THOUGHTS ABOUT APPARITIONS.

THE greater number of ghost stories—perhaps nearly the whole of them—are generally disbelieved in the nineteenth century. Few persons will dispute the propriety and justice of this result. Many of the stories represent the ghosts as beings of so foolish and unmeaning a character, that respect for the spirits of the departed almost enforces unbelief. Many have been explained by physical and even commonplace and vulgar causes—such as rats, starlings, and even mischievous boys and girls, or wicked people who have some purpose to gain by deluding their neighbours into belief in a supernatural visitation. Falsehood, imagination, exaggeration, and that peculiar process of evolution or growth which goes on when a story passes from mouth to mouth—*vires acquirit eundo*—account for a large portion. And, lastly, there are many stories which would be remarkable if they could be substantiated, but which it is impossible to lay hold of in their original form, and the basis of which, therefore, it is impossible to estimate as to its reality or unreality.

The most sceptical person, however, will allow that there are to be found in the midst of the rabble and mob of ghost stories certain narratives of a very respectable and even solemn aspect, which it is not easy entirely to put on one side as manifestly fictitious, and which certainly do not seem to be chargeable with obviously puerile or anile absurdity. There is, for example, a remarkable class of stories depending upon one alleged fact—namely, the appearance of a person deceased, nearly at the moment of decease, to some other person to whom the deceased has been known in life. These stories may be described as well-nigh legion; there are several which may be mentioned as even deserving the epithet of classical; and they seem to be occurring in this rationalistic nineteenth century as fre-



quently as in the less enlightened centuries which have preceded it. Whatever else may be said of stories of this class, at least it cannot and must not be said that they are so absurd and childish that they are unworthy of the slightest consideration on the part of sensible and thoughtful men.

Reflection upon this class of story has led me to some speculative thoughts of a partly physical and partly spiritual kind, which, I think, may possibly be interesting; possibly, also, useful and suggestive, and which therefore I have written down, and now submit to the consideration of the candid and thoughtful reader.

It will, however, make my paper more readable, and therefore will assist the purpose which I have in view, if I introduce the subject by telling a story of the kind above indicated, which was lately told in my presence by the person concerned—which has, I believe, not been in print before, and which will bring vividly before the reader's mind the kind of apparition, or alleged apparition, upon which I desire in this paper chiefly to fix his thoughts.

A Cambridge student, my informant, had arranged, some years ago, with a fellow-student that they should meet together in Cambridge at a certain time for the purpose of reading. A short time before going up to keep his appointment my informant was in the South of England. Waking in the night he saw, as he imagined, his friend sitting at the foot of his bed. He was surprised by the sight, the more so as his friend was dripping with water: he spoke, but the apparition, for so it seems to have been, only shook its head and disappeared. This appearance of the absent friend occurred twice during the night. Information was soon received that, shortly before the time of the apparition being seen by the young student, his friend had been drowned while bathing.

This story has the typical features of a whole class. The essential characteristic is the recognition, after physical dissolution, of a deceased person, by one who has known him in his lifetime, in the form which distinguished him while a member of the living human family. Stories of this class contain, in a simple, humble, prosaic form, the features of Shakespeare's magnificent poetical creation in "Hamlet." It will be remembered how, in this case, the poet lays stress upon the identity of appearance between the deceased king and the ghost:—

*Marcellus*—Is it not like the king?

*Horatio*—As thou art to thyself:

Such was the very armour he had on,

When he the ambitious Norway combated:

So frowned he once, when, in an angry parle,

He smote the sledged Polack on the ice.

'Tis strange.

Again:—

*Hamlet*—His beard was grizzled? No?

*Horatio*—It was as I have seen it in his life,

A sable silvered.

Observe, not merely the face and features, but the armour also, identifying the apparition with the deceased king.

Now let me pass from the spiritual to the physical, and endeavour to expound some notions concerning real vision and supposed vision of objects, which may be useful in helping us to form something like a *rationale* of such apparitions as those of which I have been speaking.

Most persons, in these days of science and science-gossip, I suppose, know something of the manner in which vision is produced, so far at least as the process can be known. It will be necessary, however, for my purpose briefly to describe the process.

When an object is placed before the eye, the light emanating from each point of the object falls upon the eye, and having passed through the several lenses and humours of which the eye is composed, is made to converge upon a point in the screen or retina which constitutes the hinder portion of the eye; and so a picture is formed upon the retina, much in the same way as in the photographer's camera-obscura. In fact, the eye may be described with some advantage, and without much error, as being a living camera-obscura. The retina is in reality the expanded extremity of the optic nerve, which communicates with the brain; our object, therefore, by means of the machinery of the eye, is placed in immediate communication with the brain; every wave of light from each point of the object produces a vibration on the retina, and so presumably on the brain. After this our physical investigation comes to an end—the vibrations of light from our visible object are lost in mystery. It is no exaggeration to say that we know nothing more than men knew centuries ago. A man says, "I see a ship;" and he tells the truth, but *how* he sees it neither he nor any one else can tell. You track the ship to its picture on the retina, but there you must leave it: even if you say that you can connect it with the brain, you have still an infinite gap between the impression on the brain and the result expressed by the words "I see."

The fact is, that in vision we have a demonstrable transition from the physical to the spiritual; how the transition takes place it baffles our intellect and our imagination even to guess, but that there is such a transition no one can doubt. The electric telegraph conveys its vibrations along the wires and affects the receiving instrument (whatever it may be) at the other end of the wire, but you need your receiving clerk to interpret the vibrations and make intelligible the message conveyed. And there is quite as definite a transformation and transition in the case of sight, when the visual message from an external object has been received by the brain; the brain is the receiving instrument, the receiving clerk is the mind of man.

This being so, is it not at least conceivable that, as the object



moves the visual machinery of the eye, and this machinery moves the mind, so if the mind be directly moved (supposing for a moment that this is possible), the result may be the movement of the visual machinery, or at all events the production of the impression that it has been so moved?\*

To illustrate my meaning, take the case of the ringing of a bell. The pulling of the bell-rope causes the bell to give forth a sound; if you hear that sound, you conclude that the rope has been pulled; and if the bell should, in reality, have been rung by some one who had immediate access to it, you would still, in default of other knowledge, conclude, though erroneously, that the sound arose from the pulling of the rope.

Now let it be supposed, for argument's sake, that the mind can be acted upon otherwise than through the senses. The senses, as we all know, are the ordinary avenues to the mind, especially the two highest of the senses—namely, seeing and hearing; still it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that there may be other avenues. If man has a spiritual nature which is embodied in a fleshly tenement—which is at least a reasonable supposition, and corresponds almost to a human instinct—and if there be spiritual beings which are not so embodied, then it would seem not unreasonable to suppose that those spiritual beings should be able to hold converse with the spiritual part of men without the use of those avenues which the senses supply, and which are the only means whereby one material being can communicate with another. To take the highest example of all: it seems reasonable to suppose that God can, and does, communicate directly with the spirit of man. Certainly this is assumed in Holy Scripture, and it is difficult to conceive of any form of religion in which the possibility of commerce between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man does not constitute an important element. The notion of actions being inspired by God, or of communications which may properly be expressed by the phrase "God said," or "Thus saith the Lord," does not, to say the very least, strike the mind as an impossible or even as a strange notion. On the other hand, the difficulty is rather to conceive of God as a spiritual being, to whose will and power the being of mankind is due, without recognizing, as a first principle, the possibility of communication between God and that part of man which may be said to be most akin to Himself.

Let us go a step further. Is it not conceivable that the spiritual part of man, when "set free from the burden of the flesh," may

\* The distinction between ordinary vision and the reverse process suggested in the text may be represented thus—

*Ordinary process.*  
Sight—Brain-effect—Knowledge.  
*Extraordinary process.*  
Knowledge—Brain-effect—Sight.

(under conditions which we, of course, are not in a position to determine) have communication with the spiritual part of another man who still lives in the body? I do not at all say that we could anticipate by the power of reason that this would be so; but I can see nothing unreasonable in supposing it possible, and if phenomena should be in favour of the hypothesis, I think the hypothesis could not be set aside by any *à priori* considerations. The only thing really postulated by the supposition is the double being of man, material and spiritual, which almost every one concedes, and which many consider to be self-evident. I conclude, therefore, that the supposition of some kind of intercourse taking place between the spirit of one departed and the spirit of a living man is not absolutely absurd and incredible.

But if this be so, we arrive at a case similar to that of the bell being rung without any pull upon the rope. In other words, may it not be, that a communication made directly by one spirit to another may *seem* to arise from that action of the senses to which mental impressions are usually due? I lose a friend, and that friend is able (I know not how or why) to communicate with me; his spirit makes itself known to my spirit; I become conscious of his presence by a direct though inexplicable spiritual action; what more probable than the supposition that this direct communication will *seem* to have been made through the senses? In fact, as being myself subject to the laws of sense, could I be conscious of my friend's presence in any other way than by imagining that I saw his form or that I heard his voice?

To take the case the particulars of which I have already related. If we suppose that the student who was drowned was able to hold, at the moment after his decease by drowning, some kind of spiritual communication with his friend in Cambridge, is it not conceivable that the spiritual communication would transform itself into a brain action by the reverse of the process according to which brain action normally transforms itself into a spiritual communication, and that so the effect would be the production of a persuasion in the mind of the student in Cambridge that he actually saw with his eyes his absent friend?\*

This view of apparitions has the advantage of explaining a difficulty, which I think Coleridge is credited with having been the person to

\* A friend, to whom this essay was submitted in manuscript, has remarked that nothing which I have advanced gets rid of the difficulty arising from the irregularity and apparent caprice of the communications between the living world and the world of spirits, which must be admitted, if the truth of such stories as that above discussed, be granted. The criticism is quite correct, and it cannot be denied that irregularity and apparent caprice are formidable difficulties in the way of a frank acceptance of the stories. The extent, however, of my own acceptance, and all that I ask from the reader, is the acknowledgment that the testimony is too good to permit of a haughty dismissal of the allegation of apparitions of the kind described. The speculation which I have submitted does not increase any of the difficulties connected with the subject; while, on the supposition that apparitions are sometimes permitted, it helps us to conceive how the effect of the apparition is conveyed to the mind.



suggest, though in truth the difficulty is sufficiently obvious. It is alleged that one person sees another who is departed; but then what he sees is, for the most part, merely the clothes of the departed, and not the man himself. On the other hand, if there is an apparition at all, how can the departed be recognized by him to whom he appears, except by the fact of the same appearance being presented which characterized the deceased in his lifetime? You may say it is the ghost of the clothes and not of the man, if you please; but if ghost there is to be at all, the clothes must somehow appear to identify the man; you cannot conceive of a nebulous figure with the name of the deceased written under it. Now all this difficulty vanishes if the process by which an apparition is rendered possible be such as that which I have ventured to suggest. Grant the possibility of communication between spirit and spirit, and regard the so-called apparition as the brain representation of the spiritual communication, and then it seems to follow of necessity that the appearance being supplied by the living man's own mind will represent the departed person as the survivor knew him.

The *rationale* of apparitions which has been suggested will, perhaps, receive confirmation from the consideration, that instances occur in which the full sense of vision is produced by the brain itself, without any suspicion of what may be called preternatural agency. The following story was related to me some years ago, in the presence of one of the persons to whom the event described happened, and who vouched for its truth:—

A lady with a family of young children was occupying a house in Cheltenham, while the husband and father was absent on business in Scotland. Looking out of the windows of a back drawing-room upon a small garden, which communicated by a door with a back lane, several of the children saw the garden-door open and their father walk through and come towards the house. They were surprised, because they were not expecting their father's return; but uttering a shout of joy, several of the party ran downstairs, there to find, to their disappointment and sorrow, that no father had arrived. So strong was the illusion that when the father did return, a week or more afterwards, he was reproached for having played some trick, of which he was perfectly innocent. I ought to add that the curious illusion which has been described had no consequences of any kind—good, bad, or indifferent; no one died, no one was taken ill, no family event of any sort took place; the whole thing was an illusion, and nothing more.

It is however curious, as having been shared by several persons; the member of the family, whom I knew, and in whose presence I heard the story, assured me that she never saw anything in her life more distinct than her father seemed to her to be, and that her

sisters had said the same. It is easy to say that the thing was all imagination; and so far as this phrase is intended as a negation of substantial reality, no doubt it expresses the truth; but what *is* imagination? Is it more than a word? Does it express the physical and spiritual action by means of which a certain result is brought about? If the phrase "result of imagination" be examined as to its real meaning, it would seem to me that it probably means this: that an effect is somehow, it matters not how, produced upon the mind, and that this mental product affects the brain by an action the reverse of that which normally takes place, and that so the eye believes that it sees what in the ordinary sense of vision it does not.

I may remark by the way that the eye is easily deceived. No language is more delusive than that which one hears so frequently—"I cannot doubt my own eyes," "seeing is believing," "ocular demonstration," &c. &c. It is true that in most of the practical affairs of life we are compelled to trust our eyes—we have nothing else upon which we can depend; but the moment we come to any scientific investigation of facts, the less we say concerning the infallibility of the eye the better.

The chief reason why I have cited the story last told is that the illusion was shared by several persons. In this respect, I believe the fact detailed is very uncommon; for myself, I have never met with another instance; cases in which one person only is concerned are, I apprehend, by no means rare. One was made public not long ago, in which the writer describes the apparent vision of an old man sitting in an easy-chair in the library in which he himself was writing late at night. The apparition was of a purely subjective kind: it evidently arose from the condition of brain which had been induced by night study: it caused no alarm, as an objective vision almost certainly would have done; in ordinary parlance, it was "all imagination." Still the fact remains that the writer who detailed his experience in a certain sense *saw* the figure sitting in the armchair as distinctly as he ever saw anything in his life; and what I wish to suggest is, that in a certain sense he *did* see it, but he saw it backwards; first came the thought, then the brain action, then it may be the picture on the retina, or at all events such optic action as would, if it had been caused by luminous vibrations from without, have affected the brain and raised the picture which existed in the mind.

Connected with this subject is probably that of dreams. John Bunyan's phrase, "Now I saw in my dream," is a representation of what takes place abundantly in common life, though on a much humbler scale. People *see* in their dreams; but how do they see? A writer of a letter, which I saw recently in one of the newspapers, describes a dream which he had when an undergraduate at Cam-



bridge, and in which he saw a large herd of cattle. The vision connected itself with a succession of events which were flashed upon his mind; and the whole was apparently the result of a knock at his door, and an announcement that his bedmaker had brought his *kettle*. The similarity of the words *kettle* and *cattle* was sufficient to constitute the basis of the whole dream. In what way then, I say, do men *see* in their dreams? Certainly the vision does not commence with the eye, for it is closed. In some manner the effect is produced upon the mind,—in the instance just quoted, apparently through the ear,—and then the vision, or quasi-vision, follows. I do not assert that there is any picture produced upon the retina; probably not; but virtually the effect of vision is produced, sometimes most distinctly. Who has not had an experience of the following kind? You see in your dream some scene with peculiar vividness. You say, I have often been deceived by a dream before, but I am sure that *this* is not a dream; it is too living, too real; I cannot be deceived this time. And then you wake, and find that nevertheless you are deceived once more. It may be wrong to call this mental process *seeing*, because the eye is shut; but if the result be the same as that of seeing, it would seem to be not altogether erroneous to describe it by that name. What I wish the reader, however, to observe is, that somehow in sleep the mind can be affected as if by sight. Generally the vision so produced is of a very confused and unprofitable kind. But there are cases in which it is otherwise. Crimes have sometimes come to light in this way. I remember that, some fifty years ago, the execution took place of a young man, at Bury St. Edmunds, for the murder of his newly married wife. The young man, William Corder by name, had married a young woman named Maria Martin; they had gone away after the marriage, and all seemed to be well with them; but the mother of the bride dreamed several times that her daughter was murdered and buried in a certain barn. The barn was examined, the body was found, the murder was traced to the husband, and he was executed, as already stated. Now I do not assert any supernatural revelation, or any appearance of the deceased woman to her mother; I am quite content to suppose that some circumstances, I know not what, had suggested the thought of foul play to the mother, and that this thought presented itself in a concrete form to the sleeping woman; all that I wish to lay stress upon is this, that sometimes and somehow there is something which corresponds to vision in sleep, and that this vision does not always correspond to what is trivial and transitory: "the stuff that dreams are made of" is sometimes solid and real.\*

\*Almost immediately after writing the above paragraph, I met with the following in a local newspaper:—

DISCOVERY THROUGH A DREAM.—The coroner for West Kent held an inquest at Lewisham, on Tuesday, on the body of Ernest Louis Armstrong, clerk, aged twenty-

Sleep itself is a mystery. I, at least, have never been able to find in any scientific work, or to learn from any scientific man, a description of what sleep really is. It is not much to be wondered at, therefore, if the action of the eye and the brain and the mental powers during sleep be also a mystery. But some light seems to be thrown upon the question if we apply to the case of dreams the notion of reversed action which is the foundation of this essay. Suppose the mind or the brain to be first acted upon, either by a message through some other sense, as that of feeling or hearing, or by some process originating in the mind itself, the remembrance of some thought which has been dwelt upon in the waking hours, the whisper of an angel—if you please to recognize angelic agency—or what not; and then it certainly seems to come within the bounds of practical speculation that we should conceive of vision in sleep as a possible thing. Waking visions and dreams have often, and very naturally, been connected with each other. If we get near to a scientific connection of them the conception becomes all the more real.

There is a very interesting discussion by Sir William Hamilton (Edinburgh)\* on the condition of the mind during sleep, to which reference may be advantageously made in connection with the remarks which have been now offered. The concluding sentence is as follows:—"In the case of sleep, therefore, so far is it from being proved that the mind is at any moment unconscious, that the result of observation would incline us to the opposite conclusion." The result of Sir W. Hamilton's own observations, and that of Mr. Jouffroy, whom he quotes at length, is to suggest that during sleep the mind is awake and active; so much so, that when communications are made to the senses, the mind decides whether notice shall be taken of the communications or not. Thus a man comes from

one, reading lately with his brother, a chemist. Some few months ago deceased met with an accident while playing football, and, in the opinion of his medical adviser, his brain has since been affected. He had no pecuniary difficulties that the witnesses knew of. On Thursday night last he went to the Freemasons' Railway Tavern, Ladywell, and there got into conversation with a man named Andrews, and a railway porter named Norton, to whom he stated that he had had an argument as to which was the most vulnerable part in which a man could shoot himself. One said in the forehead, the other through the heart, but deceased said, "I think it is here," pointing to his throat. He also said he had had some words at home, and Andrews told him to get in at the window by a ladder. After paying for some drink he bade them good night, and went across some fields leading to the grounds of his brother's house, and was never after seen alive. When he was missed Andrews had a dream that deceased was in the summer-house in the grounds, and wrote a note to that effect to his employer, Mr. H. P. Hopwood, of Crosby House, High Street, Lewisham, and on Monday, when he saw him, repeated his impression that deceased was there. Mr. Hopwood did not believe it, but said they would soon ascertain. They then went towards the summer-house, and on reaching it, Mr. Hopwood came back and said "He is there." Information was then given to the police at Lewisham station. Deceased was found lying on his back in a pool of blood, a six-chambered Colt revolver lying by his side as it had fallen from his left hand, and there was a pistol bullet wound under the chin. One of the chambers had been discharged, and the other five were loaded.

\* "Lectures on Metaphysics," vol. i. lecture xvii.



the quiet of the country to a noisy city; for the first few nights he cannot sleep, soon he sleeps as soundly as in the country; he is accustomed to the noise; the action on the physical organs is the same as before, but the mind knows that the noise means nothing, and therefore does not disturb the sleeping limbs. In like manner we have the phenomena of waking early, contrary to our established habit, when an early rise is necessary; the mind acts as night-porter, and stirs the body up when the proper hour arrives. Experiences such as these are common and familiar; but in the lecture to which I refer there is a story of an experience similar in kind, but more remarkable in its circumstances, which it may be worth while to quote. It is that of a postman, who was in the habit of traversing a certain route daily. "A considerable portion of his way lay across unenclosed meadow land, and in walking over this the postman was generally asleep. But at the termination of this part of his road there was a narrow footbridge over a stream, and to reach this bridge it was necessary to ascend some broken steps. Now, it was ascertained as completely as any fact of the kind could be, (1) that the postman was asleep in passing over the level course; (2) that he held on his way in this state without deflection towards the bridge; and (3) that just before arriving at the bridge, he awoke."

I have referred to Sir W. Hamilton's lecture, because the facts and conclusions contained in it seem to strengthen the view put forward in this paper as to the possible reversal of the ordinary process of mental action. In general, the mind sits upon its throne with the senses as its ministers, and only approachable through them, as the Queen can only be approached in general through her Secretaries of State. Sometimes it would seem, however, that the mind asserts its essential royalty and supremacy, and communicates with the senses instead of permitting the senses to take the initiative. Certainly this view of the mind is a very interesting one, and there is much to be said for it; it helps the apparition question, with which this essay is more immediately concerned, but it is interesting and worthy of examination in itself, without any reference to apparitions.

I am tempted to carry the speculative view of apparitions which is developed in this essay into a region in which any such treatment must be applied with great delicacy—I mean the region of angelic visitation, as it is unfolded in Holy Scripture.

In some schools of neologian divinity the existence of angels is simply on *à priori* grounds ignored. I am not going to debate that question further than to observe that the general analogy which arises from the infinite variety of life in material form, and from the improbability that we are cognizant of all the forms of possible life,

together with the argument which arises from the spiritual, invisible character of God Himself, seems to me to make the *à priori* probability of the existence of spiritual or angelic beings much greater than that of their non-existence. But however this may be, it is clearly assumed in Holy Scripture that such beings exist, and that they have, under Divine guidance, communion with man; nor only so, for they are represented as being seen and heard by those to whom they are sent.

Take an example. In Acts x. we read of a revelation made to the Roman Centurion Cornelius—"He saw in a vision evidently," or, as the Revised Version has it, *openly*, "an angel of God coming in to him"—εἶδεν ἐν ὁράματι φανερώς ἄγγελον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθόντα πρὸς αὐτόν. Now, treating this passage literally and physically, what was it that Cornelius *saw*? No one will contend that it was a case of ordinary vision—that is, of light impinging upon the retina from a material substance, however ethereal and refined: the phrase ἐν ὁράματι, in fact, sufficiently bars this explanation. Neither is it hinted that the vision was identical with a dream, which seems not consistent with the description φανερώς. It may be said, therefore, and I have no fault to find with the solution, that a certain impression was made upon the mind of Cornelius by Divine mission, which is represented in the phraseology which our material nature makes intelligible: just as we often say "I see," when we understand something which is explained to us, and when nevertheless the eye does not come into play at all. Nevertheless, I apprehend that Cornelius had the full impression of having actually seen and heard some supernatural visitor, and that this visitor was in human form. If so, will not the theory of reverse action, which has been applied in other cases, give us help also in this? Assume the existence of higher orders of beings than ourselves—beings having much in common with that which is highest in man, but not, like him, material—suppose that it is the duty, or one of the duties, of these higher beings to minister under certain conditions to the spirits of men; and then, upon the principles of this paper, there is nothing impossible nor even inconceivable in the communication made by an angel assuming the form of a visit from a being like ourselves: the actual communication is supersensual, spiritual, immaterial, independent of ear or eye or any sense; the communication, as it presents itself to the mind of the man who sees the vision, is appreciable by ear and eye, and comes as from one man to another.

I trust that no one who reads what I have written will suppose that I regard my speculation as an absolute solution of a mystery, or indeed as anything more than an essay in the direction of solution. But it seems to me, that however incomplete the speculation may be, it may help us in the contemplation of that marvellous combination



of matter with something that is not matter, which is exhibited in human life. That man is material and spiritual, that he combines in his complicated and composite nature the brute and the angel, is the old belief, and I trust is true ; and it is agreeable to such a belief to think of the material laws, which govern man as part of the material universe, sometimes making way for the action of super-material laws, and permitting man to pose for the time as a creature in some sense and degree himself super-material. It is from this point of view, in my judgment, that sober tales of alleged apparitions have an interest for thoughtful persons. The vulgar ghost story is a poor contemptible thing, fitted chiefly to amuse a Christmas party sitting round the Yule log and enjoying the excitement of a little harmless mystery ; but it is impossible to class as mere vulgar ghost stories all the tales which have been told concerning the appearance of persons deceased ; there is a curious consistency in such tales, and a mutual support and confirmation arising from such consistency, and an abundance of individual and independent instances of the same kind of phenomenon, which make it impossible to pooh-pooh the whole subject, and, on the other hand, give a value to any attempt made to render it more thinkable.

I trust that I shall not be regarded as guilty of the unpardonable logical sin of reasoning in a circle, if I suggest that the considerations which have been offered in this essay tend to render probable the possibility of communication between spiritual beings and the mind of man without the intervention of the senses. I have assumed this possibility in order to explain a certain alleged phenomenon, and it may be objected that I must not make the alleged phenomenon an argument for the possibility. But in truth the whole subject holds together as one, and the different parts afford each other a mutual support ; and, taking a bird's-eye view of the whole, I trust that the reader will find something in it to strengthen, if necessary, his belief in the possibility of such communications between the spirit of man and other spiritual existences, as cannot be dreamed of in the philosophy of the materialistic philosopher. At all times speculations concerning that which is not material in man's nature can scarcely fail to have some kind and degree of interest ; in times like our own, when the existence of the immaterial is not unfrequently denied, such speculations may have a practical value, which it is difficult to over-estimate.

HARVEY CARLISLE.

## THE OUTDOOR POETRY OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE.

A GREAT difference must naturally exist between what was felt and written about the country and the seasons by an ancient, by a man of the sixteenth century, and by a contemporary of our own : a difference, however, solely of mode ; for we feel sure that of the three men each would find something to delight himself and wherewith to delight others among the elm-bounded English meadows, the flat corn-fields of Central France, the vine and olive yards of Italy—wherever, in short, he might find himself face to face and, so to speak, hand in hand with Nature. But about the man of the Middle Ages (unless, perhaps, in Italy, where the whole Middle Ages were merely an earlier Renaissance) we could have no such assurance ; nay, we might be persuaded that, however great his genius, be he even a Gottfried von Strassburg, or a Walther von der Vogelweide, or the unknown Frenchman who has left us "*Aucassin et Nicolette*," he would bring back impressions only of two things, authorized and consecrated by the poetic routine of his contemporaries—of spring and of the woods.

There is nothing more characteristic of mediæval poetry than this limitation. Of autumn, of winter, of the standing corn, the ripening fruit of summer, of all these things so dear to the ancients and to all men of modern times, the Middle Ages seem to know nothing. The autumn harvests, the mists and wondrous autumnal transfiguration of the humblest tree, or bracken, or bush ; the white and glittering splendour of winter, and its cosy life by hearth or stove ; the drowsiness of summer, its suddenly inspired wish for shade and dew and water, all this left them stolid. To move them was required the feeling of spring, the strongest, most complete and stirring impression which, in our temperate climates, can be given by Nature. The whole pleasurable of warm air, clear moist sky, the surprise of the

whimmer of pale green, the yellowing blossom on tree-tops, the first flicker of faint shadow where all has been uniform, colourless, shadeless; the replacing of the long silence by the endless twitter and trill of birds, endless in its way as is the sea, twitter and trill on every side, depths and depths of it, of every degree of distance and faintness, a sea of bird song; and along with this the sense of infinite renovation to all the earth and to man's own heart. Of all Nature's effects this one alone goes sparkling to the head; and it alone finds a response in mediæval poetry. Spring, spring, endless spring—for three long centuries throughout the world a dreary green monotony of spring all over France, Provence, Italy, Spain, Germany, England; spring, spring, nothing but spring, even in the mysterious countries governed by the Grail king, by the Fairy Morgana, by Queen Proserpine, by Prester John; nay, in the new Jerusalem, in the kingdom of Heaven itself, nothing but spring; till one longs for a bare twig, for a yellow leaf, for a frozen gutter, as for a draught of water in the desert. The green fields and meadows enamelled with painted flowers, how one detests them! how one would rejoice to see them well sprinkled with frost or burnt up to brown in the dry days! the birds, the birds which warble through every sonnet, canzone, sirventes, glossa, dance lay, roundelay, virelay, rondel, ballade, and whatsoever else it may be called,—how one wishes them silent for ever, or their twitter, the tarantaraunda of the eternal German nightingale especially, drowned by a good howling wind! After any persistent study of mediæval poetry, one's feeling towards spring is just similar to that of the morbid creature in Schubert's "Müllerin," who would not stir from home for the dreadful, dreadful greenness, which he would fain bleach with tears, all around.

"Ich möchte ziehn in die Welt hinaus, hinaus in die weite Welt.  
Wenn's nur so grün, so grün nicht war da draussen in Wald und Feld."

Moreover, this mediæval spring is the spring neither of the shepherd, nor of the farmer, nor of any man to whom spring brings work and anxiety and hope of gain: it is a mere vague spring of gentle-folk, or at all events of well-to-do burgesses, taking their pleasure on the lawns of castle parks, or the green holiday places close to the city, much as we see them in the first part of "Faust;" a sweet, but monotonous charm of grass beneath green lime tree, or in the South the elm or plane, under which are seated the poet and the fiddler, playing and singing for the young women, their hair woven with chaplets of fresh flowers, dancing upon the sward. And poet after poet, Provençal, Italian, and German, Bernard and Armand, Nithart and Ulrich, and even the austere singer of the Holy Grail, Wolfram, pouring out verse after verse of the songs in praise of spring which they make even as girls wind their garlands: songs of quaint and graceful ever-changing rhythm, now slowly circling, now bounding



along, now stamping out the measure like the feet of the dancers, now winding and twining as wind and twine their arms in the long-linked mazes; while the few and ever-repeated ideas, the old, stale platitudes of praise of woman, love pains, joys of dancing, pleasure of spring (spring, always spring, eternal, everlasting spring) seem languidly to follow the life and movement of the mere metre. Poets, these German, Provençal, and French, essentially (if we venture to speak heresy) not of ideas or emotions, but of metre, of rhythm and rhyme; with just the minimum of necessary thought, perpetually presented afresh just as the words, often and often repeated and broken up and new combined, of a piece of music—poetry which is in truth a sort of music, dance or dirge, or hymn music as the case may be, more than anything else.

As it is in mediæval poetry with the seasons, so it is likewise with the country and its occupations: as there is only spring, so there is only the forest. Of the forest, mediæval poetry has indeed much to say; more perhaps, and more familiar with its pleasures, than antiquity. There is the memorable forest where the heroes of the *Nibelungen* go to hunt, followed by their waggons of provisions and wine; where Siegfried overpowers the bear, and returns to his laughing comrades with the huge thing chained to his saddle: where, in that clear space which we see so distinctly, a lawn on to which the blue black firs are encroaching, Siegfried stoops to drink of the spring beneath the lime tree, and Hagen drives his boar-spear straight through the Nieblung's back. There is the thick wood, all a golden haze through the young green, and with an atmosphere of birds' song, where King Mark discovers Tristram and Yseult in the cave, the deceitful sword between them, as Gottfried von Strassburg relates with wonderful luscious charm. The forest, also, more bleak and austere, where the four outlawed sons of Aymon live upon roots and wild animals, where they build their castle by the Meuse.

Further, and most lovely of all, the forest in which Nicolette makes herself a hut of branches, bracken and flowers, through which the stars peep down on her whiteness as she dreams of her Lord Aucassin. The forest where Huon meets Oberon; and Guy de Lusignan, the good snake-lady; and Parzival finds on the snow the feathers and the drops of blood which throw him into his long day-dream; and Owen discovers the tomb of Merlin; the forest, in short, which extends its interminable glades and serried masses of trunks and arches of green from one end to the other of mediæval poetry. It is very beautiful, this forest of the Middle Ages; but it is monotonous, melancholy, and has a terrible eeriness in its endlessness. For there is nothing else. There are no meadows where the cows lie lazily, no fields where the red and purple kerchiefs of the reapers overtop the high corn; no orchards, no hayfields; nothing like those



hill slopes where the wild herbs encroach upon the vines and the goats of Corydon and Damoetas require to be kept from mischief; where, a little lower down, the Athenian shopkeeper of Aristophanes goes daily to look whether yesterday's hard figs may not have ripened, or the vine wreaths pruned last week grown too lushly. Nor anything of the sort of those Umbrian meadows, where Virgil himself will stop and watch the white bullocks splashing slowly into the shallow, sedgy Clitumnus; still less like those hamlets in the cornfields through which Propertius would stroll, following the jolting osier waggon, or the procession with garlands and lights to Pales or to the ochre-stained garden god. Nothing of all this: there are no cultivated spots in mediæval poetry; the city only, and the castle, and the endless, all-encompassing forest. Had they no eyes, then, these poets of the Middle Ages, that they could see, among all the things of Nature, only those few which had been seen by their predecessors? At first one feels tempted to think so, till the recollection of many vivid touches in spring and forest descriptions persuades one that, enormous as was the sway of tradition among these men, they were not all of them, nor always, repeating mere conventional platitudes. This singular limitation in the mediæval perceptions of Nature—a limitation so important as almost to make it appear as if the Middle Ages had not perceived Nature at all—is most frequently attributed to the prevalence of asceticism which, according to some critics, made all mediæval men into so many repetitions of Bernard of Clairvaux, of whom it is written that, being asked his opinion of Lake Lemán, he answered with surprise that, during his journey from Genève to the Rhone Valley, he had remarked no lake whatever, so absorbed had he been in spiritual meditations. But the predominance of asceticism has been grossly exaggerated. It was a state of moral tension which could not exist uninterruptedly, and could exist only in the classes for whom poetry was not written. The mischief done by asceticism was the warping of the moral nature of men, not of their æsthetic feelings; it had no influence upon the vast numbers, the men and women who relished the profane and obscene fleshliness and buffoonery of stage plays and fabliaux, and those who savoured the delicate and exquisite immoralities of Courtly poetry. Indeed, the presence of whole classes of writings, of which such things as Boccaccio's tales, "The Wife of Bath," and Villon's "Ballades," on the one hand, and the songs of the troubadours, the poem of Gottfried, and the romance or rather novel of "Flamenca," are respectively but the most conspicuous examples, ought to prove only too clearly that the Middle Ages, for all their asceticism, were both as gross and as æsthetic in sensualism as antiquity had been before them. We must, therefore, seek elsewhere than in asceticism, necessarily limited, and excluding

the poetry-reading public, for an explanation of this peculiarity of mediæval poetry. And we shall find it, I think, in that which during the Middle Ages could, because it was an all-regulating social condition, really create universal habits of thought and feeling, namely, feudalism. A moral condition like asceticism can leave unbiassed all such minds as are incapable of feeling it; but a social institution like feudalism walls in the life of every individual, and forces his intellectual movements into given paths; nor is there any escape, excepting in places where, as in Italy and in the free towns of the North, the feudal conditions are wholly or partially unknown. To feudalism, therefore, would I ascribe this, which appears at first so purely æsthetic, as opposed to social, a characteristic of the Middle Ages. Ever since Schiller, in his "Gods of Greece," spoke for the first time of undivinized Nature (*die entgötterte Natur*), it has been the fashion among certain critics to fall foul of Christianity for having robbed the fields and woods of their gods, and reduced to mere manured clods the things which had been held sacred by antiquity. Desecrated in those long mediæval centuries Nature may truly have been, but not by the holy water of Christian priests. Desecrated because out of the fields and meadows was driven a divinity greater than Pales or Vertumnus or mighty Pan, the divinity called *Man*. For in the terrible times when civilization was at its lowest, the things of the world had been newly allotted; and by this new allotment, man—the man who thinks and loves and hopes and strives, man who fights and sings—was shut out from the fields and meadows, forbidden the labour, nay, almost the sight, of the earth; and to the tending of kine, and sowing of crops, to all those occupations which antiquity had associated with piety and righteousness, had deemed worthy of the gods themselves, was assigned, or rather condemned, a creature whom every advancing year untaught to think or love, or hope, or fight, or strive; but taught most utterly to suffer and to despair. For a man it is difficult to call him, this mediæval serf, this lump of earth detached from the field and wrought into a semblance of manhood, merely that the soil of which it is part should be delved and sown, and then manured with its carcass or its blood; nor as a man did the Middle Ages conceive it. The serf was not even allowed human progenitors: his foul breed had originated in an obscene miracle; his stupidity and ferocity were as those of the beasts; his cunning was demoniac; he was born under God's curse; no words could paint his wickedness, no persecutions could exceed his deserts; the whole world turned pale at his crime, for he it was, he and not any human creature, who had nailed Christ upon the cross. Like the hunger and sores of a fox or a wolf, his hunger and his sores are forgotten, never noticed. Were it not that legal and ecclesiastical narratives of trials (not of feudal lords for crushing



and contaminating their peasants, but of peasants for spitting out and trampling on the consecrated wafer) give us a large amount of pedantically stated detail; tell us how misery begat vice, and filth and starvation united families in complicated meshes of incest, taught them depopulation as a virtue and a necessity; and how the despair of any joy in nature, of any mercy from God, hounded men and women into the unspeakable orgies, the obscene parodies, of devil worship; were it not for these horrible shreds of judicial evidence (as of tatters of clothes or blood-clotted hairs on the shoes of a murderer) we should know little or nothing of the life of the men and women who, in mediæval France and Germany, did the work which had been taught by Hesiod and Virgil. About all these tragedies the literature of the Middle Ages, ready to show us town vice and town horror, dens of prostitution and creaking, overweighted gibbets, as in Villon's poems, utters not a word. All that we can hear is the many-throated yell of mediæval poets, noble and plebeian, French, Provençal, and German, against the brutishness, the cunning, the cruelty, the hideousness, the heresy of the serf, whose name becomes synonymous with every baseness, which, in mock grammatical style, is declined into every epithet of wickedness; whose punishment is prayed for from the God whom he outrages by his very existence; a hideous clamour of indecent jibe, of brutal vituperation, of senseless accusation, of every form of words which furious hatred can assume, whose echoes reached even countries like Tuscany, where serfdom was well-nigh unknown, and have reached even to us in the scraps of epigram still bandied about by the townsfolk against the peasants, nay, by the peasants against themselves.\* A monstrous rag doll, dressed up in shreds of many-coloured villany, without a recognizable human feature, dragged in the mud, pilloried with unspeakable ordure, paraded in mock triumph like a King of Fools and burnt in the market-place

\* The reader may oppose to my views the existence of the class of poems, French, Latin, and German, of which the Provençal *Pastourela* is the original type, and which represent the courting, by the poet, who is, of course, a knight, of a beautiful country-girl, shown us while feeding her sheep or spinning with her distaff. But these poems are, to the best of my knowledge, all of a single pattern, and extremely insincere and artificial in tone, so that I feel inclined to class them with the pastorals—Dresden china idylls by men who had never looked a live peasant in the face—of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as distant descendants from the pastoral poetry of antiquity, of which the chivalric poets may have got some indirect notions as they did of the antique epics. It is moreover extremely likely that these love poems, in which, successfully or unsuccessfully, the poet usually offers a bribe to the woman of low degree, conceal beneath the conventional pastoral trappings the intrigues of minnesingers and troubadours with women of the small artisan or village proprietor class. The real peasant woman—the female of the villain—could scarcely have been above the notice of the noblemen's servants, and, in countries where the seigneurial rights were in vigour, would scarcely have been offered presents or fine words. As regards the innumerable poems against the peasantry, I may refer the reader to an extremely curious publication of "*Carmina Medii Ævi*," recently made by Sig. Francesco Novati, and which contains, besides a selection of specimens, a list of references on the subject of poems "*De Natura Rusticorum*." The accusation of heresy and of crucifying Christ is evidently due to the devil-worship prevalent among the serfs.

like Antichrist, such is the image which mediæval poetry has left us of the creature who was once the pious rustic, the innocent god-beloved husbandman, on whose threshold justice stopped a while when she fled from the towns of antiquity.

## II.

But meanwhile, during those centuries which lie between the Dark Ages and modern times, the Middle Ages (inasmuch as they mean not a mere chronological period, but a definite social and mental condition) fortunately did not exist everywhere. Had they existed, it is almost impossible to understand how they would ever throughout Europe have come to an end; for as the favourite proverb of Catharine of Siena has it, one dead man cannot bury another dead man; and the Middle Ages, after this tedious dying of the fifteenth century, required to be shoveled into the tomb, nay, rather, given the final stroke, by the Renaissance. This that we foolishly call—giving a quite incorrect notion of sudden and miraculous birth—the Renaissance, and limit to the time of the revival of Greek humanities, really existed, as I have repeatedly suggested, wherever, during the mediæval centuries, the civilization with which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were big was not, by the pressure of feudalism and monasticism, made to be abortive or stillborn. Low as was Italy at the very close of the Dark Ages, and much as she borrowed for a long while from the more precocious northern nations, especially France and Provence, Italy had, nevertheless, an enormous advantage in the fact that her populations were not divided into victor and vanquished, and that the old Latin institutions of town and country were never replaced, except in certain northern and southern districts, by feudal arrangements. The very first thing which strikes us in the obscure Italian commonwealths of early times, is that in these resuscitated relics of Roman or Etruscan towns there is no feeling of feudal superiority and inferiority; that there is no lord, and consequently no serf. Nor is this the case merely within the city walls. The never-sufficiently appreciated difference between the Italian free burghs and those of Germany, Flanders, and Provence, is that the citizens depend only in the remotest and most purely fictitious way upon any kind of suzerain; and moreover that the country, instead of belonging to feudal nobles, belongs every day more and more completely to the burghers. The peasant is not a serf, but one of three things: a hired labourer, a possessor of property, or a farmer, liable to no taxes, paying no rent, and only sharing with the proprietor the produce of the land. By this latter system, existing, then as now, throughout Tuscany, the peasantry was an independent and well-to-do class. The land owned by one man (who, in the commonwealths, was usually a shopkeeper, or manu-



facturer in the town) was divided into farms small enough to be cultivated—vines, olives, corn, and fruit—by one family of peasants, helped perhaps by a paid labourer. The thriftier and less scrupulous peasants could, in good seasons, put by sufficient profit from their share of the produce to suffice after some years, and with the addition of what the women might make by washing, spinning, weaving, plaiting straw hats (an accomplishment greatly insisted upon by Lorenzo dei Medici), and so forth, to purchase some small strip of land of their own. Hence, a class of farmers at once living on another man's land and sharing its produce with him, and cultivating and paying taxes upon land belonging to themselves.

Of these Tuscan peasants we get occasional glimpses in the mediæval Italian novelists—a well-to-do set of people, in constant communication with the town where they sell their corn, oil, vegetables, and wine, and easily getting confused with the lower class of artisans, with whom they doubtless largely intermarried. These peasants whom we see in tidy kilted tunics and leathern gaiters, driving their barrel-laden bullock-carts, or riding their mules up to the red city gates in many a Florentine and Sienese painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were in many respects better off than the small artisans of the city, heaped up in squalid houses, and oppressed by the greater and smaller guilds. Agnolo Pandolfini, teaching thrift to his sons in Alberti's charming treatise on "The Government of the Family," frequently groans over the insolence, the astuteness, of the peasantry; and indeed seems to consider that it is impossible to cope with them—a conclusion which would have greatly astounded the bailiffs of the feudal proprietors in the Two Sicilies and beyond the Alps.

The upper classes, on the other hand, differed quite as much from the upper classes of feudal countries. They were, be it remembered, men of business, constantly in contact with the working-classes; Albizis, Strozis, Pandolfinis, Guinigis, Tolomeis, no matter what their name, these men who built palaces and churches which outdid the magnificence of Northern princes, and who might, at any moment, be sent ambassadors from Florence, Lucca, or Siena, to the French or English kings, to the Emperor or the Pope; spent a large portion of their days at their office desk, among the bales of their warehouses, behind the counter of their shops; they wore the same dress, had the same habits, spoke the same dialect, as the weavers and dyers, the carriers and porters whom they employed, and whose sons might, by talent and industry, amass a fortune, build palaces, and go ambassadors to kings in their turn. When, therefore, these merchant nobles turned to the country for rest and relief from their cares, it was not to the country as it existed for the feudal noble of the North. Boar and stag hunts had

no attraction for quiet men of business; forests stocked with wild beasts where vineyard and cornfield might have extended would have seemed to them the very height of wastefulness, discomfort, and ugliness. Pacific and businesslike, they merely transferred to the country the habits of thought and of life which had arisen in the city. Not for them any imitation of the feudal castle, turreted and moated, cut up into dark irregular rooms and yards, filled with noisy retainers and stinking hounds. On some gentle hill-side a well-planned palace, its rooms spacious and lofty, and sparsely windowed for coolness in summer, with a neat cloistered court in the centre, ventilating the whole house, and affording a cool place, full of scent of flowers and sound of fountains for the burning afternoons; a belvedere tower also, on which to seek a breeze on stifling nights, when the very stars seem faint for heat, and the dim plummy heads of cypress and poplar are motionless against the misty blue sky. In front a broad terrace, whence to look down towards the beloved city, a vague fog of roofs in the distance; on the side and behind elaborate garden walks walled with high walls of box and oak and laurel, in which stand statues in green niches; gardens with little channels to bring water, even during droughts, to the myrtles, the roses, the stocks and clove pinks, over which bend with blossoms brilliant against the pale blue sky the rose-flowered oleander, the scarlet-flowered pomegranate; also aviaries and cages full of odd and harmless creatures, ferrets, guinea-pigs, porcupines, squirrels, and monkeys; arbours where wife, daughters, and daughters-in-law may sew and make music; and neat lawns where the young men may play at quoits, football, or swordsticks and bucklers; and then, sweeping all round the house and gardens and terraces an undulating expanse of field and orchard, smoke-tinted with olive, bright green in spring with budding crops, yellow in autumn with sere vines; and from which, in the burning noon, rises the incessant sawing noise of the cicalas, and ever and anon the high, nasal, melancholy chant of the peasant, lying in the shade of barn door or fig tree till the sun shall sink and he can return to his labour. If the house in town, with its spacious store-rooms, its carved chapel, and painted banqueting hall, large enough to hold sons' children and brothers' wives and grandchildren, and a whole host of poor relatives, whom the wise father (as Pandolfini teaches) employs rather than strangers for his clerks and overseers,—if this town-house was the pride of the Italian burgess; the villa, with its farms and orchards, was the real joy, the holiday paradise of the overworked man. To read in the cool house, with cicala's buzz and fountain plash all round, the Greek and Latin authors; to discuss them with learned men; to watch the games of the youths and the children, this was the reward for years of labour and intelligence; but sweeter than



all this (how we feel it in Agnolo Pandolfini's speeches!) were those occupations which the city could not give: the buying and selling of plants, grain and kine, the meddling with new grafted trees, the mending of *spaliers*, the straightening of fences, the going round (with the self-importance and impatience of a cockney) to see what flowers had opened, what fruit had ripened over-night; to walk through the olive-yards, among the vines; to pry into stable, pig-stye and roosting-place, taking up handfuls of drying grain, breaking twigs of olives, to see how things were doing; and to have long conversations with the peasants, shrewd enough to affect earnest attention when the master was pleased to vent his town-acquired knowledge of agriculture and gardening. Sweet also, doubtless, for younger folk, or such perhaps as were fonder of teaching new lute tunes to the girls than of examining into cabbages, and who read Dante and Boccaccio more frequently than Cicero or Sallust, (though sweet perhaps only as a vague concomitant of their lazy pleasures,) to listen to those songs of the peasantry rising from the fields below, while lying perhaps on one's back in the shaded grass, watching the pigeons whirring about the belvedere tower. Vaguely pleasant this also, doubtless; but for a long while only vaguely. For, during more than two centuries, the burgesses of Italy were held enthralled by the Courtly poets of other countries; listening to, and reading, at first, only Provençals and Sicilians, or Italians, like Sordello, pretending to be of Provence or Sicily; and even later, enduring in their own poets, their own Guittones, Cavalcantis, Ciro's, Guinicellis, nay, even in Dante and Petrarch's lyrics only the repetition (however vivified by genius) of the old common-places of artificial spring, of the poetry of feudal nations. But the time came when not only Provençal and Sicilian, but even Tuscan, poetry was neglected, when the revival of Greek and Latin letters made it impossible to rewrite the threadbare mediæval prettinesses: or even to write in earnest in the modern tongue, so stiff and thin (as it seemed), and like some grotesque painted saint, when compared with the splendidly fleshed antique languages, turning and twining in graceful or solemn involutions, as of a Pyrrhic or a maidens' dance. And it was during this period, from Petrarch to Politian, that, as philologists have now proved beyond dispute, the once fashionable chivalric romance, and the poetry of the Provençal and Sicilian school, cast off by the upper classes, was gradually picked up by the lower and especially by the rural classes. Vagabond ballad singers and story tellers—creatures who wander from house to house, mending broken pottery, collecting rags or selling small pedlar's wares—were the old clotheshusens who carried about these bits of tarnished poetic finery. The people of the town, constantly in presence of the upper classes, and therefore sooner

or later aware of what was or was not in fashion, did not care long for the sentimental daintiness of mediæval poetry; besides, satire and scurrility are as inevitable in a town as are dogs in gutters and cats on roofs; and the townsfolk soon set their own buffoonish or satirical ideas to whatever remained of the music of mediæval poetry: already early in the fifteenth century the sonnet had become for the Florentine artisans a mere scurrilous epigram. It was different in the country. The peasant, at least the Tuscan peasant, is eminently idealistic and romantic in his literary tastes; it may be that he has not the intellectual life required for any utterances or forms of his own, and that he consequently accepts poetry as a ready-made ornament, something pretty and exotic which is valued in proportion to its prettiness and rarity. Be the reason whatever it may, certain it is that nothing can be too artificial or high-flown to please the Italian peasantry: its tales are all of kings, princesses, fairies, knights, winged horses, marvellous jewels, and so forth; its songs are almost without exception about love, constancy, moon, stars, flowers. Such things have not been degraded by familiarity and parody as in the town; they retain for the country folk the vague charm (like that of music, automatic and independent of thorough comprehension) of belonging to a sphere of the marvellous; hence they are repeated and re-repeated with almost religious servility, as any one may observe who will listen to the stories and verses told and sung even now-a-days in the Tuscan country, or who will glance over the splendid collections of folklore made in the last twenty years. Such things must suffer alteration from people who can neither read nor write, and who cannot be expected to remember very clearly details which, in many cases, must have for them only the vaguest meaning. The stories split in process of telling and re-telling, and are completed with bits of other stories; details are forgotten and have to be replaced; the same happens with poetry; songs easily get jumbled together, their meaning is partially obliterated, and has to be restored; or, again, an attempt is made by bold men to adapt some seemingly adaptable old song to a new occasion; an old love ditty seems fit to sing to a new sweetheart—names, circumstances, and details require arranging for this purpose; and hence more alterations. Now, however much a peasant may enjoy the confused splendours of Court life and of Courtly love, he cannot, with the best will in the world, restore their details or colouring if they happen to become obliterated. If he chance to forget that when the princess first met the wizard she was riding forth on a snow-white jennet with a falcon on her glove, there is nothing to prevent his describing her as walking through the meadow in charge of a flock of geese; and similarly, should he happen to forget that the Courtly lover compares the skin of his mistress to ivory and her eyes to Cupid's torches, he is quite



capable of filling up the gap by saying that the girl is as white as a turnip and as bright-eyed as a ferret. As with details of description and metaphors, so also with the emotional and social parts of the business. The peasant has not been brought up in the idea that the way to gain a woman's affection is to stick her glove on a helmet and perform deeds of prowess closely resembling those of Don Quixote in the Sierra Morena; so he attempts to ingratiate himself by offering her presents of strawberries, figs, buttons, hooks-and-eyes, and similar desirable things. Again, were the peasant to pay attentions to a married woman, he would merely get (what noble husbands were too well bred to dream of) a sound horsewhipping, or perhaps even a sharp knife thrust in his stomach; so that he takes good care to address his love songs only to marriageable young women. In this way, without any deliberate attempt at originality, the old Courtly poetry becomes, when once removed to the country, thoroughly patched and seamed with rustic ideas, feelings, and images, while never ceasing to be, in its general stuff and shape, of a kind such as only professional poets of the upper classes can produce. The Sicilian lyrics collected by Signor Pitre, still more the Tuscan poems of Tigris's charming volume, are, therefore, a curious mixture of highflown sentiment, dainty imagery and most artistic arrangements of metre and diction (especially in the *rispetto*, where metrical involution is accompanied by logical involution of the most refined mediæval sort) with hopes and complaints such as only a farmer could frame, with similes and descriptions such as only the business of the field, vineyard, and dairy could suggest. A mixture, but not a jumble. For as in this slow process of assimilation and alteration only that was remembered by the peasant which the peasant could understand and sympathize with, and only that was welded into the once Courtly poetry which was sufficiently refined to please the people who delighted in the exotic refinement,—as in short everything came about perfectly simply and unconsciously, there resulted what in good sooth may be considered as a perfectly substantive and independent form of art, with beauties and refinements of its own. And, indeed, it appears to me that one might say, without too much paradox, that in these peasant songs only does the poetry of minnesingers and troubadours become thoroughly enjoyable; that only when the conventionality of feeling and imagery is corrected by the freshness, the straightforwardness, nay, even the grotesqueness of rural likings, dislikings, and comparisons, can the dainty beauty of mediæval Courtly poetry even really satisfy our wishes. Comparing together Tigris's collection of Tuscan folk-poetry with any similar anthology that might be made of middle high German and Provençal, and early French lyrics, I feel that the adoption of Courtly mediæval poetry by the Italian

peasantry of the Renaissance can be compared more significantly than at first seemed with the adoption of a once fashionable garb by country folk. The peasant pulled about this Courtly lyrism, oppressively tight in its conventional fit, and starched with elaborate rhetorical embroideries, turned it inside out, twisted a bit here, a bit there, ripped open seam after seam, patched and repatched with stuffs and stitches of its own; and then wore the whole thing as it had never been intended to be worn; until this cast-off poetic apparel, stretched on the freer moral limbs of natural folk, faded and stained by weather and earth into new and richer tints, had lost all its original fashionable stiffness, and crudeness of colour, and niminy-piminy fit, and had acquired instead I know not what grace of unexpectedness, picturesqueness, and ease.

Well; for many a year did the song of the peasants rise up from the fields and oliveyards unnoticed by the good townsfolk taking their holiday at the Tuscan villa; but one day, somewhere in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the long-drawn chant of the *rispetto*, telling perhaps how the singer's sweetheart was beautiful as the star Diana, so beautiful as a baby that the Pope christened her with his own hands; the quavering nasal cadence of the *stornello* saying per chance—

"Flower of the Palm, &c.,"

did at last waken the attention of one lettered man, a man of curious and somewhat misshapen body and mind, of features satyr-like in ugliness, yet moody and mystical in their very earthiness; a man essentially of the senses, yet imperfect in them, without taste or smell, and, over and above, with a marvellously supple intellect; weak and coarse and idealistic; and at once feebly the slave of his times, and so boldly, spontaneously innovating as to be quite unconscious of innovation: the mixed nature, or rather the nature in many heterogeneous bits, of the man of letters who is artistic almost to the extent of being an actor, natural in every style because morally connected with no style at all. The man was Lorenzo di Piero dei Medici, for whom posterity has exclusively reserved the civic title of all his family and similar town despots, calling him the Magnificent. It is the fashion at present to give Lorenzo only the leavings, as it were, of our admiration for the weaker, less original, nay, considerably enervate, humanistic exquisite Politian; and this absurd injustice appears to me to show that the very essence and excellence of Lorenzo is not now-a-days perceived. The Renaissance produced several versatile and charming poets; and, in the midst of classic imitation, one or two, of whom one is certainly Boiardo, of real freshness and raciness. But of this new element in the Renaissance, this element which is neither imitation of antiquity nor revival of anything mediæval, which is original, vital, fruitful, in short, modern, Lorenzo



is the most versatile example. He is new, Renaissance, modern ; not merely in this or that quality ; he is so all round. And this in the first place because he is so completely the man of impressions, the man not uttering wonderful things, nor elaborating exquisite ones, but artistically embodying with marvellous versatility whatever strikes his fancy and feeling—fancy and feeling which are as new as the untouched sculptor's clay. And upon this *newness* of faculty depends the whole value of the "Nencia da Barberino."

This poem, of some fifty octaves, is the result of those Tuscan peasant songs, of which I have told you the curious Courtly descent, at last having struck the fancy of a real poet. It is, what Lorenzo's masterpiece necessarily must be, in the highest degree a modern performance, as modern as a picture by Bastien Lepage ; as an opera, founded upon local music, by Bizet. For it is not by any manner of means a pastoral, a piece of conventional poetic decoration, with just a little realistic detail, more of the mere conventional or more of the realistic dominating according as it is a pastoral by Theocritus, or a pastoral by Quinault or Metastasio. It is the very reverse of this : it is the attempt to obtain a large and complete, detailed and balanced impression by the cunning arrangement of a number of small effects which the artist has watched in reality ; it is the making into a kind of little idyl, something half narrative, half drama, with distinct figures and accessories and background, of a whole lot of little fragments imitated from the peasant poetry, and set in thin, delicate framework of imitation no longer of the peasant's songs, but of the peasant's thoughts and speech ; a perfect piece of impressionist art, marred only in rare places by an attempt (inevitable in those days) to force the drawing and colour into caricature. The construction, which appears to be nowhere, is in reality a masterpiece ; for, without knowing it, you are shown the actors, the background, the ups and downs of temper, the variation of the seasons ; above all you are shown the heroine through the medium of the praises, the complaints, the narratives of the past, the imaginings of the future, of the hero, whose incoherent rhapsodizing constitutes the whole poem. He, Valléra is a well-to-do young farmer ; she, Nencia, is the daughter of peasant folk of the castellated village of Barberino in the Mugello ; he is madly in love, but shy, and (to all appearance) awkward, so that we feel convinced that of all these speeches in praise of his Nenciozza, in blame of his indifference, highly poetic and most practical adjurations to see all the advantages of a good match, the young woman hears few or none ; Valléra is talking not to her, but at her, or rather, he is rehearsing to himself all the things which he cannot squeeze out in her presence. It is the long day-dream, poetic, prosaic, practical, and imaginative, of a love-sick Italian peasant



lad, to whom his sweetheart is at once an ideal thing of beauty, a goddess at whose shrine songs must be sung and wreaths twined, and a very substantial lass, who cannot be indifferent to six-penny presents, and whom he cannot conceive as not ultimately becoming the sharer of his cottage, the cooker of his soup, the mender of his linen, the mother of his brats—a dream in which image is effaced by image, and one thought is expelled, unfinished, by another. She is to him like the Fairy Morgana, the fairy who kept so much of chivalry in her enchanted island; she is like the evening star when above his cottage it slowly pierces the soft blue sky with its white brilliancy; she is purer than the water in the well, and sweeter than the malmsey wine, and whiter than the miller's flour; but her heart is as hard as a pebble, and she loves driving to distraction a whole lot of youths who dangle behind her, captives of those heart-thievish eyes of hers. But she is also a most excellent housewife, can stand any amount of hard field labour, and makes lots of money by weaving beautiful woollen stuff. To see her going to church of a morning, she is a little pearl; her bodice is of damask, and her petticoat of bright colour, and she kneels down carefully where she may be seen, being so smart. And then, when she dances!—a born dancer, bouncing like a little goat, and twirling more than a mill-wheel; and when she has finished she makes you such a curtsey: no citizen's wife in Florence can curtsey as she does. It was in April that he first fell in love. She was picking salad in the garden; he begged her for a little, and she sent him about his business. Alas, alas! ever since then his peace has been gone; he cannot sleep, he can only think of her, and follow her about; he has become quite good-for-nothing as to his field work,—yet he hears all the people around laughing and saying, "Of course Valléra will get her." Only *she* will pay no heed to him. She is finer to look at than the Pope, whiter than whitest wood core: she is more delectable than are the young figs to the earwigs, more beautiful than the turnip-flower, sweeter than honey. He is more in love with her than the moth is in love with the lamp; she loves to see him perishing for her. If he could cut himself in two without too much pain, he would, just to let her see that he carries her in his heart. No; he would cut out his heart, and when she touched it with that slender hand of hers, it would cry out, "Nencia, Nencia bella." But, after all, he is not to be despised: he is an excellent labourer, most learned in buying and selling pigs, he can play the bagpipe beautifully, he is rich, is willing to go to any expense to please her, nay, even to pay the barber double that his hair may be nice and frizzy from the crimping irons; and if only he were to get himself tight hose and a silk jerkin, he would be as good as any Florentine burgess. But she will not listen; or, rather, she listens and laughs. Yes, she sits

up in bed at night and laughs herself to death at the mere thought of him, that is all he gets. But he knows what it is! There is a fellow who will keep sneaking about her; if Valléra only catch him near his cottage, won't he give him a taste of his long knife! nay, rip him up and throw his entrails, like those of a pig, to dry on a roof! He is sorry—perhaps he bores her—God bless you, Nencia!—he had better go and look after his sheep. All this is not the poetry of the Renaissance peasant; it is the poem made out of his reality; the songs which Valléra sang in the fields about his Nencia we must seek in the volume of Tigri, those *rispetti* and *stornelli* of to-day are the *rispetti* and *stornelli* of four centuries ago; they are much more beautiful and poetic than any of Lorenzo's work, but Lorenzo has given us not merely a peasant's love-song, he has given us a peasant's thoughts, actions, hopes, fears; he has given us the peasant himself, his house, his fields, and his sweetheart as they exist even now.

Yet we may strain possibilities to the point of supposing (which, however, I cannot for a moment suppose) that this "Nencia" is a kind of fluke; that by an accident a beautiful and seemingly appreciative poem has resulted where the author, a mediæval realist of a superior Villon sort, had intended only a piece of utter grotesqueness. But important as is the "Nencia," Lorenzo has left behind him another poem, greatly inferior in completeness, but which settles beyond power of doubt that in him the Renaissance was not merely no longer mediæval, but most intensely modern. This poem is the "Ambra." It is simply an allegorical narrative of the inundation, by the river Ombrone, of a portion, called Ambra, of the great Medician villa of Poggio a Caiano. Lorenzo's object was evidently to write a semi-Ovidian poem, of a kind common in his day, and common almost up to our own: a river-god, beard, crown of reeds, urn, general dampness and uproariousness of temper, all quite correct; and a nymph, whom he pursues, who prays to the Virgin Huntress to save her from his love, and who, just in the nick of time, is metamorphosed into a mossy stone, dimly showing her former woman's shape; the style of thing, charming, graceful, insipid, of which every one can remember a dozen instances, and which immediately brings up to the mind a vision of grand ducal gardens, where, among the clipped ilexes and the cypress trunks, great lumbering water-gods and long-limbed nymphs splash, petrified and covered with melancholy ooze and yellow lichen, among the stagnant grotto waters. In some respects, therefore, there is in the "Ambra" somewhat more artificial, more *barrocco* than that early Renaissance of Politian and Pontano would warrant; there are also several bits, half graceful, half awkward, pedantic, constrained, childish, delightful, like the sedge-crowned rivers telling each other anecdotes of the ways



and customs of their respective countries, and especially the charming dance of Zephyrus with the flowers on the lawns of Cyprus, which must immediately suggest pictures by Piero di Cosimo and by Botticelli. So far, therefore, there is plenty to enjoy, but nothing to astonish, in the "Ambra." But the magnificent Lorenzo has had the extraordinary whim of beginning his allegory with a description, twenty-one stanzas long, of the season of floods. A description, full of infinitely delicate minute detail, of the plants which have kept their foliage while the others are bare—the prickly juniper, the myrtle and bay; of the flocks of cranes printing the sky with their queer shapes, of the fish under the ice, and the eagle circling slowly round the ponds—little things which affect us mixed up as they are with all manner of stiff classic allusions, very much as do the carefully painted daisies and clover among the embossed and gilded unrealities of certain old pictures. From these rather finnikin details, Lorenzo passes, however, to details which are a good deal more than details, things little noticed until almost recently: the varying effect of the olives on the hillside—a grey green mass, a silver ripple, according as the wind stirs them; the golden appearance of the serene summer air, and so forth: details no longer, in short, but essentially, however minute, effects. And then, suddenly leaving such things behind, he rushes into the midst of a real picture, a picture which you might call almost impressionistic, of the growth of rivers, and the floods. The floods are a grand sight; more than a sight—a grand performance, a drama; sometimes, God knows, a tragedy. Last night, under a warm, hazy sky, through whose buff-tinted clouds the big moon crept in and out, the mountain stream was vaguely visible—a dark riband in its wide shingly bed, when the moon was hidden; a narrow, shallow, broken stream, sheets of brilliant metallic sheen, and showers of sparkling facets, when the moon was out; a mere drowsy murmur mixing with the creaking and rustling of dry reeds in the warm, wet wind. Thus in the evening. Look down from your window next morning: a tremendous rushing mass of waters, thick, turbid, reddish, with ominous steel-like lustre where its coppery surface reflects the moist blue sky, now fills the whole bed, shaking its short fringe of foam, tossing the spray as it swirls round each still projecting stone, angrily tugging at the reeds and alders which flop their draggled green upon its surface; eddying faster and faster, encircling each higher rock or sand-bank, covering it at last with its foaming red mass. Meanwhile, the sky is covered in with vaporous grey clouds, which enshroud the hills; the clear runnels dash over the green banks, spurt through the walls, break their way across the roads; the little mountain torrents, dry all summer, descend, raging rivers, red with the hill soil; and with every gust of warm wind the river rises higher and rushes along



tremendously impetuous. Down in the plain it eats angrily at the soft banks, and breaks its muddy waters, fringed on the surface with a sort of ominous grime of broken wood and earth, higher and higher against the pierheads of the bridges, shaking them to split their masonry; and crowds of men and women look on, staring at the rising water, at the planks, tables, beams, cottage thatches; nay, whole trees, which it hurls at the bridge piers. And then, perhaps, the terrible, soft, balmy flood-wind persisting, there comes suddenly the catastrophe—the embankment, shaken by the resistless current, cracks, fissures, gives way, and the river rushes into the city, as it has already rushed into the fields, to spread in constantly rising, melancholy livid pools throughout the streets and squares.

This Lorenzo saw, and, wonderful to say, in this soiled and seething river, in these torn and crumbling banks, in all the dreadfulfulness of these things, he saw a beauty and a grandeur. But he saw not merely the struggle of the waters and of the land; he, heartless man, who laid his hand even upon the saved-up money of orphan girls in order to keep up the splendour of his house and of his bank—he saw the misery of the peasantry: the mill, the cottage by the riverside, invaded by the flood; the doors burst open by the tremendous rushing stream, the stables and garncrs filled with the thick and oozy waters; the poor creatures, yesterday prosperous, clinging to the roof, watching their sheep and cows, their hay, and straw, and flour, the hemp bleached in the summer, the linen spun and woven in the long winter, their furniture and chattels, their labour and their hope whirled along by the foaming river.

Thus by this versatile Lorenzo dei Medici, this flippant, egotistic artist and despot, has at last been broken the long spell of the Middle Ages. The Renaissance has sung no longer of knights and of spring, but of peasants and of autumn; an immoral and humanistic time, an immoral and humanistic man, have had at length a heart for the simpler, ruder, less favoured classes of mankind; an eye for the bolder, grander, more solemn sights of Nature. Modern times have begun, modern sympathies, modern art are in full swing.

VERNON LEE.

## THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.\*

### I.—THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

**I**T seems the conventionally right thing to say on this, as a topic of the day, that the highest ministry of women is the ministry of home—that wifehood and motherhood are the crown, almost the limit, of her functions in the body politic. We have heard this repeated with a wearisome iteration against well-nigh every claim for the recognition of women's rights or the extension of her duties. Like all such conventional utterances it has an element of divine truth in it. There is, if women would only see it in its clearness, and if men would allow the exercise of it, a noble natural ministry in that home-life, calling out natural virtues. Seen in the new light of Christian truth, it may subserve the higher supernatural ends of the kingdom of God. To make a home Christian, to bring up children as heirs of that kingdom, to watch over the well-being and happiness of a whole household, is a great and noble work. It is too often, I must add, conspicuous by its absence from the lives of those who talk most of it. Whole classes of society ignore it altogether. Translated by the grim humour of the satirist, the "ministry of home" means for one set of women "marry for money or a title, and make it the crowning glory of your life to have a prince or a peer at your receptions; surround yourselves with luxuries and pomp; wink at the vices of your sons, and train your daughters to follow your example." For those whose position is less conspicuous, it means that women must not aspire beyond the routine of respectabilities, "content to dwell in decencies for ever," with no higher end of existence than to darn nightcaps and "chronicle small beer."

Step by step the conventional prejudice of which I speak has had

\* A Paper read in the Chapter House of Wells Cathedral, at the first meeting of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Association of Lay Helpers.

to give way before the advance of truer and more Christian thought. Women may be Poor Law Guardians and may sit on School-Boards. We have learnt to aim at a higher standard of education, fitting them for nobler work. They are admitted to the same examinations as men, compete with them in art, science, and literature, are admitted to many public employments—post-offices, telegraph bureaux, and the like—which were before closed against them. These belong, perhaps, to the *career* of women, rather than their *ministry*; but every such vocation has also its ministerial side, or it at least presents a precedent for analogous ministerial work.

Many forms of such work have already obtained recognition. Women may be Sunday-school teachers and district visitors without incurring the reproach of being unfeminine. Here, at least, in this city of Wells, we do not shrink back, as from some dangerous spectre, from the outward garb of the deaconess or the sister.\* We are beginning to recognize that their labours among the sick and poor should be more organized, and clothed with a more definite authority, that the polity of the Church is not complete without them. But each of these, it must be remembered, has had to struggle in its day against the prejudices of invincible ignorance and the tenacity of routine. I should not be surprised if what I am about to propose should give a fresh shock to those respectable prepossessions. That proposal is simply that we should recognize and foster, on a far wider scale than at present, the *teaching functions* of women in the ministry of the Church of Christ. I do this on the broad ground that they have often in large measure the gifts of teaching, and that the Spirit who bestows those gifts did not give them to be wasted. The principle of a *carrière ouverte aux talents* holds good here also. I cannot see why a woman who might teach men and women should be confined to exercise that power upon boys and girls only. Powers like those of Elizabeth Fry, or Miss Marsh, or Mrs. Wightman, or Mrs. Booth, or Mrs. Garnett, or Sarah Robinson, or Agnes Weston, or Miss Todd, or Miss Archibald, or Miss Mason, point, as by a law of natural selection, to a work like that which they have had to carry out for themselves, sometimes in ways that seem to us abnormal.† Does not their work among soldiers, sailors, prisoners, roughs, navvies, servant-girls—does not the like work largely carried on among the same classes in this town of Wells and

\* A Deaconesses' Home has recently been established at Wells, and is doing good work among the sick and poor, to say nothing of the occasional superintendence of discharged female prisoners, who are received in a "Hospice" lately opened as a temporary home for them. We hope soon to engage the services of a deaconess for our Cottage Hospital. I mention these things as showing that I have no wish to check in any way the free exercise of the special gifts which fit women for other work than that of teaching.

† I may add, as regards the exercise of like gifts across the Atlantic, the preaching of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in the Unitarian community, and that of Miss Alice Worledge, whose Bible Class in connection with Mr. Phillips Brooks' Church at Boston is attended by over 200 men. With regard to Mrs. Fry, it may be noted that she was allowed to address an assembly of Roman Catholic nuns, and had among her hearers the chief prelates of Belgium (Herzog, "Real. Encycl.," iv. p. 622).



elsewhere, by the female officers of the Salvation Army,\* show that these women have a power to reach the rough natures whom we fail to reach, that they come with what our poet has called the might of "subtle-paced counsel in distress," to touch and comfort those who are deaf to our arguments and appeals? What Goethe has called the power of the "ever-feminine," of womanhood in its purity and tenderness, to attract mankind to it, shows itself, in these instances, more rationally and more spiritually, as it showed itself in Dante's reverence to his Beatrice as a guide to truth, as it is seen even now in the homage which the Italian peasant pays to our Lady of Sorrow, who is also the Mother of Consolation. To neglect that influence is, I venture to think, from one point, an economical blunder, as a waste of material and of force; and from another, as little less than the sin of wrapping up the talent which God has given, in the napkin of a conventional routine, instead of occupying with it, till the Judge shall come, in the market of the souls of men. Are we to recognize the stage and the concert-room as a fit sphere for the display of a woman's gifts of genius and culture, and then serenely exclude her from the mission-room and the platform, because that would be at variance with the natural modesty of her sex?

But it will be said, You are going counter to the teaching of St. Paul. He "suffers not a woman to teach." He bids them "be silent in the church."† For them to enter upon such functions would have seemed to him an usurpation of authority over the men, to whom they were rightfully subordinate. Are you quite sure, my friends, that you have rightly interpreted the Apostle's words, when you assume that they thus impose on women a law of absolute silence in all meetings of the faithful? If he gives a special direction as to the outward dress of women who prayed or prophesied (1 Cor. xi. 5, 6), does it not imply that they might, under those conditions, prophesy, *i.e.*, speak words of comfort and counsel, as the Spirit gave them utterance? If they were to be silent in the churches, *i.e.*, when the whole congregation was gathered together under its presbyter-bishop, does it follow that there might be no opening for them in less solemn and formal gatherings? Had not St. Peter quoted words which declared that it was part of the Pentecostal gift, that the daughters of men should prophesy as well as the sons; that upon the handmaids, also, God would pour out of His Spirit? (Acts ii. 17, 18.) Do you think that the daughters of Philip

\* I am bound to bear my testimony to the general discretion and good sense, as well as to the zeal, which has characterized the action of these teachers. All that I hear from others, including the testimony of curates and policemen from their different points of view, leads me to hope that they have awakened the sense of a higher life in many who had been as "without hope and without God in the world."

† Dr. Adam Clarke's explanation of 1 Cor. xii. 34, 35, is, at least, probable enough to be worth noticing. He assumes that it was customary for the members of the Church to ask questions publicly of their teachers, and that the Apostle desired that women should refrain from such questionings, and should ask their husbands at home.

prophesied in the solitude of their chamber without listeners? For my part, I find it hard to imagine that Priscilla, who "expounded the way of God more perfectly" even to Apollos, as Elizabeth Fry or Hannah More may have done to a Georgian Bishop,\* was altogether a mute person when the Church in her house was gathered together for the work of praise and prayer, and that "one might edify another."

And even if the prohibition were as absolute as you imagine, what proof have you that it was intended to be binding for all time, and not rather to take its place among the things that might be varied from time to time by the wisdom of the Church, according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners. You do not press the language of the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. iii., 2 Tit. i. 6) against the second marriage of an English presbyter or bishop. In a corrupt society like that of Greece, in a legal system like that of Rome, each based upon a false ideal of womanhood, in which—as we see in the strange survival of the obsolete in our marriage service—no woman, of whatever age, was thought capable of entering into the state of matrimony of her own spontaneous choice unless some one to whom she hypothetically belonged gave her away,—I can well imagine that a man of St. Paul's cautious and temperate wisdom would have been slow to sanction what would have clashed with the prepossessions of his converts. But in the history of his own people there were precedents of another character. It was characteristic of the Hebrew nation, as it was afterwards of that Teutonic race which gave a fresh life to a decayed and corrupted Christendom, that they recognized God's gifts as bestowed on women for the guidance of His people. The long succession of prophetesses—Miriam, Deborah, the wife of Isaiah (Isa. viii. 3), Huldah, Anna—which had been the glory of Israel, was that to have no counterpart in the new Israel of the Church of Christ? Even as it was, I find in the councils of the early Church a full recognition of the teaching functions of women in relation to their own sex, and even to men elsewhere than in the public assembly of the Church.† As new elements of life began to develop themselves, I note the influence of Hilda in our own English Church, presiding over a monastery, not of women only, but of men, training them in the knowledge of Scripture publicly and privately, and in the duties of the pastoral office—so that bishops went to seek their candidates for orders from what was practically a theological college

\* Roberts's "Life of Hannah More," iii. p. 217.

† Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. xcix. It may be inferred from the limitation, that they had exercised teaching functions, even in the congregation. The words of the Can. xcix. are: "Mulier quamvis docta et sancta viros in conventu docere non presumat." Those of Can. xii. are important, as pointing definitely both to the work of teaching and to systematic training for it. "Viduae vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur tam instructæ sint ad officium ut possint *apto. et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres* quo baptizandæ sunt; qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant: et qualiter, accepto baptismo, vivant." Their functions, *i.e.*, are precisely those of catechists, and might include, in form as well as substance, what we find in the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril, or St. Augustine's "De Catechizandis Rudibus." Comp. Bingham's "Ecc. Antiq.," xiv. 4.



under a Lady Principal—and guiding the genius of Cædmon to a course of study which made him the Milton of that early age.\* In the fourteenth century we have, in St. Catherine of Siena, one who directed the policy of Popes, harangued them in the presence of their cardinals, who preached repentance to monks and friars, and was consulted by divines on abstruse questions of theology, who was admitted to the third order of the Dominicans or Preaching Friars, laboured for the salvation of souls, and guided in the way of righteousness those whom she had converted.† It lies in the nature of the case, that the women who suffered in the Reformation struggles, Joan Boucher, Anne Askew, and others, had made themselves conspicuous by the influence which they exercised over the minds of disciples, as well as by private heretical opinions of their own. The influence of the abbesses and nuns of Port Royal, and of the "Regents" or teachers who were sent by Nicholas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, to instruct those of their own sex, and who were welcomed by little children, and blessed by the roughest peasants with tears in their eyes, is another example of the organized employment of what we are content to waste.‡

I do not, of course, in offering this suggestion, claim a full licence for the utterance of every thought suggested by earnestness, or genius, or wisdom. "God is not the author of confusion, but of order, as in all the Churches of the saints." What I ask is, that the barrier of conventional usage which keeps them from any exercise of their gifts should be removed, and that deaconesses and Bible-women should be placed on the same footing as deacons once were, and as lay readers are. Training, examination, the consent of the incumbent, the bishop's licence, all these I should contend for in the case of women, as of men.

In combination with this form of ministration, I would briefly indicate two others, in which the peculiar graces and gifts of womanhood have found already wide scope of action and will, I hope, find wider: (1) There is the ministry of literature. Take, *e.g.*, such well-known names as Hannah More, or Mrs. Sherwood, or Miss Yonge, or Frances Ridley Havergal, or the authoress of the "Schönberg-Cotta Family," or the thousand ladies who write for our magazines and religious societies, and ask whether they have not also a vocation; whether a woman with the gift of genius, or even of what we call talent, may not recognize herself as called to that office or ministry with as entire a sense of self-dedication, as those do who nurse the sick in hospitals, or watch over the souls of penitents of their own sex? (2) It seems to me that the work of teaching infants and girls in our Board or National Schools, is one to which many ladies of trained

\* Bede, iv. 23, 24. Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 274.

† Chiret, "Esprit de Ste. Catherine," pp. 116, 164, 175. Mrs. Butler's "Life of Catherine of Siena," pp. 35, 66, 142.

‡ Mrs. Schimmelpennick's, "Lancelot's Tour to Alet," i. p. 163.



intellect might well devote themselves, not merely as a professional pursuit (though from that point of view it would often be better than the chances of life as governess), but because they see in it a field of work in which they may serve their Master, feeding His lambs, tending His sheep, exercising in a very real sense one great function of the pastoral office, and looking forward with other pastors to the crown of righteousness which the Chief Shepherd will give to those who have been true and faithful.

What I have said may perhaps startle and offend now. I do not despair of its being within half a century accepted, acted on, regarded as a common-place truism. The past is in this respect the earnest of the future. Even Sunday School teachers and Deaconesses and Sisters of Mercy have had their martyrs and confessors. The devout lady of Barley-Wood, when she opened a school for children and Bible classes for adults, was charged by the farmers and the clergy of the neighbourhood with stepping out of her place, and encouraging "rebellion, dishonesty, and prostitution;" her writings were "fit to be burnt by the common hangman."\* Miss Sellon and her fellow-workers were the objects of the savage hatred of the Protestant mobs, well dressed or otherwise, of Plymouth. Sister Dora was not without analogous experiences in her work at Walsall. As it is, we have learnt as usual to build the sepulchres of the prophets while we repeat the blunders of those who stoned them. But truth is mighty and will at last prevail; and in this, as in other things, the age to come will think with those who have seemed to their own generation as the preachers of a dream.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

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## II.—WOMEN'S SHARE IN THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD.

**E**VEN in countries where, as in England, the ordination of a woman to the pastorate would still be felt a monstrosity, there appears to be a growing disposition to allow women, whether young or old, to speak in public in religious assemblies composed of persons of both sexes. This tendency is in keeping with the spirit of the age, which, rightly or wrongly, shows a steady progression in favour of the emancipation of women. Things have gone so far that it has even been affirmed of late that the refusal to women of the right of speaking in religious assemblies has done more harm in the world, and more injury to the Church, than all the errors of Universalists, Antinomians, and Unitarians.†

\* Hannah More's letter to Bishop Beadon. (Roberts' "Life," vol. iii.)

† "Female Ministry." By Miss Booth.

What are we to think of this tendency, which is still gaining ground, especially in the United States and in England? What would the founders of the Church have thought of it,—the apostles, and especially St. Paul, the organizer of the first Christian communities? If there is any foundation at all for the assertion I have quoted, the question is indeed a serious one, and requires conscientious examination. St. Paul, it is true, is the only one of the apostles who has given us any direct guidance on this point. But he pronounces himself in perfect agreement with the institutions established in all the primitive Christian communities, and we must therefore suppose that his views were identical with those of the Twelve.\* We shall examine, then, in the first place, the meaning of his expressions; and we shall afterwards inquire whether it is possible that the reasons he gives in support of his view may have been drawn from local or temporary considerations, or whether they are of general and permanent value. The Head of the Church announced to His apostles, "He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth Me."† We are bound, therefore, to accept their guidance with absolute docility.

The most explicit declaration on this question is that contained in the fourteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians, from the last clause of the thirty-third to the end of the thirty-fifth verse; and reads in full:—

"As in all the assemblies of the saints, let the women keep silence in your assemblies; for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but to be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home; for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the assembly."<sup>‡</sup>

This declaration would settle the question at once, if it were not for another statement in the same Epistle which appears to contradict it. In the eleventh chapter, St. Paul, laying down rules for the ordering of the Church assemblies, says: "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his Head" (*i.e.*, Christ).§ "But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head" (*i.e.*, her husband).||

It thus appears equally clear that the first passage forbids women to speak in public assemblies, and that the second permits them to do so, at least under the forms of prayer and prophecy. For no one

\* Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 36.

† Luke x. 16 (Revised Version).

‡ The first words of this passage ("as in all the assemblies of the saints") ought to be attached, as above, to those which follow, and not to those which precede them. For v. 33 contains a maxim of the most general character, with which such an addition would be quite out of keeping. The idea expressed in these words is again taken up, under a somewhat different form, in v. 36. The pronoun "your" in v. 34 relates not to the women ("Let your women keep silence") but to the assemblies, ("Let the women keep silence in your assemblies;") corresponding with the foregoing expression, "the assemblies of the saints."

§ 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5 (Revised Version).

|| See 1 Cor. xi. 3.



would propose to regulate the details of an act which he wishes absolutely to forbid. Yet it is impossible to suppose that the apostle has contradicted himself at a distance of two chapters apart. What then does he really mean?

It is not necessary to enumerate the various attempts of commentators to reconcile these two apostolical directions.\* The simplest solution appears to be this. The passage in the fourteenth chapter is a general prohibition of the public speaking of women, on the ground that it is "shameful," indecorous, and contrary to the natural condition of their sex. Nevertheless, the apostle, who had charged the Thessalonians not to quench the Spirit,† recognized the fact that cases might arise, especially under the peculiar circumstances of the time, in which a woman in the assembly, stirred by a strong emotion, might break out suddenly either into prayer or into prophecy; and it is with such exceptional cases that he deals in the eleventh chapter. He authorizes the act, but he appends a condition intended to ward off the inconveniences which might spring from the momentary assumption by a woman of a public part in the proceedings. A careful perusal of the whole of the fourteenth chapter, which treats particularly of the gifts of prophecy and of tongues, makes it easy to understand his motive in allowing an exception in these cases. In verses 14-17, prayer is spoken of in close relation with the gift of tongues. It had, apparently, like that gift, a sudden and unpremeditated character. It was the same with prophecy, which was the utterance of a sudden revelation. This is shown in verses 29 and 30 of the same chapter. "Let the prophets speak by two or three, and let the others discern. But if a revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first keep silence."‡ In such a state of things, it is easy to understand that the apostle did not wish to apply too rigorously the principle of the silence of women, and felt the necessity of leaving an outlet for the action of the Spirit and the overflow of the heart; while, by requiring that in these cases the speaker's face and head should be covered, so as to shelter her from any indiscreet gaze which might either flatter her vanity or arouse improper feelings in a part of the audience—for this, no doubt, is what is in his mind when he says§ that the woman should be covered "because of the angels," who invisibly attend the service, and who would be grieved at such a profanation—he hopes to have taken all necessary precautions for avoiding any undesirable consequences of the concession. In this way the two passages appear to be in perfect agreement.

\* M. A. Beet, in his admirable commentary, thinks we may suppose, with Hofmann, that in ch. xiv. the apostle is speaking of the general assemblies of the Church, and in ch. xi. of small or private meetings. But is it likely that he would have commanded the women to veil themselves in a private house, where a few friends were assembled in an informal way?

† 1 Thess. v. 19.

‡ Revised Version.

§ Ch. xi. 10.



But this simple interpretation does not satisfy the advocates of the preaching of women. Let us see how they explain things themselves. In the eleventh chapter, they say, the apostle clearly allows women to pray and prophesy. This is plain to start with. Now what is prophesying? The answer is given in the third verse of the fourteenth chapter: "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification and exhortation and comfort." To prophesy is therefore, according to the apostle, to exhort, to edify, and to comfort the Church. Whoever does these three things is a prophet. If, then, women have the right to prophesy, they have the right to speak in public in order to edify, encourage, and console. But now comes the difficulty. What does St. Paul mean in chapter xiv., when he forbids women to speak in the assembly? They answer, "To speak, in this case, cannot mean to preach. For the Apostle cannot contradict himself. He can only mean to forbid women to disturb the preaching by whispering among themselves, by making remarks, and by asking irrelevant questions." This, indeed, they add, is sufficiently proved by the use of the Greek word λαλεῖν, to speak,—which, according to an English lexicographer, is not the word used to convey the idea of serious and premeditated speech, but means "to speak imprudently, without reflection, and with nothing to say."

Let us examine, on the one hand, the very extended meaning given to the term *prophesy*, as it occurs in the eleventh chapter; and on the other hand, the very restricted meaning attributed to the word "to speak," in the fourteenth chapter.

Is it true that the apostle meant the words "edification, exhortation, and comfort," in chapter xiv. 3, as a definition of prophecy—so that whoever edifies, exhorts, and comforts may be said to be a prophet? We may find the answer to this question by comparing this verse with the preceding one: "He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God." Are we to conclude from this that every one who addresses himself not to men, but to God, is a speaker with tongues? Surely not. St. Paul is not here defining the gift of tongues; he is only describing one of its aspects, in which it contrasts with prophecy. The prophet speaks to men; the speaker with tongues speaks to God. If, then, we cannot make verse 2 a definition of the gift of tongues, neither must we make verse 3 a definition of prophecy. Not every one who pours out his heart before God is a speaker with tongues. Not every one who edifies, supports, and consoles his brethren, is a prophet. What should we say to such reasoning as this: "The rower moves his arms: therefore every one who moves his arms rows?" Yet it is by such arguments as this that the public preaching of women has of late been justified. The prophet edifies; therefore the woman who edifies is a prophet.

When one very much wishes to believe a thing, it does not do to be particular as to the arguments.

If, in the view of St. Paul, every sort of edifying address was to be regarded as a prophecy, how are we to explain that passage in the twelfth of Romans, in which he speaks of the two gifts of teaching and exhorting (vv. 7 and 8) as quite distinct from that of prophecy (v. 6)? But we have already ascertained what he means by a prophet, from the words already quoted, "If a revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first keep silence."<sup>\*</sup> Prophecy is the instantaneous enunciation of a special revelation. This is obvious also from verse 26, where "revelation," named amongst the other gifts (psalms, teachings, and tongues), evidently stands for "prophecy." Verse 6 proves the same thing; for in that verse the apostle mentions two gifts, "revelation" and "knowledge," and two forms in which they find expression, the one in "prophecy," the other in "teaching." Hence it follows that, in the apostle's view, the characteristic of a prophet is not that he addresses the assembly in a more or less edifying, encouraging, or consoling manner, but that he receives from God a direct revelation on a given subject, and announces it in brief and forcible language, which seems to vibrate with the emotions produced in the soul by the immediate contact of God. St. Paul would have stopped his ears to hear the name of prophetesses given to women of all ages, whose public speaking may be excellent enough, but is certainly very different from his idea of prophecy, and who think themselves beyond the possibility of reproach because they wear—not indeed a veil, but—their bonnets. I think he would have said to them: "My sisters, you have learnt to perfection how to strain at a gnat, and how to swallow a camel."

Surely these pleaders have forgotten the very high and exceptional position of the prophets of the early Church. In the Epistle to the Ephesians,<sup>†</sup> St. Paul places them immediately after the apostles, and before the "evangelists" or missionaries, such as Timothy himself,<sup>‡</sup> and thus also before "pastors" and "teachers." In the same epistle<sup>§</sup> he speaks of the Church as being "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets," meaning, as is shown by the parallel passage in the third chapter,<sup>||</sup> not the prophets of the Old Testament, but those of the primitive Church. In the first of Corinthians,<sup>¶</sup> he expressly gives the order of the hierarchy: "God hath set in the Church, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers." Then follow the other ministries: gifts of healing, deacons, elders, gifts of tongues. Take away the apostles, and the prophets remain at the head of the series; whence we must conclude that if these young girls, converts of yesterday, who now claim the

<sup>\*</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 30.  
<sup>§</sup> Eph. ii. 20.

<sup>†</sup> Ch. iv. 11.  
<sup>||</sup> Eph. iii. 5.

<sup>‡</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 5.  
<sup>¶</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.



right to be heard in public, were indeed prophetesses, it is to them—and to the young prophets who accompany them—that the government of the Church must, in the absence of the apostles, be committed. All the other ministries have but to bow to this new authority. And, indeed, the way in which our new prophets conduct themselves is quite in accordance with this view.

If the direct divine revelations of those earliest days should come to be renewed in the Church, then, of course, would be the moment (after a thorough scrutiny, for the example of the Corinthian Church suffices to show how near the illusion is to the truth) for beginning to talk about prophetesses, and to think of applying the apostolic direction for the veiling of women who speak in public. But even then we should entreat them not to substitute the bonnet for the veil. For "the angels" of holy contemplation and pure devotion, who are present\* at the assemblies of Christian worship, are delicate natures; it takes little to scare them away; and when they have sadly withdrawn, others of a very different character step forward to take their place.

Having thus investigated the exaggerated meaning given to the passage in the eleventh chapter, let us now turn to the extraordinary restrictions imposed on that of the passage in the fourteenth. We have seen that the apostle forbids women to speak in the assembly, and reminds them that no such custom is allowed in any other church†. Is it possible seriously to believe that he simply meant to forbid them to whisper, criticize, and ask questions? Would it have been necessary, in that case, to appeal to the custom of all the other churches, and even to add (v. 37) that the things he writes are the commandments of the Lord? And why should whispering and criticism be forbidden to women only, and not also to men? Would not a man's interruption disturb the assembly just as much as a woman's? Moreover, the word *λαλεῖν* has by no means the special sense attributed to it. It is used twenty-four times in this chapter alone, as applied either to the gift of tongues (v. 2, 4, 5, 6, &c.), or to prophecy (v. 3, 29, &c.), or to speaking in an ecstasy (v. 18), or to speaking with the understanding (v. 19); and yet, after all this, when this very word—which, as we have seen, fills the whole chapter—is used to express an act forbidden to women, suddenly it takes a quite new and peculiar meaning—that of chattering and asking questions—a meaning which could only be imparted to it by special and decisive indications in the context! They rest their case on the apostle's adding, "It is not permitted unto them to speak, *but to be under obedience*," and infer that the word "to speak," being used here in contrast to being "under obedience," means "to speak in an arrogant, opinionated, dogmatic way." They forget that they

\* 1 Cor. xi. 10.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 36.



have just given the same word the sense of whispering, making remarks, and asking questions, which is very far from being an authoritative manner of speaking. How they have tortured this luckless verb, making it mean anything but what it does mean—to make oneself heard! It is unbecoming, says the apostle plainly, for a woman to make her voice heard in the assembly, because the position assigned her by the Creator is altogether one of subjection. He traces back the special prohibition to its general principle; he sees in the liberty of speaking in public, which certain women in the Corinthian Church were beginning to assume to themselves, a serious attack on the subordinate position divinely assigned to them, and sanctioned by the Law itself; he discerns in it the first step towards an emancipation which would violate the true position of woman in human society and in the Church. For this reason he opposes to the public speaking of women not only (in the first part of the verse) the point of order which demands their silence in the assembly, but the general position of subjection assigned to the female sex.

In St. Paul's eyes this duty of submission goes still further. He not only forbids a woman to address the assembly, but he requires her, if she wants anything explained, to postpone her questions till the meeting is over and she finds herself alone with her husband at home; and only in this *tête-à-tête* is she allowed to open her lips and propound her difficulties. Is this precaution enough? Is his meaning sufficiently plain? We think we shall not be far from the truth in formulating his opinion—gathered from the two passages we have just been studying—as follows:—

“As to women, if, under the mastery of strong emotion, or of an immediate revelation, they open their lips in prayer or prophecy, I allow it, on condition that they speak veiled. But that they should make a habit of speaking publicly in the assembly, like men, is out of the question. None of the Churches allow it. I forbid them in the name of the subjection in which the Creator has placed them, and which the law confirms;\* and in doing so, I speak in the name of the Lord Himself.† I do not even allow them to speak in the assembly under the pretext of asking questions; if they have anything to learn, let them ask their own husbands at home. Every truly spiritual man will recognize the high authority of these directions.”

It has been objected that what the apostle here says can only apply to married women. Certainly; and the explanation is easy. They alone, in their honourable position as wives and mothers, could even be tempted to step out of the reserve and seclusion which the natural instinct of modesty imposes on unmarried girls. It never occurred to St. Paul to imagine such scenes in the Church as we witness to-day. And as to asking questions at home, if some

\* Gen. iii. 16.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

women have no husband—or no Christian husband—they have at least a father, a male relative, or a pastor.

This reconciliation of the two passages in the 1st of Corinthians agrees with another passage in the 1st of Timothy\*: "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." There is no other passage on the subject in this epistle, so that this must be regarded as essentially expressing St. Paul's opinion. The woman is not to teach, but to learn, and that in the silence of thought, and in a spirit of submission. She is, in general, to do nothing which implies authority over the man, remembering that her existence, inasmuch as it is of later origin, is complementary to his,—and remembering, moreover, the facility with which she opened her heart and imagination to the tempter and made herself the instrument of the fall of man. It is to be observed that in these last words St. Paul does not say "Eve," but "the woman;" by which he evidently means to imply that this readiness to be dazzled is proper to the whole sex. The fine qualities of woman, the depth of her feelings, the vivacity of her imagination, the ardour of her devotion, make her more accessible than man to the fascinations of error, and hence she must submit to be guided rather than herself attempt to guide.

How are the partisans of the public preaching of women to bring such a passage as this over to their side? The author of "Female Ministry" informs us† that Mr. Taft, the husband of a female preacher, thinks it may be translated thus: "I suffer not a woman to teach as usurping authority over the man." This, they innocently add, removes the whole difficulty; for, according to this rendering, St. Paul positively allows women to teach so long as they assume no authority. It is not, however, very easy to understand how this can be done. Is not the very act of teaching an act of authority? And observe the stratagem by which the apostle is made to say the exact opposite of what he did say. The text means, "I suffer not a woman either to teach, or, generally, to assume authority," and they make it say, "I suffer not a woman to teach *as usurping* authority," which leaves her, according to the author of "Female Ministry," full freedom to teach, so long as she does not speak vociferously! Is this translation, or is it travesty?

But perhaps St. Paul was speaking only for the times in which he wrote, and for the readers to whom he was addressing himself, leaving the Church, as time went on, to perfect her own institutions, and to adjust them to altered circumstances, manners, and places?

\* 1 Tim. ii. 11-14.

† P. 17.



This view seems to us scarcely tenable, since the reasons he alleges are of such a nature that they must in any case have appeared to him to have a permanent value. The argument drawn from the later creation and easier seduction of the woman applies as much to the women of our own day as it possibly could to those of early Christian times. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, again,\* he appeals to the physical nature of woman. God has clothed her with a natural veil,—that long and beautiful veil of hair, which, so to speak, completely covers her—in order to indicate the modest and humble bearing and the secluded position from which she must never deviate, the retired and contemplative life which is her proper destiny. Women's hair is as long in these days as it was in those; and if the apostle's reasoning had any value then, it has the same value now.

St. Paul also appeals to the expressions in Genesis,† which establish the general principle of the subordination of woman to man, from which he deduces the obligation she is under of keeping silence in the assembly. If this divine sentence was ever to lose its binding force, it must surely have lost it at the moment when the proclamation of the Gospel was changing the face of the world. And yet, under the full dispensation of the Gospel, and in view of Christian assemblies, St. Paul repeats this injunction to women; which proves that he does not contemplate the possibility of there ever being a time when it could become obsolete.

Will they go further still? Since it cannot be denied that the arguments adduced by the apostle necessarily appeared to him of permanent application, so long as women remain the daughters of Eve, will they go so far as to say: "Yes, but the apostle was mistaken, and it is time to have done with the blunder. His arguments hold only in relation to the Greek usages to which they then applied. They have no applicability whatever to our modern peoples, with their wholly different customs and code of propriety." They have not yet reached this point; but they assuredly will reach it from the moment they recognize the insufficiency of their efforts to do away with the passages we have been considering. Let us confront them for a moment on this ground, and consult the experience of the Church. It will tell us whether or not St. Paul's directions were prescribed by a variable human wisdom, and whether he was deceiving himself when he said at the end of the chapter:‡ "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord."

In the course of the second century there sprang up a strong and in some respects salutary reaction against the administrative mechan-

\* 1 Cor. xi. 13-15.

† Gen. iii. 16.

‡ 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

ism which was invading the Church, and the lukewarmness of a considerable body of the clergy. This remarkable movement—known as Montanism, from the name of its leader, Montanus—spread rapidly from Asia Minor into all the countries of Christendom, and even into Africa, where Tertullian, one of the most eminent doctors of the time, became its disciple. But one of the causes of its brilliant successes was also a cause of its fall. This was the preaching of the prophetesses, whose elevation for a moment shook the Church, and then allowed it to lapse into indifference, and to sink even lower than before. It is said that the most conspicuous of these women, Maximilla, put an end to her own life, and that Montanus himself perished in a similar manner.

A nearer and still more instructive example is that of the reformed Church of France during the persecutions. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had secured liberty of worship to the Protestants, the Church, driven out into the desert, and made the victim of the most tyrannical and cruel laws, gave as sublime an example of heroism as the world has ever seen. At that critical moment there was a fresh revival of the prophesying of women; the prophetesses stimulated the constancy of the oppressed Protestants, and even directed their resistance. But it was not long before a sombre fanaticism took possession of them; they mistook the visions of their own imagination for divine revelations; they denounced as traitors to the faith those who refused obedience to their inspired commands; they threatened, cursed, and excommunicated. They imperilled, more than all the tyrant's persecutions, the very existence of the remnants of the scattered Church; and when Antoine Court, the great restorer of the French Church, laboured to rebuild the divine edifice from its ruins, one of the greatest obstacles he had to surmount was this of the preaching women.\* A provincial synod in the Vivarais, in 1721, was obliged to vote the following resolution: "The women who have hitherto preached before the assemblies are henceforward interdicted from doing so, seeing that it is not for the female sex to put their hands to the censer (1 Cor. xiv. and 1 Tim. ii.). Nevertheless, those who have edified the Church by sound doctrine, and who are willing to visit the sick and teach the young from house to house, will be maintained as before; only preaching is forbidden to them." The first national synod of the desert, in 1726, had to deal with the same question, and adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, under the false pretext of inspiration or revelation, certain women and girls have put forth their hand to the censer, contrary to the express prohibition of St. Paul, who suffered not a woman to teach in the Church—this exercise is no longer to be allowed in public divine worship; and since experience shows that great scandals and disorders have arisen on the

\* See Edmond Hugues' history of this restoration.



subject of these revelations, whether of men or women, the pastors, probationers, elders, and all true believers are bound vigilantly to look to it."

—It is plain from these last words that even men had allowed themselves to be led away by the prophetesses to pretend to the title of prophets. Is it not a singular and significant fact that the only false prophet individually designated in the New Testament is a false prophetess? "I have a few things against thee," says the Lord to the angel of the Church at Thyatira,\* "because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants."

The wisdom of St. Paul is not, then, so far behind the age that we may think ourselves justified in casting it aside to-day. I would not, certainly, go so far as to affirm that the preaching of truly pious women like Elizabeth Fry, Mrs. Taft, Miss Marsh, and many others whose example is quoted, cannot have done any good. The Gospel does not lose its life-giving power, even when it is preached in a manner not altogether in accordance with apostolic prescription. St. Paul deplored the malicious conduct of some of those who were preaching the Gospel in Rome during his sojourn there. "They do it," he says, "in a spirit of envy; nevertheless, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, will rejoice."† Much more may God have blessed the labours of these sincere and devoted women, even though they might doubtless have laboured still more usefully in some other manner. But, for ourselves, it is not for us deliberately to allow what we recognize as forbidden by God. Are we to conclude that, because many a Catholic priest is unquestionably blessed in the exercise of his functions, therefore the Mass, confession, infallibility, and the whole system, are to be approved? In the long run, disobedience always ends by producing its bitter fruit, as the great examples we have cited all go to prove. To judge of the value of a phenomenon, we must not confine ourselves to observing a particular and partial effect; we must ask what will be the ultimate outcome of the admission and application of the general principle.

Alongside of the instances of women who have taken to preaching in these modern times, we are confronted with those of various women mentioned in the Old and New Testaments as having been the bearers of the Divine message. But they strangely abuse the sacred history in the pursuit of their purpose. There is not a woman's name mentioned in that history of whom they do not attempt to make a preacher. Deborah?‡ She was a Joan of Arc, and a poetess to boot; still, it is not said that she exercised the ministry of the word. Hulda?§ She was a prophetess who could be consulted at home,

\* Rev. ii. 20. A variation reads "thy wife Jezebel."

† See Phil. i. 15-18.

‡ Judges iv. seq.

§ 2 Kings xxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22.

but we do not find her speaking in open places or in the public assembly. Anna the prophetess?\* She spoke in private conversation to all those who waited for the consolation of Israel; that is all that can be made of the story. Mary Magdalene?† She runs twice over from the tomb of Jesus to the apostles; but she convokes no assembly. The holy women of Pentecost?‡ Even supposing that they spoke with tongues that day amongst the hundred and twenty believers, Peter alone is mentioned as the spokesman of the meeting. The rest of those who had received the Spirit simply bore their testimony to the persons who immediately surrounded them. Phœbe?§ She is a "deaconess" of the Church at Cenchreæ, a title which is evidently to be taken in the same sense as that of "deacon" where it is used in the New Testament to denote an ecclesiastical office,—that of a servant of the poor and afflicted,||—and not, as they make out, in the sense of "minister," as when it occurs in such phrases as "minister of Jesus Christ," "minister of the word." The apostle marks the distinction by saying expressly, "a deaconess of the Church at Cenchreæ." Euodia and Syntyche?¶ They are two influential ladies belonging to the Church at Philippi, who had seconded St. Paul in his apostolic labours; but where is it said that it was by their public preaching? A pastor's wife may share her husband's pastoral labours without mounting his pulpit.

The list grows tedious, and almost seems absurd. It is, however, important to notice that the Lord, in choosing His apostles, and in sending out the seventy evangelists, never dreamed of giving a place to women in these primitive ministries; and that during the whole of His earthly mission the women around Him appear to have kept to their proper sphere, that of ministering to Him and His apostles. "Which ministered unto Him of their substance."\*\* This is the model which remains to all time.

There are, however, two instances which appear more favourable to the preaching of women. The first is that of Priscilla, to whom St. Paul gives so prominent a place in his greetings to the Church at Rome.†† She must, no doubt, have had a very marked individuality; but there is not the slightest hint of her having exercised any pulpit ministry in the assemblies of the Church. Having heard Apollos preach eloquently at Ephesus, "knowing only the baptism of John," she joined with her husband in inviting him to her house and endeavouring to instruct him. There is nothing more. The other instance is that of the four daughters of Philip, who prophesied at Cæsarea.‡‡ St. Paul and St. Luke, who stayed in their father's house, saw and heard them there. But this does not prove that

\* Luke ii. 36-38.

† Rom. xvi. 1, 2.

\*\* Luke viii. 3.

† John xx. 1, &c.

‡ Compare Phil. i. 1., and 1 Tim. iii. 8-13.

†† Rom. xvi. 3.

‡ Acts ii.

¶ Phil. iv. 2.

‡‡ Acts xxi. 8.



they spoke in the public assemblies of the Church, any more than it was in a public assembly that the incident of the prophet Agabus occurred, which is told in the same place, introduced by the words, "when he was come unto us,"\* as the mention of the daughters of Philip is prefaced by "we abode with him." All this appears to have taken place within the limits of the family. How different from those women, and even girls, who go from church to church like independent persons, making themselves heard in public!

And even if these young girls, the daughters of Philip, had spoken in the assemblies held by their father, they were at least true prophetesses, speaking under the influence of a special revelation, and the case is therefore provided for in the exceptional authorization granted by St. Paul in the eleventh chapter of his epistle. Will any one attempt to assert that these four prophetesses did nothing more than those women of our own day who bear public testimony to Jesus Christ? If so, why should they be so particularly mentioned? We should have to suppose that they were the only young women in that and in the neighbouring churches who were able to speak in their Saviour's honour—which is hardly possible to imagine.

Again, they allege the testimony of Justin Martyr,† about the middle of the second century, that in his days there were both men and women who had extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. They quote, in particular, the case of a Philadelphian prophetess, Potomania Ammias, mentioned by Eusebius. But what does it prove? That these things are recorded precisely because they were rare and extraordinary, and that we must beware of confounding prophecy with the ordinary ways of bearing witness to Jesus Christ; for there certainly were plenty of women and girls in Asia Minor who were quite as much in a position openly to confess the Saviour as the women who now speak in public.

This marked difference between prophecy and simple Christian testimony destroys the argument which is always being brought up in favour of the preaching of women, and especially of young girls, based on the promise in Joel,‡ "Your sons and *your daughters* shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." Do not all the expressions used by the prophet show that he is dealing here with extraordinary manifestations of the Spirit,—with direct revelations, such as were vouchsafed to the prophets properly so called? St. Paul says in effect, "What use shall I be to you when I come unless I speak to you either by revelation or by knowledge, in prophecy or in teaching?" He does not

\* Acts. xxi. 11, Authorized Version.

† In the dialogue with the Jew Tryphon.

‡ Joel ii. 28.

call a discourse of his own a prophecy, except so far as it is based on a special revelation.

But they insist most of all on a passage of St. Paul which seems to put the two sexes on exactly the same footing within the sphere of Christian activity—the passage in which he says that “in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female.”\* In opposition to the degradation of woman in the ancient world, he here proclaims the equality of the sexes with regard to their participation in salvation and in the possession of Christ. The meaning of his words comes out very clearly in connection with the preceding verse: “As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.” And afterwards, “Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” Christ is undoubtedly the Head of the whole Church; and women equally with men are, by the communication of His Spirit, made members of His body. But there is nothing here to exclude a difference in the form of Christian activity suited to each sex. The gifts of individuals differ, though they partake the same salvation; it is the same with the gifts of the two sexes. And as the spiritual gifts of individuals are always related to their natural aptitudes, physical and psychical, so also with the sexes. The natural aptitudes of woman determine her gifts and her peculiar part in the work of Christ and the Church. If St. Paul did not himself recognize a difference in this respect between man and woman, why did he contrast them, even within the sphere of Christian worship, declaring that what is an honour to a man—to speak with his head uncovered—is a shame to a woman? How could he go so far as to say, “The head of the man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man?”† Even “in Christ,” then, there remains a difference of position and of function between the two sexes. This difference comes, as the apostle shows, as much from the physical constitution‡ as the psychical character§ of the woman. She is formed for motherhood, and to be the rallying point of the family. Her centre of action is the domestic hearth, of which she is the guardian angel. At the same time her soul is richly endowed with feeling and affection. This gift is at once her strength and her weakness. Capable of self-sacrifice even to heroism, she has not, like man, that judicial temper which weighs impartially the two sides of a question; she decides by instinct rather than by reflection, and her instinct is easily confounded with passion, whether that of love, of jealousy, or of antipathy. Thus, a woman’s penetration, though often exceedingly keen, is easily disturbed. It was the woman who was deceived, says the apostle. For this reason, he concludes, she must neither teach, nor assume any authority over the

\* See Gal. iii. 28.

† 1 Cor. xi. 3-5.  
§ 1 Tim. ii. 14.

‡ *II. 14*, 15.



man. There is thus a perfect harmony between the physical conditions which relegate the woman to the retired life of the domestic hearth, and the moral characteristics which render her unfit to play a public part. Such is the permanent value of the arguments advanced by St. Paul; and he must himself have had a deep feeling of their truth and importance when he described them as flowing from the wisdom of the Lord.

The advocates of female preaching have not hesitated to bring forward in its behalf "the graceful form and attitudes, the engaging manners and persuasive language," of the sex.\* We ask ourselves what relation this sort of advantage can possibly have to the work of the Holy Ghost, unless to hinder and disturb it?

I am not for a moment denying that women have frequently possessed the highest intellectual faculties, combined with a calm and masculine judgment. But the existence of such exceptions is no reason for modifying the position assigned by the Creator to the entire sex. The good which may be done by a single emancipated woman is far from balancing the harm which must inevitably follow the emancipation of women generally. I am speaking, naturally, from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view. Deleterious principles do not always present themselves in the first instance under a sinister form; they are careful to clothe themselves in the most specious garb; it is not until they have fairly taken possession and acquired a firm footing in actual life that they fully unfold their pernicious consequences.

The ministry of women? Yes, there is indeed such a ministry. There is little need for us to describe it. It is nobler and more powerful than that which is now claimed for them, in opposition to the will of God and the words of His apostle. St. Paul himself traces a part of its outline in the passage in which he describes the widows whom the Church should honour.† "Well reported of for good works, if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." Such is the true nature of the ministry of women. Not that we wish to limit it to these acts. We do not see why an experienced Christian woman should not seek to exercise a spiritual influence on the circle of children and girls and younger women by whom she is surrounded. We are persuaded that in using her gifts within this humble domain, she will be rendering more solid and lasting service to the kingdom of God than by attempting to arrogate to herself a sphere of public activity which the Lord has not apportioned to her.

There is a story, as old as the world, yet always new. I seem to hear the dialogue going on to-day:—

\* "Female Ministry," p. 1.

† 1 Tim. v. 10.

**WOMAN'S SHARE IN THE MINISTRY OF THE WORLD. 63**

**"Yea, hath God said, ye shall not aspire to the ministry of the Word?"**

**And the woman answers :—**

**"We have many means of serving Him who has redeemed us,—in our homes first of all, in the bosom of the family He has entrusted to us, and then around us, amongst the ignorant, the sick, the sorrowful, the sinful. The mission-field is open to us, near and far. But of the preaching of the word, the Gospel hath said that it is reserved for men."**

**"It is not surely reserved for men. Those men, the pastors who teach you these things, teach you so out of jealousy, lest your eyes should be opened, and ye should be as men. The Gospel says nothing of the kind. You women would in a few hours do more and better work than all these theologians have done in many years. In the name of the souls that perish, put your hand to the work! Open your mouth and preach!"**

**And the woman saw the work that was offered her, and the fruit of her lips appeared to her pleasant to the eyes, and good for food, and a thing to be desired for saving souls, and she took of it and did eat.**

**But it became poison to her, and to them that tasted with her.**

**F. GODET.**



## THE SOUDAN AND ITS FUTURE.

“**W**HAT is the Soudan?” is a question that has frequently been asked since the recent calamity has diverted public attention from the usual course and concentrated all interest upon that distant region. “Is the Soudan worth keeping?” “Why not give it up?” are remarks that have not been uncommon since the overwhelming disaster which has befallen the army under the command of General Hicks.

I shall endeavour to reply to these questions, and to explain the actual condition of those provinces which are included in the general term “Soudan.”

The great lake Victoria N’yanza, discovered by the late Captain Speke, is 3,400 feet above the sea level—beneath the Equator. The Albert N’yanza is 2,700 feet; Gondokoro, 2,000 feet; Khartum, 1,200 feet, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 34'$ . The general altitude of the country in the equatorial regions above the two great lakes is about 4,000 feet.

Accepting the Albert N’yanza as the general reservoir, from the northern extremity, latitude  $2^{\circ} 15'$ , the Nile issues to commence its course from an altitude of 2,700 feet above the sea level. We therefore discover a fall of 700 feet in a course of about 200 miles, influenced by a succession of cataracts and rapids—while from Gondokoro, latitude  $4^{\circ} 54'$ , in a winding channel of about 1,400 miles, the fall is about 800 feet to Khartum—or nearly seven inches per mile—a navigable river throughout, with a stream that hardly averages a speed of three miles per hour.

Before the White Nile annexation, the Soudan was accepted in a vague and unsatisfactory definition as representing everything south of the first cataract at Assonan without any actual limitation—but

the extension of Egyptian territory to the Equator has increased the value of the term, and the word Soudan now embraces the whole of that vast region which comprises the deserts of Nubia, Libya, the ancient Meroe, Dongola, Kordofan, Darfur, Senaar, and the entire Nile Basin, bordered on the east by Abyssinia, and elsewhere by doubtful frontiers. The Red Sea upon the east alone confines the Egyptian limit to an unquestionable line.

Wherever the rainfall is regular, the country is immensely fertile, therefore the Soudan may be divided into two portions—the great deserts which are beyond the rainy zone, and consequently arid, and the southern provinces within that zone, which are capable of great agricultural development.

As the river Nile runs from south to north from an elevation of 3,400 feet until it meets the Mediterranean at the Rosetta and Damietta mouths, it flows through the rainy zone to which it owes its birth, and subsequently streams onwards through the 1,200 miles of sands north of the Atbara river, which is the last tributary throughout its desert course.

Including the bends of this mighty Nile, a distance is traversed of about 3,300 miles from the Victoria N'yanza to the Mediterranean; the whole of this region throughout its passage is now included in the name "Soudan."

The thirty-two degrees of latitude intersected by the Nile must of necessity exhibit great changes in temperature and general meteorological conditions.

The comparatively small area of the Egyptian Delta is the natural result of inundations upon the lower level, which by spreading the waters have thereby slackened the current, and allowed a sufficient interval for the deposit of the surcharged mud. That fertilizing alluvium has been brought down from the rich lands of Meroe and portions of Abyssinia by the Atbara river and its tributaries, the Salaam, Angrab, and the greater stream Settite. All those rivers cut through a large area of deep soil, through which in the course of ages they have excavated valleys of great depth, and in some places of more than two miles width. The cubic contents of these enormous cuttings have been delivered upon the low lands of Egypt at the period of inundations.

The Blue Nile, which effects a junction with the White Nile at Khartum in N. latitude  $15^{\circ} 34'$  is also a mud carrier, but not to the same extent as the Atbara. The White Nile on the contrary, is of lacustrine origin, and conveys no mud, but the impurity of its waters is caused by an excess of vegetable matter suspended in the finest particles, and exhibiting beneath the microscope minute globules of green matter, which have the appearance of germs. When the two rivers meet at the Khartum junction, the water of the Blue



Nile, which contains lime, appears to coagulate the albuminous matter in that of the White Nile, which becomes too heavy to remain in suspension; it therefore precipitates, and forms a deposit, after which the true Nile, formed by a combination of the two rivers, becomes wholesome, and remains comparatively clear until it meets the muddy Atbara, in latitude  $17^{\circ} 40'$ . The Sobat river in N. latitude  $9^{\circ} 21'$  is a most important tributary, supposed to have its sources in the southern portion of the Galla country. All these powerful streams exhibit a uniform system of drainage from south-east to north-west. The only affluent upon the west is the Bahr Ghazal in latitude  $9^{\circ} 20'$ , but that river is quite unimportant as a contributor to the great volume of the Nile.

The rainy zone extends to about  $15^{\circ}$  North latitude, but the rainfall is dependent upon peculiarities of elevation, and physical conditions of localities.

Wherever the rainfall is dependable, the natural fertility of the soil is at once exhibited by enormous crops, in the neighbourhood of villages, where alone a regular system of cultivation is pursued.

The gentle slope from the Equator to the Mediterranean—from the Victoria N'yanza source of the Nile 3,400 feet in a course of about the same number of miles—may be divided into two portions by almost halving the thirty-two degrees of latitude in a direct line. Fifteen will include the rainy zone north of the Equator, and the remaining seventeen to Alexandria comprise the vast deserts which are devoid of water.

The enormous extent of burning sand which separates the fertile portion of the Soudan from Lower Egypt would, in the absence of the camel, be like an ocean devoid of vessels, and the deserts would be a barrier absolutely impassable by man. Nature has arranged the various fauna according to the requirements and conditions of the earth's surface; we, therefore, possess the camel as the only animal that can with impunity support a thirst that will enable it to traverse great distances without the necessity of water. This invaluable creature will travel during the hottest months a distance of 120 miles with a load of 400 lbs., without drinking upon the journey until the fourth day. It is necessary that before starting, the camel shall drink its fill. This may be in the evening of Monday. It will then travel thirty miles a day, and by Friday P.M. it will have completed four days, or 120 miles, and will require water. A certain amount of dhurra (*sorghum vulgare*) must be given during a forced march, as the animal will have no time to graze upon the scanty herbage of the desert.

The desert of Korosko is 230 miles across to Abou Hamed, and this journey is performed in seven days, the camels drinking once only upon the road at the bitter wells of Mourâhd. Horses can be

taken across such deserts only through the aid of camels, which transport the water required for the less enduring animals.

Although the camel is apparently indigenous to the African and Arabian deserts, it is a curious fact that we have never heard of such an animal in a state of Nature. Not even the ancient writers mention the camel as existing in a wild state in any portion of the globe. In this we find an exception to all other animals, whose original progenitors may be discovered in occupation of those wild haunts from which they must have been captured to become domesticated.

As the camel is the only means of communication between the Soudan and Lower Egypt, we at once recognize the reality of separation effected by the extent of desert, which reduces the value of those distant provinces to nil, until some more general means of transport shall be substituted.

The fertile provinces of the Soudan, irrespective of the White Nile margin, are those between the Atbara river and the Blue Nile, in addition to all those lands between Cassala and Gallabat, together with the country traversed by the rivers Rahad and Dinder, opposite Senaar. The latter province between the Blue and the White Niles is the Granary of Khartum.

It is well known that the Soudan was annexed by Mehemet Ali Pacha, grandfather of the ex-Khedive Ismail Pacha, and by a stern rule the discordant elements of rival Arab tribes were reduced to order.

Khartum, at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, became the capital, and Shendy, Berber, and Dongola represented towns of importance upon the river margin. Souakim and Massawa were ports upon the Red Sea, well adapted for commercial outlets. Cassala was fortified, and became the strategical point in Taka near the Abyssinian frontier. Gallabat, which was an Abyssinian town at the date of my visit in 1861, was subsequently added to Egyptian rule. In 1869-1875, the Khedive Ismail Pacha annexed the entire Nile Basin to the Equator.

This enormous territory comprises a great variety of tribes. Those north of the Equator to the Blue Nile are more or less of the negro type, but the deserts are peopled by Arabs of distinct origin, some of whom arrived as conquerors from the east coast of the Red Sea at a period so remote that authority is merely legendary.

The inhabitants of Dongola possess a language of their own, while all other Arab tribes, excepting the Haddendowas, speak Arabic. The deserts from Cairo to the Blue Nile comprise the following tribes:—Bedouins, Bishareens, Haddendowas, Jableens, Dabainas, Shooke-reaks, Beni Amers, Kunanas, Rufars, Hamadas, Hamrans, Hal-hongas, and Abbabdiehs. The west borders of the Nile contain the



Bagaras, Kabbabeesh, Dongolawas, and some others. All these people were well in hand, and subservient to the Egyptian Government within my knowledge of the country from 1861 to 1874.

The White Nile tribes from Khartum to the Equator, including the inhabitants of Darfur and Kordofan, are beyond enumeration.

The occupations of these various races depend mainly upon the conditions of their localities. Those lands which are well watered by a periodical rainfall, are cultivated with dhurra (sorghum), sesamé, cotton, and a variety of native produce; while the desert Arabs are mainly employed in pastoral pursuits, breeding camels, sheep, goats, and cattle, which they exchange for the necessary cereals.

It may be readily imagined that an immense area of wild desert is required for the grazing of such flocks and herds. The stunted shrubs, and the scant herbage which are found within the hollows, where the water from an occasional thunderstorm has concentrated, and given sustenance to a wiry vegetation, are quickly devoured by the hungry animals that rove over the barren wilderness.

The Arabs must continually move their camps in search of fresh pasturage, and the sufferings of the half-starved beasts are intensified by the distance from water which of necessity increases as they wander further from the wells. I have seen many places where the cattle drink only upon alternate days, and must then march twenty miles to the watering-place. I have always considered that the Arabs are nomadic from necessity, and not from an instinctive desire to wander, and that a supply of water for irrigation would attract them to settle permanently as cultivators of the soil. There are certain seasons when it becomes imperative to remove the cattle from rich lands into the sandy deserts, at the approach of the periodical rains, to avoid the mud, and more especially to escape from the dreaded scourge, the fly; but an exodus of the camels and stock, together with their attendants, would not affect those who remained behind to cultivate corn and cotton during the favourable time.

The fertile area of the Soudan north of the Blue Nile is almost unlimited, but there cannot be any practical development until the means of transport shall be provided. At the present moment there would be no possibility of extending the area of cultivation with a view to export, as the supply of camels would be insufficient for the demand. In 1873, Moomtaz Pacha, an energetic Circassian, was Governor of the Soudan, and he insisted that every village should cultivate a certain amount of cotton in proportion to the population; this was simply experimental. The quantity produced was so extraordinary that the camel owners seized the opportunity to strike for higher rates, as they well knew the absolute necessity of crop-time. An immense amount of cotton remained ungathered, and fell upon the ground like snow, as the unfortunate cultivators had no

means of conveying it to market. Moomtaz Pacha was declared to be insane, but on the contrary he had proved the great producing power of the soil and population, though at the same time he had demonstrated the utter futility of agricultural extension until railway communication should ensure the means of transport.

The Soudan must be regarded in the light of a rich country to which there is practically no access. It would be of the greatest value if developed by modern engineering, but it will remain as a mill-stone upon the neck of Egypt unless such means of transport are encouraged without delay.

There is probably no other country so eminently adapted for the cultivation of cotton as the Soudan. The soil is extremely rich; the climate is perfection, as there is a perfect dryness in the atmosphere, which during the process of ripening and gathering is indispensable. The cotton can be dried, cleaned, and packed without a moment's hindrance from adverse weather; and, were railway communication established to Souakim, the crop would be shipped direct to Liverpool within three weeks by steamer.

The cultivation of flax and hemp is entirely neglected, but these valuable commodities could be produced to any extent upon the fat soil bordering the Atbara river, between Sofi and Kadarif.

In England we are so fully occupied with the affairs of every day life, and our food supply is delivered with such unbroken regularity, that few persons consider the danger of a sudden interruption that would be caused during a time of war in which we might be ourselves engaged. We are a hungry nation, dependent upon foreign shores for our supply of wheat, and our statesmen should devote particular attention to ensure that supply under any circumstances; otherwise the democratic power which they are about to raise will be exerted in a manner that may surprise the Ministers of the day, when the high price of wheat shall have doubled the cost of the quartern loaf.

There is no portion of the world that will be better guarded in time of war than the route from Egypt to Great Britain. With Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar, in our possession, the Mediterranean will be secured from Alexandria to the Straits.

It is accordingly important to provide a food supply that would be transported through the well protected route. The Soudan would supply England with the two great commodities required—cotton and wheat.

The development of the Soudan should be encouraged and positively undertaken by England now that events are driving us to assume a responsible control. There is no possibility of internal improvement without the employment of foreign capital; and there will be no investment of such capital until confidence in the stability of



the administration shall be established. Of this, there can be no hope, until Egypt shall be in the acknowledged position of being the protected ally of England. If that should be accomplished, we should quickly see reforms in the Soudan that would within two or three years exhibit an extraordinary change both in the people and in the resources of the country. At present it is in a state of nature. Nothing has been done by the Government to encourage the industry of the people; on the contrary, they have been ill-treated and oppressed. Before the rainy season, the surface of the earth, parched and denuded of all semblance of vegetation by the burning sun, is simply scratched by a small tool similar to an inferior Dutch hoe, and a few grains of dhurra are dropped into a hole, hardly one inch in depth. This is repeated at distances of about two feet. The rain commences towards the end of May, and in a few days the dhurra shoots appear above the ground. The extreme richness of the soil, aided by plenteous rains and a warm sun, induces a magical growth, which starts the hitherto barren wilderness into life. The surface of the country which in the rainless months appeared a desert incapable of producing vegetation, bursts suddenly into a brilliant green, and the formerly sun-burnt area assumes the appearance of rich velvet, as it becomes carpeted throughout with the finest grass. Dhurra that first threw up delicate shoots above the hardened and ill-tilled soil, grows with extreme rapidity to the height of nine or ten feet, and the produce can be imagined from the fact that I once counted 4,840 grains in only one head of this prolific sorghum. Cotton, and all other vegetation, grows with similar vigour immediately after the commencement of the rains.

This picture of abundance is confined to those districts which are beneath the influence of the rainy zone, but there are other lands equally rich and capable of production which must be cultivated by artificial irrigation. In the absence of any organized method such as exists in Lower Egypt by the extension of a canal system, the banks of rivers including the Rahad, Blue Nile, and Main Nile, are alone watered by the ordinary cattle-wheels (*sakeeyahs*); the cultivation is accordingly restricted to a comparatively small area that is within the power of irrigation by the simple machinery of the inhabitants.

If any person will study the map of the Soudan, he will at once observe the natural facilities for a general plan of irrigation that would combine the supply of water with the means of transport by canals. As the uniform drainage is from S.E. to N.W., the rivers Rahad, Dinder, Blue Nile, and Atbara, traverse the rich lands of the Soudan exactly in the same direction. These rivers are impetuous torrents, which by their extreme velocity quickly exhaust themselves after the termination of the rains in Abyssinia. A series of weirs

upon the Rahad, Dinder, and Atbara, would thoroughly control the waters, that would thus be kept at higher levels, and would enable them to be conducted by canals throughout the fertile lands which at present are neglected in the absence of sufficient moisture. As those rivers are unnavigable, the weirs might be constructed in the most simple manner, as there is no traffic to require special adaptation.

A railway has been suggested from Souakim to Berber. This would be a half-measure, and a mistake, as Berber is below the last cataract of the Nile, and common-sense would dictate that the river terminus should be above the most southern obstruction. Although with good pilotage a steamer can ascend the Shendy cataract without much danger, there are many reasons that would be in favour of a terminus where the river is navigable throughout the Blue and the White Niles, which would enable the produce of the interior to be transported by vessels from the Equatorial regions without the slightest hindrance.

The south wind blows regularly for six months every year and thus it would be impossible for sailing vessels, after having delivered their cargoes at Berber, to re-ascend the river to Khartum, unless by the difficult and tedious process of towing against the rapid current.

A railway from Souakim might be constructed with no great difficulty, excepting the total absence of limestone for preparing the mortar necessary for bridges. The lime would either be brought from Egypt, or it must be burnt at Souakim from the coral reefs. It might be cheaper and better if sent direct from Marseilles.

There is a perplexing necessity in bridging countless torrent beds throughout the desert route in the absence of one drop of water. Nevertheless, this precaution is absolutely necessary, as occasional storms of extreme violence would tear down and destroy any works that were not adequately protected. Another drawback to the construction of the railway would be the want of water, except at long intervals of two days' march. The first preliminary work should be devoted to an exploration of the substrata by boring apparatus that might discover springs in places as yet unexplored. I have no doubt that water exists in very many localities beyond the search of the desert Arabs, who are ill-provided with tools, and are contented with wells at intervals of twenty-four hours' march. It is quite possible that Artesian wells might be the result of boring at depths far below any that could be attained except by aid of the machine. Force-pumps should be arranged, which might be worked by camels, and the route from Souakim would probably be supplied with water without much difficulty.

If the railway should be carried from Souakim to the Nile above the last cataract, the distance would be about 340 miles. The bridge that



would cross the Athara river should combine the "barrage," which would control the stream by means of sluice-gates, and the water would be led into canals for irrigation; at the same time those channels would convey the produce of the cultivated area direct to the several stations on the railway.

If the waters of the Athara and other rivers were thus confined, instead of being permitted to waste their volume by the impetuosity of their streams, we should be enabled to store a supply for agricultural purposes to be in readiness for the various stages of cultivation.

Nothing should be lightly undertaken, and no contracts should be entered upon for any line of railway until a competent commission shall have decided upon a general plan of agricultural development for the Soudan. The first railway will be the parent of other lines, and the harmony of the whole system will depend upon a careful plan that shall have been pre-arranged, to include irrigation and canal traffic as feeders to the main artery.

There can be little doubt that eventually the entire Nile will be controlled by a system of masonry weirs similar to the "bhunds" which are the great engineering works upon the rivers of India. Such a system would render the Nile navigable throughout its course from Khartum to Cairo, and would ensure irrigation at all seasons of the year, irrespective of the usual period of inundation. In the flood-time of the high Nile the surplus waters would be led into natural depressions that would form vast reservoirs, from which canals would lead the required volume to distant districts at a lower level. The water-power at every successive dam would be enormous, and could be used for driving the machinery that is necessary for the cleaning of cotton, prior to the operation of packing for exportation.

The English who have visited the Soudan may be counted upon the fingers, and yet we hear a cry from the lips of ignorance, "Give up the Soudan, and confine the limits of Egypt to the first cataract at Assuan!"

The spirit of England appears to have undergone a lamentable change. The instant that a severe reverse startles the trembling nerves of pessimists, there is a sudden yell for retreat from the dangerous position. Candahar was abandoned. From the Transvaal there was a general skedaddle. If the unfortunate General Hicks had succeeded in Kordofan, England would loudly have proclaimed the victory under British leadership; but a serious reverse at once inverts the picture, and the war of the British lion is thundered for retreat! Such a cry respecting the Soudan would be a proof of the most cowardly ignorance. It is the unfortunate fashion of modern times for those who know absolutely nothing of a subject to become most positive in the expression of opinion—especially upon foreign affairs. The same person who as a stranger to the locality would

not presume to argue upon the neighbourhood of Richmond or the river Thames, will audaciously advance his views upon the Soudan and the sources of the Nile. People who are hardly respected upon the local board of a county town, are firm in their opinions upon Tonquin and Afghanistan. Certain newspapers are equally presumptuous, and reflect the ignorance of their subscribers.

If the Soudan were abandoned, the following consequences would assuredly ensue, which would ultimately endanger the existence of the more civilized country—Lower Egypt.

The entire Soudan, which is inhabited by many and various races, would relapse into complete anarchy and savagedom. A constant civil war would be waged; cultivation would be interrupted; trade would cease. The worst elements of debased human nature (which must be seen, to be understood, in those regions) would be uncontrolled, and the whole energies of the population would be concentrated in the slave-trade. The White Nile—where General Gordon has devoted the best years of his life, and where I laid the foundation before him, in the hope that the seeds then sown would at some future day bear fruit—would become the field for every atrocity that can be imagined. Even those naked savages believed our promises: "that England would protect them from slavery." They would be abandoned to every conceivable outrage, and the slave-hunting would re-commence upon a scale invigorated by the repression of the last thirteen years, but suddenly withdrawn.

The anarchy of the Soudan would call upon the scene another power—Abyssinia. The march from Gallabat upon Khartum is the most certain movement, and could hardly be resisted, if well organized.

A portion of the Soudan would certainly be annexed by Abyssinia. Other portions after long civil conflict would have determined themselves into little kingdoms, and the whole would be hostile forces beyond the Egyptian frontier. The state of tension would entail the necessity of a military force in Egypt that would be a crushing burden upon her revenue. A sensible communication from H.H. Prince Ibrahim Hilmy Pacha to the *Times* a few days since directed public attention to the fact, that one of the great works of His Highness Ismail Pacha, the Khedive, was the establishment of the Nilometer at Khartum, together with the telegraph. Every day throughout the year the height of the Nile is telegraphed to Cairo, and during the period of threatened inundation the Government at Lower Egypt is kept informed of the approaching flood which is hurrying towards the Delta. Twenty or twenty-four days must elapse before the volume of Soudan water can reach Egypt, and thus time is allowed for the strengthening of embankments to resist an invasion which formerly arrived without warning, and devastated the most fertile provinces of the country. There cannot be a more striking example



of the results of scientific development; the few minutes of time occupied by the telegraphic message through a course of 1,400 miles, paralyses the attack of an enemy whose advance was formerly overwhelming.

Should the Soudan be lost to Egypt, the control of the river will have ceased. There will be no scope for future extension. The commerce of the interior will be ruined. The prestige of the country will have departed. The success of a Southern insurrection will be a dangerous example for the Northern provinces, and for the Arab tribes from Syria to Arabia. No Government can afford to lose a province through insurrection; it is the first wrench which precedes a general dislocation.

It has been frequently asked, For what object is this rebellion headed by the Mahdi? What is the desired aim? Why is a population that was hitherto so docile and easily governed suddenly exasperated into revolt? On March 25, 1882, when opinions differed concerning the movements of Arabi Bey, and long before the British Government had framed a policy, the *Times* published a letter from myself which included the following paragraphs:—

“The movement of Arabi Bey resolves itself into one of two questions: It is either sanctioned by the ruling powers, the Sultan and the Khedive, or it is adverse to those powers. If it is sanctioned by those authorities, it is contrary to the spirit of the firman which granted the powers of control to Europe. If it is adverse to the rulers of Egypt, it is rebellion.

“The results will be quickly visible. A period of mistrust and disturbance will be seized upon as an excuse for the non-payment of taxes. The revenue will diminish, while military expenses will increase. Abyssinia has long coveted a port upon the Red Sea, and has claimed a considerable portion of the Soudan. Should the patronage of England be withdrawn from Egypt, there may be extreme danger of an invasion from Abyssinia. *A very slight encouragement would induce a general rising of the Arab tribes of the Soudan.* Should the declaration against the slave-trade [Arabi's] be sincere, there will assuredly be difficulties with the Arab slave-traders and with the provinces of Darfur and Upper Egypt. I am no alarmist, neither am I a holder of Egyptian stocks under the control of Arabi Bey, but I foresee trouble and dislocation in the affairs of Egypt, which were prosperous and well organized until the reformer intruded himself upon the scene.”

This forecast of a disastrous future has been terribly verified by events, although as usual the prophecy was unheeded at the time of utterance. It may be asked, upon what grounds were those words of warning raised at a time when England was deaf to such a cry? Look back to the frightful picture described in “Ismailia”—pp. 22-23—in the first month of 1870, for a reply, and Englishmen will form their own opinion of the merits of the case. I had returned to the Upper Nile, which I had left flourishing in 1864:—

“Khartum was not changed externally; but I had observed with dismay a frightful change in the features of the country between Berber and the capital since my last visit. The rich soil on the banks of the river, which had a few years since been highly cultivated, had been abandoned. Now and then a tuft

of neglected date-palms might be seen, but the river's banks, formerly verdant with heavy crops, had become a wilderness. Villages once crowded had entirely disappeared; the population was gone. Irrigation had ceased. The night, formerly discordant with the creaking of countless water-wheels, was now silent as death. There was not a dog to howl for a lost master. Industry had vanished; oppression had driven the inhabitants from the soil.

"This terrible desolation was caused by the Governor-general of the Soudan, who although himself an honest man, trusted too much to the honesty of others, who preyed upon the inhabitants.

"The population of the richest province in the Soudan fled from oppression and abandoned the country; the greater portion betook themselves to the slave-trade of the White Nile, where in their turn they could trample upon the rights of others; where, as they had been plundered, they would be able to plunder; where they could reap the harvest of another's labour; and where, free from the restrictions of a government, they might indulge in the exciting and lucrative enterprise of slave-hunting.

"Thousands had forsaken their homes and commenced a life of brigandage upon the White Nile."

This was the state of the country for a distance of 200 miles, from Berber to Khartum! and the miserable picture was an example of the general condition of the Soudan.

The exasperation of the people was subsequently intensified by the vigorous attack upon the slave-trade of the White Nile. It may be readily imagined that the suppression of that traffic, in which so many thousands were engaged, was an additional incentive to rebellion. The armed gangs of Akād attacked the troops under my command; and subsequently General Gordon was involved in conflicts of considerable duration. The crushing defeats of the slave-hunters in those several engagements quenched their spirit for the moment; but the fire still slumbered, and was ready to blaze afresh upon a favourable opportunity. The English element had been withdrawn from the Soudan on the retirement of General Gordon. His excellent lieutenant Gessi had succumbed to fever and exhaustion, consequent upon his exertions in the baneful climate of the White Nile regions. Arabi Bey commenced a revolt in Egypt Proper. The power of the Khedive was overthrown, and a direct movement was commenced against all authority. Egypt was in arms against herself, as there was no other foe. The Mahdi—or rather a dervish named Mahomet Achmet—who had long been known to the Khedive H.H. Ismail Pasha, who thoroughly understood the management of such fanatics, took advantage of the general confusion of affairs and gathered a small surrounding of malcontents. A series of gross acts of mismanagement on the part of the Soudan authorities increased the influence of this extraordinary character, and a succession of defeats of the Government forces at the hands of badly armed Arabs produced a contempt for the Egyptian troops, of whom the population had hitherto stood in awe. It was a natural consequence that in Kordofan, already discontented owing to the operations



enforced against the slave-trade, should seize the opportunity for revolt. The rich province of Senaar followed the example, and again the Government forces were defeated, while the strong garrisons both in Darfur and Kordofan were invested in their fortified positions. Those distant provinces west of the White Nile were lost, and should have been abandoned to their fate.

The English invasion of Egypt had resulted in the overthrow of Arabi and the restoration of the Khedive. General Hicks, with a staff of British officers, was despatched to Khartum with specified instructions from General V. Baker Pasha to operate against Senaar. That province being situated between the Blue and White Niles offered favourable conditions for attack.

Abd-el-Kader Pasha, the Governor of Khartum, was to ascend the Blue Nile with a large force and give battle to the enemy, while General Hicks with 6,000 men was to command the White Nile upon the west; he would patrol the river with numerous steamers, destroy all boats, and intercept the fugitives should the rebels be defeated by Abd-el-Kader; in which case they would attempt the passage of the White Nile to retreat upon Kordofan.

These operations were successfully carried out. Abd-el-Kader defeated the Mahdi's people in Senaar, and General Hicks, having disembarked his force at the appointed station, was in time to intercept the beaten rebels who were on the march to the White Nile. It does not appear that the enemy had been demoralized by their defeat in Senaar, as they assumed the offensive upon the approach of Hicks Pasha's forces, and attacked them with such determination that it was necessary to form a square. Although General Hicks was victorious, and the enemy retired with a loss of 500 killed, it was impossible to follow up the victory in the absence of cavalry. Such a battle could hardly have been accepted as decisive, and Senaar should have been occupied by a line of fortified posts until the power of the Government should have been thoroughly re-established.

At that period the military organization of the Soudan was transferred from General V. Baker Pasha's department to that of the Minister of War. Counter instructions were given to General Hicks to fall back on Khartum, and to collect an army for the invasion and conquest of Kordofan. For this purpose General Hicks was promoted to the chief command.

An advance of 230 miles through an enemy's country, devoid of supplies and almost waterless, in a climate of intense heat, the march of necessity through sandy desert, with a force of 7,000 men and 6,000 transport camels, was a most perilous undertaking, and it has terminated in frightful disaster. The unfortunate General Hicks and his entire army have been sacrificed to the usual absurd instructions that would be issued by Egyptian authorities. Kordofan and Darfur should have been abandoned, and the Government should have con-

solidated its power throughout the entire Soudan. If the Mahdi had been left unmolested in Kordofan, he would have quickly experienced the difference between pulling down and building up.

His forces have been united by the presence of a common enemy, but in the absence of the Government troops they would have gradually dissolved. Jealousies would have arisen among the chiefs, and discontent (the certain accompaniment of inaction) would have divided the ranks of his followers. In a short time they would have quarrelled among themselves, and the fascination of the Mahdi would have disappeared.

The success that he has now achieved enhances the danger of a general uprising of the Arab tribes throughout the Soudan, and the relapse of Senaar into the anarchy that had been quelled by the victories of General Hicks and Abd-el-Kader Pasha. Fortunately, the Oriental character is prone to delay, and the Mahdi has not followed up his attack on Hicks by an immediate advance on Dongola, to which there is a direct caravan route through the desert from Kordofan. Between that country and Dongola the desert is occupied by the Kabbabeesh tribe of Arabs, who are large owners of camels well known for their size and strength.

There should be no loss of time in arranging an organization that would protect Khartum (the capital), Dongola, Berber, and Senaar. It would be impossible for a stranger to comprehend a plan of operations for this purpose without reference to a map, but the movements would be simple, provided that the troops can be supplied. The loss of the capital would be fatal to the Government—therefore Khartum must be supported. To effect this, it will be necessary to secure Dongola by British troops sent by the Nile. These would occupy Dongola, but would go no further. The moral effect of 3,000 British soldiers stationed in that position would ensure the fidelity of the Kabbabeesh Arabs, who could fall back with their herds for protection should the Mahdi's forces advance across the desert. The Kabbabeesh could be employed to fill up the wells upon the route towards Kordofan. Egyptian troops, with as many black regiments as possible, should march from Korosko across the desert 230 miles to Abou Hamed on the Nile, and thence along the river's bank to Berber, 143 miles. From Dongola to Berber a line of posts would be established. The great Sheik of the Korosko desert, Hussein Bey Halifa, can always be depended upon. He should be charged with the transport of the troops across the desert. He should also raise those Arab tribes that are faithful to the Government—the Bishareens, Dabainas, and the Shookereeyahs from the borders of the Atbara. An Arab army should advance upon Kokreb, half way between Berber and Souakim. This is the principal oasis, which should be defended by a redoubt. When the wells from Berber to Kokreb shall have been secured, a detachment of troops should march to occupy this



central position. From that point the friendly Arabs would seize all wells eastward upon the route towards Souakim, and thus by degrees advance in that direction. A force of 4,000 Indian troops occupying Souakim would, in the meantime, prepare for an advance through the mountains, now occupied by the enemy who have already inflicted three defeats upon the Egyptian forces. Communication should be established between the Arabs under Hussein Halifa marching from Kokreb and the force at Souakim, in order to advance simultaneously from east and west. The enemy would thus be attacked in front and rear. When the route from Souakim to Berber shall have been cleared, and the wells occupied throughout, the Indian troops will have marched to Berber. Supports can then be sent forward from Souakim when required. From Berber the Nile is navigable for steamers to Khartum, 200 miles distant. Troops can therefore be transported with ease in thirteen days from Souakim. There would be by this arrangement two bases of operation—Souakim from the Red Sea, and Cairo on the Nile. The advance by the Nile would be upon both sides simultaneously—from Korosko to Berber on the east, and to Dongola through to Berber upon the west. Troops would be converging upon Berber from three different points—Souakim, Dongola, and Korosko; and Berber would then become the base for the support of Khartum and Senaar, both of which are situated upon the navigable Blue Nile.

Under a capable administration I do not see any supreme difficulty in the reorganization of the Soudan. There has been a total want of confidence between the governing power and those who were governed, and a general and radical reform is necessary. The first consideration should be the actual requirements of the people. "What do you really want?" is the question that must be answered. The simple reply will be "JUSTICE."

Unless under British supervision this will never be attained—the Egyptian officials are hopeless.

It is impossible to obtain good service unless those who are employed receive their due amount of salary. The sheiks of Arab tribes should be liberally and punctually remunerated if their loyalty is to be relied upon. Hussein Halifa Bey should be made a Pasha if he proves faithful to the Government in their necessity. A few decorations distributed among the prominent sheiks of various tribes would be highly prized, and would produce good service.

A British High Commissioner should be sent to Berber to inquire into the actual demands and necessities of the people. He will be appalled at the hosts of grievances; he will also be disgusted with the shameful facts of extortion and oppression.

Although the revolt must be crushed with an iron hand to prevent a recurrence of such insurrections, I sympathize with a down-trodden people, whom, if I had been an Arab, I should have been

the first to lead. Much good might be effected by an impartial judgment, and the wild inhabitants of the deserts have a keen sense of right and wrong according to the just precepts of the Koran. If force alone shall be used, the rebellion may be stunned; but the spirit of discontent will rankle in the hearts of the population. There should be a combination of force together with diplomacy, and a resolve on the part of the authorities to administer pure justice.

A rectification of frontier will be absolutely necessary before any development of internal resources can be expected. The White Nile should be the boundary of Egypt upon the West as far as the station of Fashoda. An arrangement must be entered into with Abyssinia; a well-defined boundary line must be agreed upon, and be occupied by a chain of Government forts.

The encroachments of Egypt upon Abyssinia have been continual, though by slow degrees, and were only checked by the total destruction of three corps d'armée, which suffered the usual fate of Egyptian military enterprises. These victories have encouraged the hopes of Abyssinia, which lays claim to a considerable portion of the Soudan, and have increased the danger of an invasion during an opportunity when general disturbance has paralysed the power of Egypt. A dog-in-the-manger policy has been pursued towards her neighbour which is adverse to the interests of both countries. Egypt should benefit by commercial relations with Abyssinia; instead of which she has destroyed all power of development by excluding that tunate country from the sea-border. After the succession of defeats which Egypt suffered in her invasion, it would be impossible for her to assume the initiative in proposing a rectification of frontier and a commercial treaty. Such an invitation can only be given through the medium of England. Masawa might be offered to Abyssinia as an outlet for her commerce under certain stipulated conditions, together with the province of Boghos, which was originally Abyssinian. An excellent frontier line might be arranged from Gallabat along the Atbara to Tomat near Sofi, at the junction of the Settite river, and the Mareb or Gash in the south of Cassala. Thence along the mountains, including Boghos to Masawa.

If Abyssinia were thus generously encouraged, a most important development would be the immediate result. The highlands of that country are remarkably healthy; coffee is a natural production, which at the present moment finds its way through Gallabat for the supply of Khartum and the entire Soudan, in exchange for cotton, and Maria Theresa dollars. If Abyssinia possessed a seaport, we should quickly experience the benefit of a new outlet both for British manufactures, and for the general productions of that country.

The important question still remains unanswered, How are the necessary changes and reforms in the Soudan to be carried out?



First of all, it has to be reconquered. After that, it must be reorganized. It must then be governed upon Liberal principles. Who is to do all this?

Much as I deplore the necessity, I believe the task must be undertaken by Great Britain, if we intend to reconstruct the shattered administration of the Khedive. But no half-measures will be effective. No pea-and-thimble tricks will gain the confidence of natives—no sudden disappearance of the pea of British responsibility from one thimble to the other; we must either become responsible for the whole or nothing. The Soudan and Egypt cannot be separated—they are as necessary to each other as England and Scotland. It is not indispensable that they shall be administered by the same laws: the races of the Soudan are a strong contrast to those of the lower delta, and they require a paternal government; somewhat after the model of our Indian Viceroy and Council. Any Radical programme including a representative assembly would be utterly absurd. The Oriental mind concentrates its respect upon the individual representative of *power*, which means government. The present attitude of England in Egypt does not represent *power*, but simply *obstruction*.

The policy of withdrawal of our military force produced consternation in the minds of all those who had real experience of the country. Had this been carried out, the Khedive would have been dethroned within a month. Events most calamitous have suddenly awakened our authorities to the true aspect of the situation: the Soudan in wide-spread insurrection; the provinces of Kordofan and Darfur lost; the routes of communication in the hands of the enemy; a total want of confidence in the British administration in Lower Egypt; Alexandria still in ruins, as no Europeans have the courage to re-build, *because England intends to evacuate* the country; the Egyptian army destroyed, excepting the small force of Sir Evelyn Wood, which apparently is not allowed to move; a deficit in the revenue of more than two millions and a half, and four millions due for indemnities at Alexandria; bankruptcy staring us in the face; the preference stock at 86, which stood at 96 a week after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir! This is the state of Egypt after the benefit of fifteen months of British interference! And this is the result of a half-hearted policy of half-measures, which means ruin alike in private affairs and in public administration. England must become the determined ally and the adviser of Egypt. This position, represented by a permanent military force, will change the scene and assure the prosperity of the country.

SAM. WHITE BAKER.

## LAZARUS AT THE GATE.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR A NEW TRAGEDY.

"*Tragedy*.—A dramatic representation of the woes and misfortunes of life in such a manner as to rouse the strongest emotions of horror and grief, but emotions that die for want of further object."—SMART.

ACT I.—*Scene: Happy England*.—The richest city of the same and of the world. Parks, palaces, mansions, streets of showy shops displaying merchandise of gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, scarlet, fine linen, all vessels of ivory, brass, precious wood, also ointments, wine, oil, fine flour, wheat, with sheep, oxen, horses, chariots.

ACT II.—*Scene: same City*.—The slums; a narrow dark court covered with filth and garbage, the windows patched with rags. Enter by rotten staircase to room 8 ft. square, its walls and ceiling black with strata of dirt, the accretions of years of neglect, and containing no furniture. Inmates of this hole, a man and four children, one a daughter, with nothing to clothe herself with but an old sack.

ACT III.—*Scene: same Happy Country*.—Its family life. Its children as they are treated by permission of the law. Father spends entire wages in public-house, and returns to room in slums, to sick wife and seven ragged children, alive with vermin, crying bitterly to him for bread, and beaten for their cry, "little, stunted, misshapen, loathsome objects" Vision in background—dance of drink fiends round blindfold English law.

ACT IV.—*Scene: Red Table of learned Society's Room*.—Group of philosophers consulting about all these facts, and contentedly settling in the conclusion that so the species evolves, and the fittest survives.

ACT V.—*Scene: St. Stephen's*.—Senators absorbed in keen discussion of the wrongs of petty tribes in Central Africa, once our allies, now left by perfidious Government to take care of themselves. From the outside ascend faint echoes of the bitter cry of a million outcasts among their own fellow-citizens pleading for an ear to their woes.

ACT VI.—*Scene: Elegant Church*.—Fashionable Christians kneeling in prayer for all who are afflicted and distressed. Vision overhead—dance of devils over prayers without works.

THE public conscience seems to be at last effectually awakened to its responsibility with respect to the state of wretchedness and moral degradation in which large sections of the poorer classes have so long been suffered to live. The instrument of awakening was only a little unpretending pamphlet, containing nothing that had not



again and again been stated before, but it has succeeded, not only in arousing a general and lively concern on the subject, but in provoking a most important discussion, in which all the chief organs of opinion and some of the foremost of our public men have taken part. This remarkable response to "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" is a clear sign that the time is ripe for energetic action in the matter, more especially on the part of those who have been already keenly alive to the gravity of the situation, and have been labouring, with the imperfect resources hitherto available, for the removal of this foul blot upon the wisdom, the philanthropy, and the Christianity of our country. It would not, however, have been necessary to interpose in this discussion, but for the circumstance that while some aspects of the subject have been exhaustively treated already, others—and those among the most important and urgent—have been almost entirely overlooked. On the questions of binding landlords to their duty, and facilitating the erection of more and better dwellings by State loans, little remains to be said beyond condensing and emphasizing what has been suggested already; but the problem is more than one of better house accommodation. The miserable condition of the outcast poor cannot be all laid to the door of bad or insufficient houses; much of it would remain as it is though good houses were to be got in plenty, because it comes from other causes altogether; and so long as these causes continue untouched, the evil cannot be effectually coped with, nor can any effort for its amelioration have lasting or serious value.

In dealing with this problem, two contrary dangers must be equally avoided. One is the danger of procrastinating the settlement of the matter by the appointment of a commission of inquiry or any other well-meant suggestion, and so allowing the present tide of feeling to subside without being utilized for carrying the necessary remedial measures into effect. The other is the danger of suffering the existing excitement to precipitate us into unwise legislation which would interfere unduly with the laws of political economy, and would therefore only end in aggravating the ills it was meant to cure. This is far from being an imaginary danger. We see even men of weight, in some of the public utterances they have made on this question, committing themselves to positions that almost involve the principle of Communism, positions at which they would find it very difficult to stop, and which would be sure to be pushed to their fullest logical consequences by the journals and debating clubs of the dissatisfied classes. In fact, they have been pushed to these consequences already. It was laid down, for example, by one writer on the subject that since it was impossible for the very poor to pay such a rent for decent house accommodation as would afford the proprietor a fair return on his money, the State ought to undertake to supply them with such

accommodation at the public expense. On this proposition, the Chairman of the Democratic Federation, Mr. Hyndman, writing to one of the leading daily newspapers, remarks: "This is right, but it is only a small part of the duty of the State, for since food and clothing are even more necessary than lodging, it is equally the duty of the State, on the same principle, to secure to everyone sufficient of these at such a price as the poorest can afford to pay, and also to provide work." Grant Mr. Hyndman his premises and it is difficult to escape his conclusion. If the State has a right to take one person's property and give it to build a house for another, the conclusion is inevitable that it has the same right to take the property of one to provide food and clothing for another. And if it is the State's business to secure comfort for one class of the people by the taxation of another class, it must be its business to secure comfort for all by the same means; and if comfort for all, then equity will demand that it be equal comfort; and thus we are thrown at once on the Communistic principle that the State, or rather the Government for the time being, ought to divide all property equally among all members of the community. Unhappily this Socialistic leaven infects, apparently unconsciously, much of the writing and speaking of the day, and therefore great care ought to be taken by the wise and thoughtful friends of the poor to guard against hasty and ill-considered proposals of a Socialistic tendency, because they will impede the settlement of the question by frightening those who possess property, on the one hand, into resistance to just and necessary reforms and by inflaming the minds of the poorest classes with impracticable expectations which, if realized, would simply destroy all social prosperity, and make their position worse than before, but the non-realization of which may from bitter disappointments goad them on to anarchy and crime.

But though we must guard against being carried into precipitate legislation by the present access of feeling, it would be most unwise to defer legislation till that feeling was past and gone. The proposal to refer the matter to a Committee is little better than playing with a most serious situation, and no statesman who addressed himself earnestly to the question would entertain it for a moment. There is no doubt about the existence or the extent of the evil requiring to be dealt with. There is no doubt about the fact that hundreds of thousands of the poorer classes live in houses utterly unfit for human habitation, that they pay for this miserable accommodation exorbitant rents, and that they are obliged from mere economy to crowd together in them like so many cattle, in complete disregard of the plainest dictates, not only of health, but of decency and morals. Nor is there any difficulty as to the remedy for this deplorable state of matters, at least so far as it falls within the province of legislation to supply a remedy. No Committee is needed to seek for it, and there



is therefore no pretext whatever for delay. The facts are known, and the part that may be borne with advantage by the State in the matter is quite clear. It is small, but it is not unimportant. In the first place, it is within the province of the State to enforce upon the various members of the community the strict performance of their several duties. In the next place, it is within its province to aid in the erection of suitable dwellings by advancing loans at moderate interest. This is about all the State can be required to do in the matter, and it goes, it is true, but a short way towards solving the problem. Much would remain to be done by other agencies of many kinds. Great part of the evil, for example, is due to causes of a moral character which are not amenable to legal decrees. The filthy surroundings of the people are in many cases only the reflection of their debased and filthy natures, and in these cases we cannot expect them to disappear till the natures they reflect are themselves changed. Mr. Sims mentions that "in some of the rooms the sanitary officer found pigs sleeping with the men, the women, and the children;" and adds that "the family did not feel any inconvenience, because the habits of the family and the pigs were in most matters essentially the same." To improve the nature of such families is beyond the direct power of the law, and, of course, till the nature of such families is improved the deepest cause of the evil has not been reached. But if the State cannot do all it can still do something, and it is important—and it is also happily possible—that it should do that something at once.

Before considering more particularly what remedies ought to be resorted to, let us first, however, form to ourselves a clear idea of the problem we have to face. It is computed that there exist in London alone forty thousand families (comprising a quarter of a million of persons) who occupy no more than a single room each. In this room the various members of the family necessarily spend great part of their time; they eat in it by day and sleep in it by night; the healthy, the sick, the dying, men, women, children, all indiscriminately together within the same four corners. In very many cases the evil is further aggravated by the unsanitary condition of the buildings themselves. Let us recapitulate some of the authentic cases brought recently before us. Take the following, for example, from "The Bitter Cry":—

"Every room in these rotten and reeking tenements houses a family, often two. In one cellar, a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother—three children, and four pigs! In another room, a missionary found a man ill with small-pox, his wife just recovering from her eighth confinement, and the children running about half naked and covered with dirt. Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child who had been dead thirteen days. Her husband, who was a cabman, had shortly

before committed suicide. Here lives a widow and her six children, including one daughter of twenty-nine, another of twenty-one, and a son of twenty-seven. Another apartment contains father, mother, and six children, two of whom are ill with scarlet fever. In another, nine brothers and sisters, from twenty-nine years of age downwards, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again, if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere. Where there are beds, they are simply heaps of dirty rags, shavings, or straw, but for the most part these miserable beings find rest only upon the filthy boards. The tenant of this room is a widow who herself occupies the only bed, and lets the floor to a married couple for 2s. 6d. per week. In many cases matters are made worse by the unhealthy occupations followed by those who dwell in these habitations. Here you are choked as you enter by the air laden with particles of the superfluous fur pulled from the skins of rabbits, rats, dogs, and other animals in their preparation for the furrier. Here the smell of paste and of drying match-boxes, mingling with other sickly odours, overpowers you; or it may be the fragrance of stale fish or vegetables, not sold on the previous day, and kept in the room overnight. Even when it is possible to do so, the people seldom open their windows, but if they did it is questionable whether much would be gained, for the external air is scarcely less heavily charged with poison than the atmosphere within."

Or take the following from Mr. Sims's articles in the *Daily News* :—

"T. Harborne, stonemason, occupies two dilapidated rooms, which are in a filthy condition. Has five children. Total weekly income through slackness, 8s. Rent, 4s. 6d.

"E. Williams, costermonger, two rooms in a court, which is a hotbed of vice and disease. Has eight children. Total earnings, 17s. Rent, 5s. 6d.

"T. Briggs, labourer, one room, four children. Rent, 4s. No furniture, all sleep on floor. Daughter answered knock, absolutely naked; ran in and covered herself with a sack.

"Mrs. Johnson, widow, one room, three children. Earnings, 6s. Rent, 3s. 6d.

"W. Leigh, fancy boxmaker, two awful rooms, four children. Earnings, 14s. Rent, 6s.

"H. Walker, hawker, two rooms, seven children. Earnings, 10s. Rent, 5s. 6d.

"R. Thompson, out of work, five children. Living by pawning goods and clothes. Wife drinks. Rent, 4s.

"G. Garrard, labourer, out looking for work, eight children. No income. Rent, 5s. 6d. Pawning last rags. No parish relief. Starving. Declines to go into workhouse.

"Mrs. Smith. Husband in gaol. One room, three children. She earns 6s. a week, and pays 2s. 6d. rent. The man has been away fourteen years for burglary. The day of his release he came home. (The manner in which the men coming from long terms of imprisonment find their wives is marvellous). The woman gave him what money she had, and he went out at once and got drunk. In the evening he came back—quarrelled with his neighbour, and stabbed a woman in a fight. He was taken to the police-station, tried, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment."

These extracts give some idea of the extreme and gross nature of the evil we have to cope with, and they show us, too—what it is



equally important to remember, though it is sometimes forgotten—that the causes of all this degraded state of poverty are very many and complex. This stands plainly out in the very face of these narratives. We need hardly even read between the lines to recognize it. There is manifestly much more here than scarcity of dwellings or heartlessness of landlords. Other and deeper forces are seen conspiring with these. Certainly no progress can be made without better house accommodation, but better house accommodation would meet hardly one of the cases mentioned in the above extracts. In most of them the people would be as miserable after getting cheaper or larger houses as they were before it. Their misery flows from deeper sources and must be checked by other methods. Take some of the cases mentioned in the first extract. There are in one cellar a father, mother, three children and four pigs; in another, a man ill with small-pox, a wife recovering from her eighth confinement, a dead child, and five living children naked and foul; in a third, a mother who turns her children out to the streets till long past midnight that she may use the room for her own immoral trade. Now, what better off would these people be if they had two rooms instead of one, and if they got them rent free into the bargain? In the first case the new room would be turned to account for keeping more pigs; in the second it would not be used at all, because the family had neither furniture nor fire to put into it; and in the third, it would only enable the prostitute mother to carry on a larger trade in vice. In fact, the more closely we scrutinize the evidence the more completely do we perceive that while better dwellings constitute a most essential part of the remedy, they are a long way from constituting the whole. The bad dwellings are after all scarcely more than a symptom, and in providing a remedy it is a mistake to stop short at the mitigation of symptoms; the real cure must be one that goes back to causes.

What, then, are the causes of the existing crisis? The following are the principal:—1st, The dissipated habits of parents and their selfish neglect of their children; 2nd, Gross remissness of landlords in suffering their houses to become unfit for human habitation; 3rd, The scarcity of house accommodation in particular quarters where large numbers of work-people are obliged to reside; 4th, Too rapid increase of population; 5th, Extreme poverty. With the fourth and fifth of these causes I do not propose to deal, because they are cause and effect, and because they are not directly amenable to legislative control.

The importance of the first cause specified is impressed upon us more and more strongly the more we consider the evidence. In fact, nothing lies nearer the root of the whole matter than the neglect by parents of their parental obligations, the infraction by fathers of

the just rights of their wives and children. This neglect, this injustice, the state of the law largely encourages, and a change of the law would largely correct. It is, therefore, not only one of the most influential causes of the existing situation, but it is a cause which falls directly within the province of the State to deal with, and which can be dealt with by the State with great effect. It is not too much to say that one-half of the degradation and misery that abound among the families of "horrible London" would never have existed, except that one, or it may be both, parents waste their substance in self-indulgence, and that one-half of it would permanently disappear if the law compelled those negligent parents to set aside an adequate portion of their earnings for the decent support of the families they have called into being. Take a fact like this: "In the district of the Euston Road," says the author of "The Bitter Cry," "there is one public-house to every 100 people, counting men, women and children." That is, there is one public-house in that district for every forty adults. Now, each of these houses must draw on an average £10 a week from its sales, more probably perhaps twice as much; but if it draws £10 a week, that means that it draws 10s. a week from every man in the district, and if every man in the district spends 10s. a week in drink alone, what wonder that the families are found starving? Here again a reduction of rent would make no difference whatever. The money saved off rent would only go to buy more drink. Mr. Sims mentions facts equally striking:—

"More than one-fourth of the daily earnings of the denizens of the slums goes over the bars of the public-houses and gin-palaces. To study the drink phase of this burning question let us take the districts from which I have drawn the facts and figures I have submitted to your readers in previous articles.

"On a Saturday night in the great thoroughfare adjacent there are three corner public-houses which take as much money as the whole of the other shops on both sides of the way put together. Butchers, bakers, greengrocers, clothiers, furniture dealers, all the caterers for the wants of the populace, are open till a late hour; there are hundreds of them trading round and about, but the whole lot do not take as much money as three publicans—that is a fact ghastly enough in all conscience. Enter the public-houses and you will see them crammed. Here are artisans and labourers drinking away the wages that ought to clothe their little ones. Here are the women squandering the money that would purchase food for the lack of which their children are dying. One group rivets the eye of an observer at once. It consists of an old grey-haired dame, a woman of forty, and a girl of about nineteen with a baby in her arms. All these are in a state which is best described as 'maudlin'—they have finished one lot of gin, and the youngest woman is ordering another round. It is a great-grandmother, grandmother, and a mother and her baby—four generations together—and they are all dirty and dishevelled and drunk, except the baby, and even that poor little mite may have its first taste of alcohol presently. It is no uncommon sight in these places to see a mother wet a baby's lips with gin and water. The process is called 'giving the young' un a taste,' and the baby's father will look on sometimes and enjoy the joke immensely.



"But the time to see the result of a Saturday night's heavy drinking in a low neighbourhood is after the houses are closed. Then you meet dozens of poor wretches reeling home to their miserable dens; some of them roll across the roadway and fall, cutting themselves till the blood flows. Every penny in some instances has gone in drink.

"One dilapidated ragged wretch I met last Saturday night was gnawing a baked potato. By his side stood a thinly clad woman bearing a baby in her arms, and in hideous language she reproached him for his selfishness. She had fetched him out of a public-house with his last halfpenny in his pocket. With that halfpenny he had bought the potato which he refused to share with her. At every corner the police are ordering or coaxing men and women to 'move on.' Between twelve and one it is a long procession of drunken men and women, and the most drunken seem to be those whose outward appearance betokens the most abject poverty."

Now here is one most fertile cause of poverty which it is perfectly practicable to check, and which is indeed virtually a consequence of defective legislation. If a man earning fair wages prefers poverty to temperance, that may be his own concern, but if he has children depending on him, is he to be allowed to drink them into poverty too? Have they no right to be protected? If they were illegitimate, the law would step in and declare that they must be supported out of their father's earnings. But the protection it extends to the illegitimate offspring, it refuses to extend to the legitimate. The father cannot be compelled at law to part with a farthing for their maintenance, unless they first go to the workhouse and so incur expense to the parish. He can then be sued for the recovery of this outlay, as a debt only, and he can immediately drag his children out again to starve, and so long as he can keep his family out of the workhouse—and they themselves will often endure extremities rather than go there—he may subject them to a tedious starvation by cold and hunger, with the most absolute impunity. He may be perfectly able to support them in comfort, but they live in filth and rags because he spends three-fourths of his wages on his own vicious gratification, and yet the law allows it out of false ideas of the parental authority which he so grossly abuses.

Is it any wonder that a condition of things like this should result in those abject and loathsome forms of misery whose existence society has just been so horrified to realize? What other issue could it have? Here is the description given in "The Bitter Cry:"—

"The child-misery that we behold is the most heartrending and appalling element in these disorders; and of this not the least is the misery inherited from the vice of drunken and dissolute parents, and manifest in the stunted, misshapen, and often loathsome objects that we constantly meet in these localities. From the beginning of their lives they are utterly neglected; their bodies and rags are all that remain; they are subjected to the most cruel treatment; many of them have never seen a green field, and do not know what it is to go beyond the streets immediately around them, and they often pass the whole day without a morsel of food."

Their diseased forms are a moving and repulsive protest against

the double neglect of which they are the natural offspring, the primary neglect of their parents, and the not less cruel and inexcusable neglect of an indifferent society. Two out of every five children in the low quarters of London are undergoing what in plain English is simply protracted murder; they are denied in many cases the simplest necessary nourishment of life by parents who earn enough to keep them in plenty—whose drink is indeed the blood of their children; they are left to grow up in conditions that make cleanliness, health, and morality almost impossible, when their natural guardians have means enough, if they liked, to train them in conditions the very opposite; and for all this nobody is held responsible and the law of a Christian country has no preventive measure and no punishment. If these wretched children live till they are five the law will then compel them to be educated, but from first to last it has no word about their being fed and clothed. Even starvation is legal if it is only slow enough and involves no sudden crisis. We visit with proper penalties acts of cruelty to a cat or a dog; are children, our own flesh and blood, to be the only outcasts from the law, the only living things that are denied all rights, and suffered not to come to its broad wing for protection?

Now, here is a reform of pressing, of even terrible, urgency. If we sow the wind by allowing the children of the present to fall into such unchildlike degradation, we must reap the whirlwind in the multiplied misery of the adults and families of the future. It is therefore the simplest dictate of self-preservation to forbid this neglect. Parents, by giving their children insufficient nourishment and shelter, expose them to the risk of disease, commit a greater crime than those who practise infanticide in China; they not only injure the child, but imperil the health of the community. But I do not take my stand here on this principle of social self-preservation. I plead for simple justice to the child. Have children no rights? In Christian England, apparently not, unless indeed they happen to be illegitimate. But if they have the misfortune to be born in the honourable wedlock recognized by law, they are the absolute property of their parents who may do what they will with their own. They may stint their children's food to pamper their own vices, they may herd them like pigs, and indeed with pigs, in damp and filthy cellars; they may send them to the street to bring back the gains of a premature prostitution to buy them more drink; they may do all this while they are earning plenty themselves, and yet the law refrains from interfering. Is parental authority the only despotism by divine right? Is it alone among all the powers of the earth too sacred to be curbed in the interests of right and justice? Is it imposing too great a limitation on this consecrated tyranny to ask that when the tyrant is able to



pay for his children's support, he shall be compelled by law to devote part of his wages to that purpose, and that when he is without means his children shall be temporarily withdrawn from a care that is no longer efficient until better days return? At present children are even forbidden admission to workhouses without their parents, but surely they have a right to independent consideration as well as the parents, and when they suffer from parental penury parochial authorities ought to be permitted to undertake their maintenance till the circumstances of the family improve, due precaution being of course taken against imposition on the part of parents who are perfectly able to pay for their support themselves.

The first remedy, then, for the present distressing state of affairs, is a law enforcing upon parents their responsibility for the decent maintenance of their legitimate offspring. Unless this remedy be introduced, any others will be of comparatively little value. It is demanded alike by justice, by mercy, and by self-interest, and it is the first condition of the permanent amelioration of the outcast poor.

The second remedy deals with a different cause of the existing situation—one that has been pretty exhaustively treated of by the various writers who have taken part in the discussion of this subject—the failure of landlords to keep their houses in a wholesome and habitable state. This cause is also one that falls plainly within the province of the State to deal with, and which, moreover, the State can deal with very effectively without much difficulty. It belongs to the functions of the State to see that the various individuals who own its jurisdiction adequately perform the obligations which their several positions and relations impose upon them, and it is among the primary obligations of owners of house property to maintain the houses they offer for hire in a state fit for human habitation. They owe this much to the tenants who are dependent on them for so fundamental a necessary of life as a house to live in, and they owe it at the same time to the community generally, whose health is imperilled by the unsanitary conditions in which many tenants are obliged to live. These propositions will not be denied in the abstract; the duties they inculcate, whether on the State or on house proprietors, have already been generally recognized by public opinion, and even by legislation; but though recognized they have, as a matter of fact, been very indifferently carried out, on account mainly of the exaggerated ideas that prevail regarding the rights of property, and of the vicious policy adopted of entrusting the execution of the law on the matter of dwellings to the local vestries, who are often subject to the direct influence of the very house proprietors whose offences have to be dealt with. Now, for this unhappy position of affairs, the remedy is neither far to seek nor difficult to apply. All that is needful is to place the execution of the law in the hands

of a body likely to be independent of undue influences; and such a body may be found at once—in London, in the Metropolitan Board of Works; in corporate towns, in their town councils; and in counties, in the magistrates; the practical administration of the work being in each case confided to a special committee, appointed by the general body and answerable to it. It should be the duty of the police, of relieving officers, and, indeed, of every citizen, to inform this central sanitary board or committee of any houses in a vicious condition that come under their personal observation, and on receiving such information it should be the duty of the sanitary authority to institute an adequate inspection, and in the event of the complaint being found well-grounded, to require the landlord to put the house in order within one month, or such time as may seem reasonable. If the landlord fail to do so within the time fixed, then the sanitary authority ought to be empowered to do it themselves, and deduct the expenses so incurred as a first charge from the rent till it was paid up. There need be no scruple about doing this, because the owners of such houses have forfeited all claim to very tender consideration. The high rents they previously pocketed were really the price of blood, wrung in the first instance out of the health, happiness, and often the very lives of the unfortunate tenants, and paid in the long run out of public taxation for relief of the misery and pauperism they have produced. These proprietors are, therefore, in no way entitled to murmur against public interference of this kind with the management of their property. Still less are they entitled to demand compensation for the expenditure that may have been incurred for putting their house in a condition of simple habitability, even though this may have involved its complete demolition and reconstruction. For it ought to be illegal to offer it for hire in any other state. And of course the idea of granting them compensation for the exorbitant rents they were able to charge is yet more preposterous. They might as well claim compensation for the extra gains they might make by letting their rooms as a home for thieves or a shelter for prostitution. Society is surely not so foolish as to pay people for losing the advantage they derived from complicity with its own enemies. No, they ought to be made to feel they are let off easily when they escape positive punishment for profiting from practices that are pernicious to its welfare. And if it is folly to compensate an owner for the loss of the revenue he derived from converting his property into a den of thieves, is it wisdom to compensate him for a like loss when he makes his property a den of fever? In simple self-protection society is entitled to require him to put his house in a safe and wholesome state before he offers it for hire, and if for this purpose the house has to be pulled down to its very foundations, he has no just claim to any higher



price for his property than the natural value of the land on which it is built. Yet from an exaggerated and indiscriminating respect for the rights of property owners who virtually trafficked in disease have appeared to be justified in demanding full compensation even on extravagant rents accruing from improper and pernicious causes; and this utterly unwarrantable principle of compensation has unfortunately had the effect of deterring authorities from utilizing the existing Dwellings' Acts, and of virtually making these Acts little better than dead letter.

To avoid all such consequences in the future, the new Act should first define in clear terms what is exactly meant by a dwelling of good sanitary condition—an expression which ought plainly to include the soundness of the materials of which the dwelling is built, its bricks, wood, and roof, the dryness of its foundations, the efficiency of its drainage and ventilation, adequacy of its water-supply and other conveniences for the number of its tenants. If a house is declared to be too bad to stand repairing, it ought to be ordered to be pulled down, and the land and materials sold at their natural value.

I shall now pass on to the third of the causes I have mentioned as conspiring to produce the present overcrowding and miserable condition of the poor. In some districts there is a positive dearth of house accommodation, and this the State may help in important ways to rectify. One of the chief obstacles to a better supply at present is the high compensation that must be given to owners for what would be virtually only the site to build houses on. But for this, many courts and lanes would have been cleared and blocks of suitable dwellings erected on the vacant spaces. Now in any future Act the terms or principle of compensation ought to be expressly declared to be compensation upon the actual value of what is taken, and this ought to be assessed, not by the expensive process of a jury, but by an official valuator, subject to a Court of Appeal. Mr. Chamberlain would deny this right of appeal, but that seems to be unjust, especially on so complicated a subject as the valuation of land. Another way in which the State may competently and usefully intervene here is to employ its credit to provide money for the purpose at a moderate interest—say 3 per cent. per annum, with the requirement that the whole principal be repaid in fifty years. If this were done, the poor, who are obliged by the exigencies of their work to live in the central portions of the city, might soon be decently housed without any loss to the community.

The objection is sometimes made that the poorest outcasts would not be reached by these proposals, but the objection is futile, because while it may be true that the best-off and most deserving of them would profit most from the new arrangements, there would be more

room left for the others also, and section after section of them might thus be raised. Besides, if parental responsibility were enforced a much larger portion of this residuum would be able to pay for the better accommodation provided by the new Act, and those that were still unable to do so could be more easily cared for.

It would also be important to provide a proper authority for sanctioning the plans of buildings proposed to be erected on State advances, so as to avoid extravagance and inadequacy. An architect's office, such as is attached to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Department, would suffice, and plans of the best models might be seen there.

Lord Grey proposes to make the owner of the house responsible, not only for its sound construction in conformity with sanitary requirements, but also for its being kept free from overcrowding, and the suggestion is well worthy of attention. His lordship says:—

“ But what I regard as the really important principle of the law with regard to the latter is that it makes the persons who let lodgings in these houses responsible for preventing them from being used in a manner injurious to health or decency, and this principle might, as it seems to me, be applied with equal advantage to houses let to working-men. For this purpose I would enact that the owners of all houses or rooms let by the month or year should be held responsible for their condition, and should be made liable to a fine for every room they had let which should be proved to have been occupied in a manner prejudicial to health or decency, whether the evil arose from defects in the building or from overcrowding and neglect of cleanliness by the tenants. For the purposes of this law the immediate lessors to the actual occupants should be considered the owners. In many cases these immediate lessors would only hold the houses they sub-let from a superior landlord, and it would, no doubt, be necessary to make provision for enabling them to call upon these superior landlords to take upon themselves their fair share of the cost of keeping the houses in the good order required by the law. But this is a detail into which there is no occasion for now entering; it is sufficient to observe that the immediate lessor would be the proper person for the public authority to deal with as representing the whole interest in the property, however this interest might be divided between two or more persons. I have said that the owner—*i.e.*, as I have explained, the immediate lessor—should be made responsible for not allowing any room let by him to be occupied in an improper manner. This responsibility I should propose to enforce by rendering the owner liable to a fine of, say, 2*s.* for every day during which a room let by him should be proved to have been in a state prejudicial to health or decency. It may, perhaps, be thought hard that the owner of a house should be fined because his tenant had crammed too many people into it, or kept it in a filthy state; but it must be remembered that this regulation is only intended to apply to houses or rooms let by the week or month, and that the landlord has complete control over tenants holding for so short a term, since, if they refuse to occupy their rooms properly, he can speedily get rid of them. The control he thus possesses it is only just to the public that he should be compelled to exercise. It has been well said that the owner of a house has no more right to make it a centre from which disease and disregard to decency are spread through his neighbourhood,



than a butcher has to diffuse disease by selling putrid meat. And it is obvious that the only way in which, in the interest of the public, abuses can be prevented is by holding the person responsible for them who has the power of preventing them."

Now in making the above suggestions it is not for a moment contended that the adoption of any or of all of them would instantly extinguish all the evils of outcast London, nor is it thought that any instantaneous remedy for them can be discovered. Even a cursory examination of the evidence already laid before the public on the subject makes it only too painfully manifest that many of the evils that abound would not be so much as scotched though better house accommodation were provided and stricter parental responsibility enforced to-morrow. Take the following cases mentioned by Mr. Sims :—

"F. Barker. One dreadful room, three children; father and mother both criminals. Have been getting three and six months at intervals for years. Sometimes both in gaol together. Their neighbours take the children and mind them till parents come out.

"W. Moggs, Raspberry Court—a sweet name for a hideous place—one room, four children. Rent 4s. Father professional thief. Constantly in and out of prison.

"These cases are fair samples of the class of people we call 'the abject poor,' people who will not go to the workhouse under any circumstances, and who are at present herding together in the rookeries we are all agreed must be demolished and replaced by something better. Add to them the people carrying on objectionable trades in one or two rooms—and who must carry them on to live wherever they go—and the reformers will have a fair idea of the tenants for whom houses must be provided somewhere if their present dwellings are to be pulled down. At the first glance it seems almost impossible to cater for them. Fancy turning these people into nice clean rooms and expecting 5 per cent. for your money. Besides, putting their habits on one side, they are never sure of regular work. They may pay the rent one week, and be penniless the next. Then 5 per cent. philanthropy must turn them out, having given them a glimpse of Paradise which will make the return to Hades a terrible trial to those who have had their better instincts aroused.

"The large families these people invariably have not only keep them in grinding poverty all their lives, but the over-population floods the labour market and keeps the scale of wages down to starvation point. While supply so enormously exceeds demand, how can any market be in a healthy condition?

"Men and women, and boys and girls, all eager for something to do, are to be had by thousands, and labour is at a discount. If the supply diminished, and hands were more in proportion to the work to be done, labour would be at a premium."

It is evident that cases like these could not be overtaken by any of the remedies proposed here. But then, though these remedies cannot do everything, that is no reason why we should throw them aside as if they could do nothing. They do their part, and if they can do no more, still what they do is important and indispensable. It is only part by part that improvement marches, and every gain

made at one corner is a fresh vantage and opportunity for attacking better what remains. The State altogether may not have much within its right or its power in this matter, but if it does that well and does it quickly, it will facilitate materially the eventual solution which the problem can only finally receive through the united efforts of statesmen, philanthropists, and Christian workers.

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DRAFT OF SUGGESTED ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

Whereas many parents, earning fair wages, habitually neglect to provide for their children, and leave them destitute of necessary food and clothing, while they spend their means in vicious self-indulgence, be it hereby enacted from henceforth :—

That every parent be legally required to provide to the utmost of his ability and in accordance with his position in life for the reasonable wants of his children, for their food, clothing, lodging, and other requisites of healthy moral and physical growth ;

That when any child or children may be found insufficiently provided with these necessities it shall be the duty of the police, of the relieving officers, and of all private citizens to give information of the same to the magistrate of the locality, who shall thereupon summon the parents of such child or children before him to answer for the state in which they have been found living ;

That in the event of the parental neglect being proved, the magistrate be authorized to imprison the offending parent or parents for a term not exceeding one month, or to issue an order requiring the said parent or parents to pay regularly into the hands of the parish authorities, or of some person appointed for the purpose by the magistrate himself, such a sum as the magistrate, after due consideration of the circumstances of the parent or parents aforesaid, may judge reasonable for the due maintenance of the children ;

That in the event of failure to comply with this order, the said parent or parents may be proceeded against again upon a second information, and sentenced to not less than six months' imprisonment.

Whereas many landlords fail to supply the houses they let with the sanitary requisites to fit them for human occupation, and allow them to fall out of repair and to become overcrowded with occupants to the serious danger of the public health, be it hereby enacted—

That from henceforth it shall be a legal offence for any owner of property to offer houses for hire or allow houses to be occupied that are not in a sound sanitary condition ;

That by a house in a sound sanitary condition shall be understood one in which the foundations and walls are dry, the materials of the



fabric sound, the roof watertight, the closets, draining, water-supply and ventilation sufficient for the number of occupants ;

That it shall be the duty of the police, of relieving officers and all citizens to give information to the authorities regarding any buildings violating these requirements that may come under their personal observation ;

That upon receiving such information the authorities shall forthwith institute an inspection, and if the information is confirmed then they shall require the owner to remedy the defects of the house or houses in question within a period of one month, and in the event of his failing to do so, that they shall then order the said defects to be repaired at the public expense ; and to meet this expense, that the authorities be empowered to deduct it as a first charge from the rent of the buildings, when let, or if necessary to sell the buildings and deduct it from the price obtained ;

That where the sanitary authorities shall think it desirable to clear spaces entirely of the buildings situated upon them, and to rebuild others in place of them, they shall be invested with full power to compel the owners of said buildings to sell them for such a sum as an independent valuer shall judge to be their value ;

That this estimate be based not upon the rents received for them, but upon the value of the land on which the buildings stand, and of the materials of which they are composed ; and that appeal from this valuation be allowed to be made to a valuer appointed by the Local Government Board ;

That the sanitary authority which shall discharge these functions shall be—in London, a committee of the Metropolitan Local Government Board ; in towns having a mayor and council, a committee appointed by such mayor and council ; and in rural districts, a committee appointed by the magistrates ;

That to prevent vexatious information being lodged, any party lodging the same, not being one of the police or the poor law officers, shall be liable to be required by the magistrate to pay compensation when his complaint shall not be found just.

FRANCIS PEEK.

## THE BOARD OF TRADE AND MERCHANT SHIPPING.

**T**HE grass is not growing beneath the feet of Mr. Chamberlain. While still busily occupied, as he must be, in settling the administrative appointments and details of his sweeping Bankruptcy legislation of last year, and before his Amendments of the Patent Laws can have taken their final shape, he is hard at work upon that most difficult, most complex, and most anxious of all the executive duties intrusted to the Government—the regulation of our vast and still expanding system of merchant shipping. The Minister whose image is depicted upon the mind of a certain young Conservative statesman as that of a Sybarite voluptuously reposing in a palace near Birmingham, is in reality, and beyond all question, approving himself the most energetic and laborious of all Board of Trade Presidents. It is sometimes a question whether certain minds are more susceptible politically to illusion or to hallucination; but if we may accept Mr. Francis Galton's definitions,\* and regard illusions as "fanciful perceptions of objects actually seen," and hallucinations as "appearances wholly due to fancy," we shall do Lord George Hamilton no injustice in classing his perceptions under the latter denomination.

Nearly two years ago Mr. Chamberlain put forward a Departmental Memorandum containing suggestions for the establishment of a Merchant Shipping Council, these suggestions resting upon two broad principles, or views of what seemed desirable—viz., 1. The co-operation of the large number of respectable and experienced ship-owners in the framing of regulations for binding the minority of owners who were either untrustworthy or inexperienced; and (2) such changes in the laws of marine insurance, &c., as would make the

\* "Inquiries into Human Faculty," pp. 169-70.



safety of the ship and crew an object of substantial pecuniary interest to the owners. This scheme, worked out in some detail, was subjected to the criticism of shipowners and others, many of whom gave it their careful consideration, and the result has been that the President of the Board of Trade, while adhering to the two main principles just stated, has framed modified proposals which, from the general acceptance which I find they are receiving, will probably pass into law during the next Session of Parliament. The primary proposal is to establish in each principal port a local Marine Court, consisting of two persons, one of whom will represent the Board of Trade, the other representing, and being elected by, the shipowners of the port. When any question between a shipowner and a Board of Trade surveyor arises in a port, it will be referred to this "Court of First Instance:" if its two members agree—either in stopping a ship, or in allowing her to proceed to sea, for example—their order will be final; if they disagree, the matter in question will be referred to a new body, which it is proposed to create, under the title of "Merchant Shipping Commission," this body being analogous in standing and authority to the Railway and Canal Commission, which has worked so well, but with even a wider range of duty than that Commission. This part of the proposed new legislation is, to my mind, by far the most important, although I can quite understand the grounds upon which others may attach the greater importance to the insurance question, which latter I will first briefly consider.

To many persons whose minds and sympathies are moved by the appalling losses of life and of property at sea that go on recurring, this question must present itself: How can the cost of these ever-accumulating losses be borne, seeing that losses, whether of life or of property, are usually attended by pecuniary consequences which it is difficult, often impossible, to bear? Had there been no special legislation in relief of shipowners, it would have been difficult to answer this question. The liability of the owner, under the common law, would have remained so great, that owner after owner, of the weaker and impecunious sort, must have been put out of existence long ago, and only the stronger, the wealthier, and the more capable classes of shipowners could have survived. Probably individual ownership would almost have ceased, or would have been sustained only by some form of co-operative action in which men of little or no capital could not have participated. But the weak, the impecunious, the incapable, and even the reckless shipowner enjoys relief from the consequences of his losses in several ways. The first relief which he obtains is, of course, that of insurance, which is open to every one, but which works with peculiar advantage, in some respects, to such owners. The items in which he recovers, in case of a loss,

more than he has lost are thus set forth in the last Board of Trade Memorandum issued under the authority of Mr. Chamberlain: 1. The ship deteriorates during the voyage, but he receives the value as it stood at its commencement; 2. He insures and receives the cost of stores, provisions, outfit and money advanced for wages twice over, once in the insurance of the ship which is held to include them, and once again in the gross freight, which of course includes all the expenses employed in earning it; 3. He receives in the gross freight all the expenses of the voyage subsequent to the loss, which he is saved by the loss from paying. An illustration worked out by Sir Thomas Farrer, and laid before the Unseaworthy Ships' Commission, is now reproduced by the Board of Trade, and therefore may be presumed to have escaped successful controversion; it shows that an owner who, on a return voyage to Calcutta successfully performed, would receive in hand £33,760, would receive that amount, and £5,150 besides, provided his ship were lost at sea after completing one-fourth of the voyage only.

"This is what the law gives in the case of an open policy, and what the law gives in the case of an open policy it is the ordinary practice of shipowners and underwriters to adopt in the case of a valued policy; and therefore the illustration above given is applicable to the case of ordinary insurances. It is clear therefore that the law, and the practice as encouraged and sanctioned by law, do, even where the dealings are perfectly fair, honest and careful, not only save the shipowner from loss, but turn that loss into gain."

The last memorandum of the Board of Trade, from which I quote these words, carries the case much further, showing that with an elastic system of valuation, under which an old ship may continue insured at her original value, very much larger advantages may be obtained by the loss of a ship than by her preservation; adding,

"Bad as the cases are, there are probably few in which the owner sends the ship to sea intending to lose her; what he does is to run her as cheaply as possible, to load her as deeply as possible, to spend nothing on her, and get as much as possible out of her. So long as all goes well enormous profits are made, perhaps even the twenty per cent. per annum which the authors of the single ship companies held out as a bait; but there comes a gale, such as those of Oct. 1882; the ship disappears with all hands, and no one is liable; the owners put into their pockets much more than the capital which they have lost, and the reckless and wicked game goes on afresh."

But outside of the insurance question the shipowner enjoys advantages, secured to him by statute, which other carriers and owners do not enjoy. His legal liability as compared with his liability under the common law, has become greatly reduced, unless personal fault can be proved against him; he is exempted from liability for pilots under circumstances in which the responsibility for the ship rests in other cases upon persons other than the pilot (for example, upon the captain of one of Her Majesty's ships, notwith-



standing the pilot's presence and charge); and he (the owner) is allowed to arrange by contract other avoidances of liability which the law would not sustain in any case but his. In short, because of the special risks and perils incidental to transport by sea, there have sprung up various exemptions from liability, both statutory and other, which the shipowner alone enjoys in the pursuit of his business. The question now arises, is it to the public interest to continue all or any of these special exemptions, seeing that coincidentally with them, and because of them, there has also sprung up a system of premiums upon ignorance, upon negligence, and even occasionally upon what is still worse, which lead, it is believed, to needless sacrifices both of property and of life?

It seems to me that the answer which the public will be tempted to give to this question will differ from that which the shipowners will offer. I venture to predict, nevertheless, a very wide-spread acquiescence with the main purpose of Mr. Chamberlain—that of making the safety of a ship and her crew an object of substantial pecuniary interest to the owners. It is repugnant to public sentiment and against public policy, for the State to participate in a system which makes the sacrifice of life and property a means of gain; and, in these days, with a free Parliament in full operation, the State in some degree participates in the system all the while it tolerates it. Mr. Chamberlain, of whose skill in gauging both popular and Parliamentary sentiment we have had many proofs, will not fail to secure general and hearty support in his desire to get this, his main principle, confirmed. So far as this principle affects the matter, the Merchant Shipping Bill, which will soon be before Parliament, it is presumed, is certain of its second reading.

But when the Bill passes into Committee, every clause of its provisions bearing upon the pecuniary liability of the owner, and his right to insure, will be most jealously, and not unnaturally, scanned, because, while no conscientious owner would wish to retain even the chance opportunity of making a profit out of the destruction of life and property, the owner's risks under the common law, were they renewed, would be truly formidable, and in the very nature of the case such as ordinary traders are not liable to. The determination of the owner's liability will therefore branch out into two parts, one of which will have to do with the removal of all incentives to recklessness, more especially in matters of insurance; and the other with the retention of all such protections as are necessary, even for the most capable and substantial owners, in carrying on the trade of the world over the surface of the sea. We have here a problem which, whatever may be the provisions of the Government Bill, will doubtless have to find its final detailed solution in one of those Grand Committees of the House of Commons which have proved so

well adapted for such purposes. The Bankruptcy Bill afforded Mr. Chamberlain an opportunity of showing how a clever Minister, who both knows his own mind and is capable of discerning from point to point what is reasonable and fair in the views of others, can turn the Grand Committee to account by means of fruitful and reproductive discussions; the Merchant Shipping Bill will furnish a similar opportunity, and it may be hoped with an equally fortunate result.

One thing seems perfectly clear, and that is, that the *object* of the proposed legislation touching liability ought to receive the approval of shipowners generally, for the few reckless traders are in every way the worst enemies of the shipowning body. It would be to the interest, one would suppose—to the natural and legitimate interest—of substantial and respectable owners to assist the State in withdrawing from incompetent and reckless men every exceptional privilege which they enjoy. This is not, however, the course which some pursue. Mr. Nathaniel Dunlop, of Glasgow, in a published letter addressed to the President of the Board of Trade, says that if there be any owners who conduct their business in conscious disregard of safety, they must be very few indeed, adding, “the possibly criminal class of shipowners dwindles into insignificance, and the assumption that much of the trade is done in deliberate disregard of safety is erroneous.” He must forgive me for saying that this language does not appear so clear and convincing as could be wished. I could understand the contention that such men as guilty owners do not exist, although it would be quite impossible to accept it, for it would be contrary to many known facts. But how it is possible for any criminal class of owners, if such there be, to “dwindle into insignificance,” I cannot understand; and the suggestion that the deliberate disregard of human life on the part of even a very small number of owners would be an insignificant matter, coming from a gentleman who writes on behalf of shipowners generally, is calculated to bring their views under suspicion. I am not concerned to defend all that the Board of Trade have said in recent circulars; I shall presently have occasion to pass some criticisms upon certain of their remarks; but it seems to me that it is a very great mistake indeed for any one to presume that the trenchant statements put forth with the sanction of the President touching reckless ownership can be disposed of by first so narrowing them down as to apply them only to those persons who sometimes deliberately seek to cast away ships, and then questioning the existence of any such class at all. Mr. Plimsoll, with all his drawbacks, was strong enough in 1875 to sweep away all such rejoinders to his representations, and we may be perfectly certain that Mr. Chamberlain, even as an individual member of Parliament, and still more as



a responsible Minister of the Crown, will readily set aside all such answers to his carefully-prepared statements.

The fact is, and it is perfectly well known, that there are circumstances which invite much speculative trading on the sea, and the common run of men would have to change their natures if they failed to yield at times to the temptations which shipowning often presents to them. Some of them—it is safe and satisfactory to say, some few of them only—seek to make the very most of their chances, and have regard solely to possible profits, whatever the risks. But a far larger number, who are not unmindful of the lives and property committed to their care, but are nevertheless urged by pecuniary considerations to make their business profitable, fall short of that stern and close control over their undertakings which alone can avert danger, leaving more to others than can, with a proper regard to safety, be intrusted to them. In short, however little creditable it may be either to our Christianity or to our civilization, the competitions of modern trade break down many of those protections which both our Christianity and our civilization would preserve if they could, and no satisfactory conclusions can be reached by those persons who ignore this manifest state of things, or deny that the State is bound to do its best to avert its worst evils. On the other hand, it is obvious that whatever is done must be done with due regard to those conditions—and there are such conditions—which make shipowning, at its best, a more or less hazardous business. It is difficult to see how this object can be better accomplished than by asking Parliament to affirm the principle that all premiums and inducements to reckless ownership shall be, as far as possible, withdrawn, and afterwards to apply itself, with the aid of the many shipowners who sit in the House of Commons, to such a settlement of clauses as would leave the honest and capable owner everywhere free to conduct his business in his own way, within the limits of that principle. This is the course shadowed forth in Mr. Chamberlain's circulars, and it will command the approval of most reasonable persons. There is nothing whatever in his antecedents to justify the fear that he will prove either unable or unwilling to sympathize with the legitimate wishes of shipowners, or regardless in any degree of the sensitive conditions, so to speak, under which our great maritime trade has come to be one of the wonders of the world.

The legislation proposed in the other branch of the new scheme of the President of the Board of Trade is of the most sweeping description, and covers the whole ground over which so many contests between the Board of Trade, on the one hand, and shipowners and men of science and of technical skill on the other, have been fought. In the November number of this Review I made

reference to the public demand which is now being made for such changes in the management of the mercantile marine work of the Board of Trade as would enable it to influence that marine for good in many ways, direct and indirect, and I confess that on reading the last Memorandum of the Board, I began to fear lest our last state in these matters might be worse than our first. When I found the Board of Trade telling us that there may be a danger in too much science; that it is not necessary to calculate one's centre of gravity in order to stand upright, and that the philosopher who guided his walk by the stars fell into a well, we naturally begin to feel less surprise at the past, and less hope for the future, than ever. We could not forget that it is precisely the most practical men who have drawn attention in the most urgent manner to some of the defects in merchant ships which the Board of Trade have passed by unnoticed, and that it is just such remarks as the Board now make that have done much to produce the want of confidence which was becoming so general. I may be supposed, as the author of the *Daphne* Report, to have a special interest in the remark which the Board now think it worth while to make, to the effect that "to some untutored laymen it may not seem an absolutely new discovery to find that a body floating high out of water is liable to capsize;" but I quote the words as a timely illustration of that want of scientific discernment which have marked too many of these Board of Trade productions. An "untutored layman," acting upon the idea that every vessel floating high out of water is liable to capsize, might naturally be expected to impose upon shipbuilders very unnecessary expenses in sinking ships deeper; whereas a man of technical skill would know perfectly well that the condition of being high out of the water often attends the very maximum amount of stability, and is only dangerous when associated with other conditions. It is to miss the whole point and value of such cases as that of the *Daphne* to fail to see in what way exceptional danger is manifested by them.

But it would be wrong to dwell upon these minor manifestations of difference between the Board of Trade view and my own in matters of this nature, when a great and radical change of procedure is proposed for public consideration, and therefore I pass on to notice the purport and scope of the new scheme. And here it must be frankly acknowledged that, after taking pains to inform myself as fully and as authoritatively as possible respecting the contemplated working of the new system, I have come to the conclusion that the present proposals deserve, and will receive, the hearty support of nearly all those who, like myself, have long desired to see a new departure. The President and high officers of the Board of Trade are manifestly aware that the changes proposed involve the surrender



of many of those powers of interference with, and control over, the mercantile marine with which the last Parliament endowed them, and they take very great pains to show, and expend no little eloquence upon showing, how impossible it is for a Government Department to exercise a minute control over so vast a service as the mercantile marine of the country has become. There may be persons—there probably are—who advocate this extended control; but I believe they are both less numerous and less influential than seems to be supposed. The author, or authors, of the last Board of Trade Memorandum make the mistake of thinking that all those who have urged the best possible fulfilment of the legislation of 1875-6 are necessarily advocates of extreme Government interference. But this is by no means true. Speaking for myself, I may say that, while urging in the Session of 1875 that the interference upon which the House of Commons was resolved should be made as useful as possible, both in its form and in its methods of application; and while deploring, as I have since done, the employment upon so serious a duty of persons not thoroughly qualified to discharge it, I feel myself perfectly free to welcome any proposals which will give an increase of safety, while reducing the direct interference of the Board with the construction, equipment, and working of ships. In their last Memorandum (which I have so often to refer to) the Board paint a picture of a Government Department with an all-sufficient staff and an all-wise Minister at its head “guiding, warning, managing the Mercantile Marine;” it is a beautiful picture, say they, “but alas! it is a dream; it is not English, and it is not practicable.” It is a dream, no doubt, but it is a dream that, so far as I know, was dreamt by no one outside of Whitehall Gardens. This is a matter, however, upon which it is not at all necessary to dwell now that the dream is dispelled, and a vastly better scheme is offered to our consideration.

The whole of the administrative section, so to speak, of Mr. Chamberlain’s new proposals is dominated by one idea, or rather by one purpose—that of directly associating the large body of responsible shipowners of this country with the Government in the future operations of the Board of Trade upon merchant shipping affairs; and surely no object can be more legitimate or more statesmanlike than this. It may not be very reconcilable with, and certainly is not the outcome of, any abstract theory of government; but it is eminently English, and eminently characterized by that practical sense which has always weighed more with our Parliaments and people than any abstract theory could weigh. As regards the Local Marine Courts, or Courts of First Instance, which will practically work in many cases without any of the formalities of a Court, their operation will be this: the Local Marine Board, or the shipowners of a

port, as the case may be, will elect one of the two members of the Court, who will be paid either by fixed salary or by fees, "probably in the first instance by fees, with a fixed minimum salary." The other member would be the Board of Trade officer of the port. Whenever any shipowner or his representative is dissatisfied with the course which the Board of Trade officer is taking in respect of his ship, he will require that the representative of the body of shipowners shall be appealed to. The two members of the local Court will then meet and confer, and, when necessary, take evidence, and then one of two things must follow: either they will agree or they will differ; in the former case, they will issue an order which will be binding upon all parties; in the latter case, they will refer the question to the Central Shipping Commissioners, who will constitute the Court of Appeal, and who will give a binding decision.

That this arrangement ought to satisfy, and will satisfy, the great body of shipowners seems pretty certain. It is true that Mr. Dunlop, whom I have quoted before, recommends an alternative local tribunal composed wholly of representative shipowners, and says: "I believe a Court, composed exclusively of elected representative shipowners, assisted by a legal assessor, with its proceedings open to the public, could be safely trusted to regulate the conduct of the shipping trade in the matters referred to in the memorandum." It is needless to consider whether such a Court could be safely trusted or not; the answer to the proposal is, that it most assuredly would not be trusted by those whose interests conflict or compete with those of the shipowner. It is not to be for a moment supposed that either the country or the Legislature would listen to a proposal which provides that, when a number of seamen, or even a single seaman, appeals to his country for protection against being sent to sea in a ship which he believes to be dangerously overladen and likely to founder, his country will refer him to a Court of shipowners only, whose aggregate interests, to say the least, are, or are supposed to be, in hourly competition with the aggregate interests of their crews. It is absolutely necessary that in any local shipping Court there should be an adequate representation of interests other than those of the shipowner.

The question that will arise in connection with the proposed Local Marine Courts will be whether a single Board of Trade representative, with no more influence than the shipowning representative, furnishes an adequate representation both of the public interest and of the interest of the crews employed. It may be not unnaturally argued that the crews need as much, and as direct, representation as the owners, and that a Board of Trade officer represents neither party in particular, but the public interest only. It appears to me, however, that this would be a misconception of



the scheme proposed. That scheme, although it takes the particular form which is likely to suggest the above objection, does not put the election of a member of the Court into the hands of the Local Marine Board or of the shipowners solely as a means of representing a class interest. When a ship is about to proceed to sea she contains other lives than those of the seamen, and she embodies interests in which the seamen have neither risk nor responsibility. When the owner is able to recover after a loss the bare value of his venture, such are the exigencies of trade, that the loss of his ship and the interruption of his business may involve the ruin of himself and family. And, apart altogether from the owner and from the crew, the safety of our merchant marine is of direct importance to multitudes of persons. Now, whatever may be the danger of leaving individual owners to do as they please, it is certain that shipowners, acting in their corporate capacity, and electing a person to deal publicly with all kinds of shipping questions, will, in a very large sense, bring to bear upon their choice precisely that knowledge and experience which are valuable to other interests; and, therefore, although elected by owners, the elected member of the new Court will represent a great deal more (especially in business knowledge and experience) than the narrower interest of the owner *qua* owner, and will scarcely represent at all any dangerous interest which some owners now possess. There is a very true, and a very broad, sense therefore in which the one elected member of the new Local Court will represent shipping interests generally, which state of things would be much interfered with if the principle of election were extended further, or if the number of those composing the Court were increased. Besides this, any increase in the numbers of the Court, and any extension of the elective principle, would tend to deprive the new Court of its simplicity and power of prompt action, which are so very necessary where so many cases are likely to arise. "The number of ships which leave the Tyne on a busy day is not less than 70, and of those which leave the Mersey and of those which leave Cardiff scarcely less, and so on at other ports. The number of those which leave London on an ordinary day exceeds 200; on a busy day, 300." It is manifest that a Local Court which is to deal with such a marine as this must be small, and therefore capable of immediate action, and any increase of the proposed number of two would imperil its efficiency. The Board of Trade officer, possessing an equal voice with the other member of the Court, will furnish that guarantee of independence which is necessary, and will virtually and necessarily, from the nature of the case, be before everything the protector of the seaman, since his function is to make seaworthiness his primary care. In these "Courts of First Instance," therefore, it seems to me that the

President of the Board of Trade has devised a system, the simplicity and promise of which will insure its general adoption.

But it is obvious that cases must arise, and frequently arise, upon which the two members of the Local Marine Court will be unable to agree; and this want of agreement will probably occur much oftener in some Courts than in others, according to the style and character of the two men composing the Court. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that in some ports the elected, and in others the Government, member will prove the stronger man of the two, and have his own way oftener; and this state of things can only be remedied by the operation of a powerful central body. This very suggestion touches upon a ground of anxiety which, I am glad to say, my inquiries have dispelled. It would never be satisfactory to the country to know that a very different system prevailed, say on the Tyne and at Cardiff, and that ships which were pronounced safe as regards load at one port, and allowed to proceed to sea, were pronounced unsafe at another port when carrying precisely the same load. Yet all the time the two members of each of the Local Courts agreed, there would be no appeal to the higher Court. When the two members of the Court disagree, there must, of course, be an appeal; but we here see that there may be ground for some sort of action on the part of the Shipping Commissioners at times even when there is no local disagreement between the two members of a Court, but when there is a marked disagreement between the practice of two separate Courts at two different ports. This establishes the necessity for making the Merchant Shipping Commission something more than a Court of Appeal, and for so constituting it, and so relating it to the Board of Trade itself, as to enable it to regulate and harmonize the working of the whole system.

And here I think will be found the most valuable element of all Mr. Chamberlain's proposals in this matter. The want that has so long been felt everywhere has been that of just such a central body as is proposed, wholly devoted to merchant shipping, towards which body all questions affecting the safety of merchant ships, and more especially of the more dangerous of their number (*viz.*, those devoted to the carriage of cargo), would naturally gravitate, and from which would emanate the results of the most careful investigation which can be applied to every question that comes before the Shipping Courts. These results would take two forms: 1. Decisions upon all cases of appeal; 2. Suggestions for the consideration and guidance of the Board of Trade in carrying out its multifarious executive duties. The Commission would also be a body to which the Board of Trade could refer all such questions concerning merchant shipping as presented great difficulty, and needed very special consideration. I believe I am correct in saying that



none of the above duties will be regarded as lying outside the scope of the Commissioners, although the only way in which there will be any direct intervention on their part with the business of the ports would be that of issuing its decisions as a Court in Appeal cases. This withholding of the Commissioners from the vexed questions of Board of Trade administration, while securing for them the necessary independence of a Court, would be an immense relief to the executive officers of the Board of Trade, both in London and at the ports, because the President of the Board of Trade would have in the Commissioners an independent and judicial body whom he might consult whenever serious difficulties of administration arose. At present it is impossible to fail to sympathize with the position of the Board of Trade officers at Whitehall, upon whom are laid the interpretation and enforcement of Acts of Parliament which are openly resisted by some shipowners, and which, whether enforced or not, the officers themselves regard as unavoidably vexatious. Part of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme will doubtless be to repeal some of these Acts; another part, as we have seen, is to bring the knowledge and responsibility of shipowners into operation in aid of the reasonable enforcement of the law; and the remaining part is to embody legal knowledge, shipping experience, and technical skill in a high and independent Commission, which will decide disputed points, and bring together the fruits of experience for the benefit of the mercantile marine and of the country.

Such a body as the proposed Commission may be expected to give great satisfaction to shipowners generally, because it will be raised above those influences which have made Board of Trade interference with shipping often uncertain, often merely tentative, and not unfrequently capricious. What men require in business before all things are uniformity, certainty, and definiteness. In the absence of these, interference is sure to be both irritating and costly. There is at present a lamentable absence of everything like formulation of the qualities and conditions of ships and of types of ships, and the work which a Central Commission could do, or could readily have done, in this respect, would be invaluable to owners, and gratefully accepted by them.

I cannot do justice to my own view of this subject without saying that I believe the mercantile marine has of late years suffered much from the absence of what may be called that assistance which a central body, and only a central body, could furnish. The idea of a Government Department, or of an official central body, *controlling* the construction of merchant ships, is in these days as absurd as it is untimely. Control involves restraint, and any restraint of the shipowner or shipbuilder, in the absence of threatened injury to life and property, would work wholesale mischief. But, on the other hand,

one of the most valuable services which a central department, whether Government or not, can render to any profession or business is to classify, complete, and formulate the facts which come before it, and circulate the results for the benefit of others, leaving them to profit by them or not as they may choose. There have been within my knowledge classes of merchant ships built of an essentially dangerous character for the service they have had to perform, but the danger of which was not known to those who ordered and sailed them, nor to others until successive losses and collateral circumstances drew attention to them. A central authority, accustomed to record and classify the particulars of ships, would have had no difficulty in discerning their true character, or (by means to which no one could possibly object) in advising the parties concerned of the danger incurred. It would be wrong, in my opinion, to make this the statutory duty of any official body whatever; but the performance of such an occasional service to the mercantile marine, when it grew naturally out of the duties of an office, would conform perfectly to the whole spirit in which the reforms of Mr. Chamberlain appear to be conceived.

I have already had occasion to touch upon the relation in which scientific knowledge, and more especially knowledge of the principles of naval architecture, stands to the question of the security of our mercantile marine. I recognize at once the importance and the delicacy of this question—its importance, because the only protection which can be relied upon to secure a great maritime service from continual catastrophes must be evolved from a correct knowledge of those laws and principles by which the seas, and the ships that cross them, are regulated; its delicacy, because I know but too well how liable scientific men often are to neglect some of the considerations which never ought to be lost sight of. Still, it is perfectly true, as the Board of Trade Memorandum says, that “no one with a grain of sense will depreciate science, whether that of the naval architect, of the engineer, or of the seaman; the merchant shipping of the country requires and employs more of it daily.” And that which constitutes the special danger of neglecting the science which should regulate the construction and working of ships is the awful nature of the consequences that ensue. You may neglect something in constructing a machine, and the machine will break down, but it may be repaired; you may build a house badly, and its foundation will yield or its walls give way, but the evil may be remedied; but if a ship is so constructed as to yield under ocean strains, or to lose stability as her fuel is consumed, both ship and all on board are involved in instant destruction. It is this consideration that, in this country, has made the science of naval architecture what it is among us—viz., the outcome of the felt necessities



of the shipbuilder and shipowner. Judging from my own experience, although it has been my duty to watch and study every development of the scientific branches of the naval constructor's work, I can say with confidence that the theoretical and practical developments of naval architecture have proceeded together in this country in a manner that is most gratifying. I know of nothing which has been done among us under the inspirations of pure theory in contravention of any well-assured results of practical experience. Nor have the more scientific members of the profession ever been in serious conflict with practical shipbuilders. On the contrary, many of the scientific labours undertaken by the Admiralty, by Lloyd's, and by private firms, have been entered upon at the express desire of practical shipbuilders and shipowners who felt the necessity of extended investigations. During the last few months I have been urged by quite a considerable number of shipbuilders, and by not a few shipowners, to put into some simple and convenient form, which should be as little mathematical as possible, the principles which govern the stability of ships, and to exhibit as clearly as may be the changes which a ship's stability undergoes under various conditions of loading, consumption of fuel, &c. There is no jealousy of science in this matter, and for the simple reason that the application of science, as we regard it, is itself as practical and as urgent a part of the joint work of the shipbuilder and the shipowner as is the building, the manning, or the navigation of the vessel. This is why I note with satisfaction that, while one of the Merchant Shipping Commissioners is to be a lawyer, and another a retired shipowner, the other is to be "a person having special technical knowledge in the construction of ships." This is the first important recognition of the need of scientific skill which the Board of Trade has made public since the shipping legislation of 1875, and it is the highest recognition that could possibly now be given. To no one will it be more acceptable than to those many shipowners who ardently desire to see the Government relations to the mercantile marine placed upon a sound, a scientific, and a definite basis.

E. J. REED.

## ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA.

### I.

SINCE the arrival of the Transvaal Delegates in England the affairs of that State, and of South Africa generally, have commanded a fair share of public attention. Different opinions have, of course, been expressed. For instance, it has been said that England derives little or no benefit from South Africa, and that if she retained a coaling station there all her commercial interests would be secured. The difficulties of governing South Africa have again been referred to, and hopeful views concerning that country have been met with a sneer. Passing by the utterances of these minor critics, public opinion has recently expressed itself with clearness and practical unanimity on several important points connected with South Africa. First of all, and most important of all, it has been clearly recognized that England is in South Africa, and that she has contracted obligations and responsibilities to our own fellow-countrymen who have made their home there, to the Dutch colonists and those of the Free State and Transvaal, and to the native tribes, of which England has no mind to divest herself. "Difficulty is opportunity," not for running away, but for bracing oneself to study, understand, and overcome the difficulty. At the same time, there is everywhere a generous feeling towards the Transvaal Delegates with reference to themselves and what belongs to their State, while there is also a clearly expressed determination on the part of the English public that the Transvaal should hold to its promises and to its boundary lines, and that future expansion in South Africa should be regulated, not by the Transvaal, but by England as the central Government, and by the Cape Colony as the oldest, most powerful, and most advanced community. With reference to Bechwanaland there is a very delicate and strained feeling in certain quarters, especially



among those who are usually the staunchest supporters of the present Government. "It is impossible that the present Government can connive at such gross injustice" is the often expressed belief held sincerely, but not without suspicion and misgiving, by those who have been justly termed the backbone of the supporters of the present Government. Indeed, the present negotiations of the Government with the Transvaal Delegates and their whole South African policy are being closely watched by all sections of the English public. The magnitude and inadmissible nature of the Transvaal demand—the serious language which was used concerning this Conference in the Queen's Speech at the prorogation of Parliament\*—lead to the belief that the Government have at present under review, not only their relations to the Transvaal and the Bechuanas, but the whole question of their South African policy.

And why, it may be asked, has not the Transvaal Convention succeeded? The delegates have declared, since they came to England, that they are willing to observe towards the native tribes all that human or divine law would dictate. Under what category are we to reckon the Pretoria Convention, which the Transvaal has so flagrantly broken, and now wishes to rescind? Having allowed its subjects for some two years to levy war upon chiefs, who were at peace with the Transvaal, and who, even now, have not broken its laws or invaded its territory, and hearing that a Special Commissioner was to proceed to Bechwanaland and the Transvaal to represent the English Government, the Delegates come over to England for what purpose? Not to ask for the exercise of self-government, for that they fully enjoy; not even for independence as enjoyed by the Free State within its own boundary lines. The Transvaal Delegates come to ask, practically, that they shall be allowed to seize upon the highway into the interior, preside over all future "expansion," circumscribe the Cape Colony, exclude England, and constitute the Transvaal the supreme power in South Africa. This is practically the request of the Delegates; and it is a request which already public opinion has declared must not be granted.

In these critical circumstances we venture to contribute something to the discussion of this important question—important to England, to every colonist, and every tribesman in South Africa. It will scarcely be necessary to say that we approach the subject with no ill-feeling to the Transvaal people, with many of whom the writer

\* The terms used in the Queen's Speech were: "The working of the Convention with the Transvaal has proved, in certain respects, to be far from satisfactory. The questions of frontier policy, which in different forms have for so long a time constituted the main difficulty in the administration of my South African possessions, will, with other points, shortly be discussed in this country between my Ministers and the confidential Envoys who are to be despatched from the Transvaal for the purpose."

has long been personally acquainted. On the contrary, we have a distinct and strong conviction that the course which we advocate is in the highest interests of the Transvaal. In the opening up of its fountains, in the leading out of its rivers for irrigation, in the plodding round of agricultural and pastoral life, in researches after hidden minerals, and the wise working of mines already discovered; in the diligence, industry, and sobriety of each farmer at his own homestead; in the progress of education, liberality, fellow-feeling—lie the true prosperity of the Transvaal, and not in such deeds as will for ever disgrace the history of its western border.

To clear our way and lead to the practical suggestions which we wish to bring forward, it will be necessary to recall some of the events which have led to the present state of things.

## II.

### THE TRANSVAAL AND BECHWANALAND.

Although there is still a good deal of contradictory statement made in England concerning the Transvaal and its inhabitants, it may safely be affirmed that the English public have now a clearer conception of the Transvaal Boer as contrasted with the intelligent Cape colonist, and of the Transvaal Government as contrasted with that of the Cape Colony, than they formerly entertained. It was too much the custom in this country—even in quarters where clearer knowledge was to have been expected—to “lump” together all the “Dutch-speaking people” of South Africa, making no allowance for the difference produced by stable government, education, intercourse with England and Europe, as contrasted with the wilderness life of the frontier Boer. A good deal of our misapprehensions in England and in Europe may no doubt be traced to the association of ideas. For instance, when the conquerors of the Transvaal appear in England—men who hold their country by the power of the sword and by that power only, whose fundamental law declares the inequality of men in Church and in State, who, themselves only some 50,000 in number, exercise the most absolute sway over 500,000 human beings, not nomadic savages, but industrious, capable, and progressive people; men who would sever God’s creation in two, and say of themselves, We are citizens, we have rights; and of all the rest, You are no citizens, and you have no rights—when these men appear in Europe, it might be supposed that similarity of work and of aim would draw towards them the sympathy of autocrats and despots; and that dissimilarity of tastes and ideas would repel from them the friends of distressed peoples. But what are the facts? The Delegates are hailed not by autocrat or chancellor, but by the sworn opponents of such oppressors of the people—the professed friends of ignorant and ill-



used peasantries. This is to be explained only by the association of ideas. The Delegates are "republicans;" it matters not whether the reality in South Africa is an oligarchy or a grinding despotism—call it in Europe a republic, and you have won for it a way to the unquestioning support of the very enemies of despotisms and oligarchies! The Transvaal is or would be a Republic; so are the United States of America. But the one may be justly said to be in some respects the opposite of the other. The inequality of men which the Transvaal people left the Cape Colony to secure—which they have written on their Constitution in the Transvaal—is the very doctrine which has been removed from the laws of the American Republic after sacrifices such as the world never heard of before. Americans have faced their own Republican doctrines and carried them out. The Transvaal Government may come to do so, but in the meantime it has no right to be classed with governments which are its antitheses in doctrine and in practice. It is vain to point to acts of individual kindness in this connection. There were abundance of such acts of kindness in the Southern States of America. Let the Transvaal be in England and in Europe what it is in South Africa, neither more nor less; and let it receive sympathy and support from those who approve of its history, its laws, and its policy—and not the sympathy and support evoked by the conventional attributes of a certain name.

Perhaps the difference between the Transvaal people and those of the Cape Colony cannot be more clearly brought out than by reproducing a recent minute of the Volksraad. While the Government and Parliament of the Cape Colony approach England, and ask for her help in administering the affairs of Basutoland, and while the Government of the Orange Free State express their strong opinion in the same direction, the following is the deliverance of the Transvaal Volksraad on the same subject:—"That having seen that the Imperial Government has resolved to take into its own hands the Government of Basutoland, under certain conditions, and considering that such a step requires the confirmation of the Cape Parliament now in session, resolved that the said step is considered injurious to the peace, welfare, and future union of South Africa."

A good deal of light has been thrown on the Transvaal question by recent writers, English and Colonial; but to the statesman the best exposition of the real attitude of the Transvaal has been furnished in the events which have recently transpired in the country, and in the official documents addressed by its Government to that of England. No mere describer of the Transvaal can produce the same impression that the Transvaal officials themselves have done. Whether they treat of boundary lines, or of a State's responsibility for the action of its domiciled subjects; whether their views of neutrality

are given, or they discuss the question of pecuniary obligations, there is a mode of reasoning, and, indeed a style of diction, which may be said to be peculiar to the Transvaal.

It is not necessary to refer at length to the Parliamentary history of the Bechwanaland question. When the Convention was made, the Government looked at the question as people do when their opera-glass is at the right focus. As soon as the Convention was signed, it seemed as if Government had turned its opera-glass the wrong way whenever they looked at South African affairs—everything was so distant, so indistinct, so small. Again, however, the Government opera-glass seems to have got properly adjusted, and South African questions assume the importance which really belongs to them.

After their arrival in England the Delegates from the Transvaal issued a manifesto addressed to the English public, and published also some notes on the history of the Transvaal and Bechwanaland. The statements of the manifesto and the facts of the history were at once challenged by several writers. The Delegates' denial of slavery was met by the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, who brought forward some awkward testimony of recent date. But what was equally to the point was the suggestion in an evening paper that President Krüger should for ever silence his calumniators by demanding a Commission of Inquiry, which would be authorized to take evidence within and around the Transvaal, as they might see fit. This challenge has not as yet been accepted by those who signed the manifesto. A remark has been made very frequently on this subject, to which we would direct special attention. A certain witty baronet, who at one time took great interest in the affairs of the Transvaal, was, we believe, the first to use the famous form of argument—there are no slaves in the Transvaal because the English Administrator freed none when he assumed the government of the country. As a powerful thing to say on a platform, the statement is perfect, and may do duty again and again. But to the man who would wish to obtain or give information and guidance, this famous argument is as hollow as it is specious. Making here no assertion on the subject of slavery in the Transvaal, let us grant, for the sake of argument, that when the English Administrator assumed the reins of Government there were scores of children and young people who had been purchased outside the Transvaal and registered duly and legally in the local books of that country as orphan children. Grant still further that the English Administrator had his own thoughts on this subject. The question for him to decide was, Shall I go over the Transvaal and call in question the enrolments of the "orphan children" and irritate the whole country, or shall I rest content with the assurance that where the English flag flies every man is free, and trust to the



presence of the English Government with reference to the future? Had the English Administrator challenged the local books, he would possibly have failed to convict in a single instance; but he would have been held up by all the too clever people in England and South Africa as an instance of a very wrong-headed, meddling man, and speeches would have been delivered in his condemnation by those who to-day adduce his avoidance of the enrolment books as positive evidence that there was no slavery—that he had not freed a single slave, because there was none to free!

I am exceedingly sorry that duty compels me to affirm and to show that the historical researches published under the name of President Krüger are entirely unreliable. The object in view was to prove that the Bechwanaland which the Boers claim belonged to the Transvaal by right of conquest. The proof of this was that Moselekatse conquered the Bechwanaland which the Boers claim, and that the Boers drove Moselekatse out of it. Now Moselekatse never conquered the Bechwanaland which the Delegates claim, and the Boers never drove him out of it. Therefore their claim of conquest, either their own or Moselekatse's, falls to the ground. It so happens that we have the means of knowing the movements and the history of the tribes in South Bechwanaland since 1812. Mr. Campbell, the missionary traveller, found the Barolong and Batlaping tribes at that time in the same country which they now claim as theirs. Dr. Moffat next takes up the record. In 1825 (the year, I understand, of President Krüger's birth), Dr. Moffat found the Barolongs in their country, and again in 1829, when he visited the famous Zulu Chief, Moselekatse, who was then living in the south-east of what is now the Transvaal. In 1836, Dr. Moffat again visited Moselekatse, in company with Dr. Smith, the naturalist. They now found him some forty miles east of Mosiga, which was then the border settlement of the Matebele, and consisted not only of Matebele, but also of Bahurutse Bechwanas, the ancestors of Ikalafin and his people, who still have a town in that district. Now all these settlements of Matebele and their vassals were well within what is now the Transvaal boundary line. It was at this time, 1836 or 1837, that Moselekatse removed northward, when the numerous tribes to whom the country had formerly belonged returned to it again, and occupied the vast regions which the few emigrant Boers were utterly unable themselves to occupy. Is this the wonderful increase of population in the Transvaal which has been ascribed to the native government of the Transvaal? It was due to the smallness of the number of the Boers, and not to their system of "native government," which was confined to levies for work on farms and for war parties. All honour to the handful of Boers who were able to cope with the Matebele

Zulus—a tribe which has been, and still is every year, a cruel scourge to the more industrious natives; and all honour to the Christian half-caste Chief Berend, who conceived it was his duty to levy a crusade on the cruel and relentless Zulus, and who died in his unselfish attempt. But when people profess to write history, they should study accuracy first of all. Whatever may be the justice of the Boers' claim to the country formerly occupied by Moselekatse, they can have no title, through him, to that which he did not occupy! Yet this is what the Delegates' claim to Bechwanaland amounts to—which they nevertheless coolly propound to the English public.

It will not be necessary to do more than glance at some of the facts of Bechwanaland history. The Bechwanas were possessed of some amount of civilization when Europeans first visited them some eighty years ago. Early travellers drew a contrast between their manners and customs and those of the more degraded Hottentots and Bushmen. It would be interesting to have an authentic report of the number of farms which have been laid out by these people since their first contact with missionaries, the fountains which they have led out to irrigate their lands, the fruit trees which they have planted, and the grain and stock which they are able to bring into the South African market.

In 1871 the western boundary line of the Transvaal was defined by Governor Keate, who had voluminous evidence before him of all conflicting claims. On a previous occasion Governor Keate had decided in favour of the Transvaal as to a boundary line and against the Free State, and the Free State abode by the decision, although it lost territory. But when it came to the turn of the Transvaal to lose territory, that Government repudiated the arbitration which they themselves had desired.

In a manner which the High Commissioner of that period described as a breach of good faith, the Transvaal Government next sought out certain headmen, whom they proceeded to term "paramount chiefs," and from whom they obtained, or professed to obtain, cessions of the territory which had been given to the Bechwanas by the Keate award. Moshette, who had long resided in the Transvaal, is not by birth chief of the Barolong, nor is Botlasitsi of the Batlaping; while to call Massow, the headman of a petty village, a "paramount chief," provokes only a smile from those who know the country. Sixty years ago Moffat wrote of the "isolated village" of Massow, where he taught the people the alphabet to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," and to-day Massow's son and successor, left to himself, would readily admit that he was not paramount. But the awkward thing is, that we have no chance of getting to know what these "paramount" chiefs of the Transvaal—for whom the "Volunteers" have been fighting—really want. For instance, when the British Resi-



dent went to see Massow, that paramount chief was not forthcoming. His friends the "Volunteers" "denied" him to the British Resident. On another occasion, after great trouble, Moshette was found by the Resident's secretary. But this "paramount" chief was also taken in hand by his "Volunteers," who were present at the interview, and without hesitation interrupted their chief, assuring the secretary, in the unfortunate man's presence, that they represented him!

In 1878 a disturbance took place in Bechwanaland, which led to important results. Up to this time peace had obtained in the country, more on account of the peaceful disposition of the people than the efficiency of the tribal government. In the midst of the peace there were numerous unsolved inter-tribal problems, overlapping jurisdictions, conflicting claims. But these were purely native and local questions. The European missionary, trader, or traveller, was welcomed by all and counted as a friend. In 1877 rumours of a general race-war—blacks as such against whites as such—were heard in Bechwanaland several months before the outbreak of actual disturbance. This warlike idea came into Bechwanaland from the Colonial Kaffirs who were at the Diamond-fields, and the Kaffirs living under Waterboer on the Orange River—it spread among the Griquas and other natives who had their local grievances; it enrolled in its ranks, among Bechwana chiefs, Botlasitsi, Luka, and Morwe; but Morwe afterwards withdrew. Invasions of the Colony took place; murder was committed and extensive thefts. The plunder and plunderers came into Bechwanaland. All the Europeans in the country were assembled at Kuruman, and were in some danger. Mankoroan sanctioned the crossing of the Colonial border by the Diamond-field Horse and other Colonial Forces, in order to arrest the evil-doers. A small force was also sent by Mankoroan to Kuruman, where they arrived at the same time as the Colonial Force. While Mankoroan showed clearly enough that he was on the side of the English, which was also that of law and order, it is not pretended that he had administrative power or firmness. Had he possessed these the disturbances would not have taken place. Mankoroan excited, for a short time, the distrust of the English officers by allowing the evil-doers, who were his own tribesmen, to escape, while he put to death their Kaffir companions. For this he paid a fine in cattle. He afterwards, although very reluctantly, produced Botlasitsi and other evil-doers, and handed them over to Colonel Warren, and they were lodged in Kimberley jail. Botlasitsi, who is another paramount *protégé* of the Transvaal, has since been able to pay off Mankoroan for his friendliness to the English, as he has been zealously operating with the "Volunteers" against that chief.

On the 17th of November, 1878, Mankoroan, recognizing his own administrative weakness in the changing circumstances of the country,

begged to be assisted by the English in its government. This petition, which was, on the native side, a deed of cession, was signed not only by Mankoroan but by the headmen of his tribe—some nineteen names being appended to the document. Sir Charles Warren, in attaching his signature to the document in question, as "Commanding the Field Force," and also as "Commissioner in Native Territories between the Transvaal and Griqualand West," made this note in the margin: "The Chief Mankoroan and his councillors have assembled before me this day and declared that their signatures to this document testify their assent to its contents." To show that Mankoroan was acting thoughtfully and in good faith, it may be mentioned that he stipulated for the retention of the power to decide cases in his own town—practically the position of magistrate.

During the time of the Transvaal War the Bechwana chiefs were most friendly to parties of Cape Colonists and Englishmen leaving the Transvaal at that time. Many of them had suffered great losses; as many as seventy waggons were reported as being at one time at Montsioa's town. Mankoroan testified his friendliness by allowing some of these people to procure timber in his country, which they sold in Kimberley as firewood, and thus kept themselves in food and clothing. It is well known that Sir George Colley has left a public record of his sense of the friendliness of Montsioa and Mankoroan at this juncture.

The Border Police remained some two years in Bechwanaland. The people were under the impression that the English authority was established in the country. Then, as now, there were white men who wanted land for nothing. But the Border Police, being on the spot, were able to take each case as it occurred, and to prevent complications, the adventurers having to recross the border. During the time of this military or police occupation of Bechwanaland, Griqualand West was annexed to the Cape Colony. But the papers connected with Bechwanaland were never laid before the Cape Parliament; and the position of that country was never considered. The Cape seemed to argue that the Bechwanaland responsibilities were English responsibilities; in England it seems to have been argued that when the Colony annexed Griqualand West, it took over not only its wealth and its influence, but also its border questions and its responsibilities. In this singular way the claims of Bechwanaland to assistance in obtaining a local government, in support of which the people were willing to pay, fell to the ground, and disturbance and war soon after took place.

The quarrels of the Barolong chiefs were the first visible causes of the war, which has ended for the present in the establishment of the Republics of Goshen and Stellaland. Montsioa considered himself wronged by the conduct of Matshabe and Moshette, whose proper



place he considered was in the Transvaal. These chiefs, however, refused to acknowledge his authority, although they found him in possession of the country, and war was the result. Moshette was joined at first by a few Boers from the Transvaal, some of them half-castes, under certain stipulations as to the booty. In the Batlaping country Mankoroan had a ground of complaint against a petty chief belonging to the Bamaidi. This headman fled to the town of Massow, who, instead of giving him up, fired upon Mankoroan's people. Massow desired to proceed to the assistance of Moshette; Mankoroan wanted to prevent him, averring that Mamusa, where Massow lived, belonged to him (Mankoroan) and that he had no right to levy war in his country. It was found that Massow had a party of Boers behind him. Cattle-stealing, town-burning, border-warfare now went on, the stolen cattle always finding their way into the Transvaal, their defenders following them as far as the boundary-line, and there leaving them.

Proclamations of neutrality were issued by the Cape Colony and by the Transvaal. That issued by the Cape Colony was effective. A few volunteers from the Colony at one time joined Mankoroan, but afterwards left him; and as to ammunition, it was all but impossible for either Montsioa or Mankoroan to obtain it. On the other hand the Transvaal *protégés* were always well supplied. It is well known that a friendly Free State burgher accompanied some of Mankoroan's people into the Transvaal, where they saw and claimed some of Mankoroan's cattle. The natives were put in prison, and their friend the burgher was also arrested. When they were brought up for trial, they were simply told by a Transvaal magistrate to leave the country! Thus was the protection of the local Transvaal Government thrown over the freebooters. A party of some sixty Boers carried their operations as far west as Kiang Hills, to the west of Motito, probably more than 100 miles west of the Transvaal frontier. The machinery of the Convention was inoperative all this time. The High Commissioner at the Cape and the British Resident at Pretoria, were aware of what was going on; and so no doubt was the Colonial Department in London. When the "Volunteers" saw that their progress was to be unchecked, they became bolder, and their numbers were increased. They now thought not only of cattle but of land. Wealthy men hired poor men to go for them, in the hope of getting farms, they paying these men so much per day. At length treaties were forced from both Montsioa and Mankoroan, by which they were to submit to the decision of the Transvaal. This the English Government refused to ratify, as it was a flagrant and open breach of the Convention, but not more flagrant than the war which had led up to those so-called treaties. This is the basis of the Transvaal complaint, that England would neither establish order in Bechwanaland nor sanction

the mode pursued by the Transvaal. Prevented from joining the Transvaal, the freebooters proceeded to establish two republics—Stellaland and Goshen—which between them take from all the chiefs, friends and foes alike, almost all their land. Of course they do not occupy all they claim; but they are complicating matters as fast as they can by selling to third parties the original volunteer-grants, which were drawn by lottery in the first instance. They have stretched themselves so far across the country as virtually to command the highway into the interior. This road has always been free to Englishmen and Cape Colonists, and indeed to every European traveller. Such is the position of affairs when the Delegates visit England.

One is tempted to go on to discuss this Bechwanaland and Transvaal question by itself, and to bring forward some definite recommendations which seem applicable to it. We hope to do this while doing more. We wish to make the English public masters of the leading facts concerning South African peoples, tribes, and affairs. What we shall come to suggest will apply to other places as well as Bechwanaland, but will not be the less suitable or necessary to that country because applicable elsewhere.

### III.

#### POLITICAL CONDITION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

We have already given incidentally some description of the Transvaal. Let us now glance at the other European communities in South Africa. We find Europeans living under responsible government in the Cape Colony, in a Crown Colony in Natal, in an independent Republic in the Free State, and under the suzerainty of the Queen in the Transvaal. Here we have sufficient political variety, at all events. But the differences are more in name than in reality—self-government is common to all, except Natal.

*Natal.*—The colony of Natal is peculiarly situated, on account of the preponderating number of its native population, and does not see its way to face the very grave responsibilities of self-government in present circumstances. In the early history of Natal, it was no doubt thought good policy to receive on easy terms refugees from the oppressive rule of Zululand. Having committed offences there which would prevent their return, it was hoped that these refugees would form an inexpensive native militia in case of an invasion of Natal. But the hospitality of Natal to Zulu offenders has been perhaps too unbounded; the terms on which they could get land, wives, cattle and protection, were too easy. Without stimulus to industrious effort the Natal Zulu enjoys the heathen life without any of its risks; and the native population, whose growth has been fostered by



immigration from Zululand, may be said to be a pressing difficulty in Natal, though one which is by no means insoluble.

The *Free State* is nominally free and independent. In reality it is locally self-governing; but inter-dependent on the Cape Colony, Natal, and England as to many questions of vital importance. It is well known that the Free State, after she became independent, more than once called England to intervene between the State and the Basutos; it is equally well-known that the Free State earnestly desires that England should resume the government of Basutoland, and thus secure order in that territory, and prevent her burghers from being led from their industrial pursuits to engage in land speculation, brandy-selling, and filibustering. The internal laws of the Free State with reference to natives are unjust and repressive, and if followed by other governments in South Africa would inevitably lead to a race war. But under the enlightened and progressive rule of President Sir John Brand, it may justly be hoped that these unfair and unwise rules will be removed from the Free State Statute-book. Papers recently to hand state what we regard as a gratifying sign of progress and good feeling in the Free State. The ministers and elders of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the Free State have resolved that one service in their churches every Sunday should be conducted in the English language, as in Cape Colony, for the benefit of young people connected with their own congregations, as well as of Scotchmen and other Europeans, who may be expected to attend a Presbyterian service in the English language. Enjoying the advantages of defined boundaries and (except recently in Basutoland) peaceful neighbours, the progress and prosperity of the Free State are sure.

*The Cape Colony.*—The condition of the Cape Colony has much in it to encourage the English statesman, especially when he considers the condition in which it was found by England at the beginning of the present century. The European colonists of the Cape have made great progress in the past—the ratio of which will no doubt be increased in the future, on account of the great railway system which the Cape Government has had the enterprise to lay down from her seaports northward. In so far as her own self-government has been concerned, the past history of the Cape, since she ceased to be a Crown Colony, is full of encouragement for the future. Her own native questions are great, and sometimes perplexing, for the coloured population within the Colony stand to the Europeans as three to one. But these internal difficulties have been as nothing compared with her efforts to govern outlying native territories such as Basutoland and the Transkei. These efforts have not only not been successful, but have proved disastrous to the Colony, so much so that she has made special request to England to

be freed from this disproportionate task. We feel sure that every one who will give attention to the subject will be convinced that too much has been expected from the Cape Colony, when unaccustomed to govern itself, it has also had imposed on it the government of over half a million people beyond its borders.

*Native Tribes of South Africa.*—In order to make our enumeration complete, we shall begin by mentioning the "coloured people" of the Cape Colony, the descendants of the former slaves. Of mixed descent and unconnected with native politics, so long as just laws obtain in the Colony, this part of the population will be on the side of law and order. The aboriginal races of South Africa are divided by philologists into two families—the Gariepine Family, and the Bantu Family.

#### I. THE GARIEPINE FAMILY.

The Gariepine family consists of Hottentots, Korannas, Namaquas, and Bushmen. To these may be added Griquas, who are half-caste Dutch and Gariepine. Comparatively speaking this family of South Africans is not numerous, and is found chiefly in the Cape Colony, in Griqualand East (by emigration), and to the north-west of the Cape Colony. With the exception of some small tribes of Bushmen in remote places, it may be affirmed of the Gariepine Family that although it was the most degraded, its members may be said to have become civilized. Indeed, the traveller who sees them only as they are now, and is ignorant of their past history, would be inclined to place the Gariepine on a higher platform than the darker Bantu people. Except the woolly hair, the Gariepine have little in common with their neighbours. Yellow in colour, with obliquely-placed eyes, they strongly resemble the Mongols or Tartars. Their habits also, when first met by Europeans in South Africa, were those of pastoral nomads, without garden or corn-field.

The Bantu family is found from the Cape of Good Hope up to and beyond the equator. In the recently-discovered Lake Regions of Eastern Africa, on the Congo on the West, as well as on the Zambese valley, the inhabitants all belong to the Bantu family. Their language is closely allied to those spoken by the South Sea Islanders, but has nothing in common with that of their near neighbours of the Gariepine family. In so far as our South African difficulties have reference to the native question, it may be said to be connected with the Bantu people. It will be necessary, therefore, to study the distinctions which exist among those who have hitherto played so prominent a place in South African affairs. Some, at least, of our South African blunders might have been prevented by a clearer knowledge of the people with whom we had to



deal. It is hoped that the following table will be of use in this connexion :—

## II. BANTU FAMILY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### 1. TRIBES UNDER ABSOLUTE CHIEFTAINSHIP.

Name.	Country.	Government.	Remarks.
Zulus .....	Natal .....	English Government in Locations .....	Warlike Organization.
Do. ....	Zululand .....	In confusion .....	Do. do.
Do. ....	Umzila's country .....	Under chief Umzila .....	Do. do.
Do. ....	Matebeleland .....	„ „ Lopingole .....	Do. do.
Swasi .....	Swasiland .....	„ Native Chief .....	Do. do.
Kaffirs: several tribes	Transkei, between Natal and Cape Colony ...	Provisionally governed by the Cape Colony .....	Warlike tendency.
2. INDUSTRIAL TRIBES.			
<i>a. Under Limited Chieftainship.</i>			
Fingoes ...	Cape Colony ...	Colonial Government ...	Formerly in slavery to Kaffirs; now possessed of considerable wealth in land, stock, waggons, &c.
Basutos ...	Basutoland .....	.....	An industrious agricultural and pastoral people, supplying grain to the Free State and the Colony.
Do. ....	North - Eastern border of Transvaal (Bapedi) .....	Transvaal Government and Native Chiefs .....	Pastoral and agricultural.
Bechwanas	Bechwanaland .....	Native Chiefs. South Bechwanaland in confusion .....	Workers in iron and brass; pastoral and agricultural; now practising irrigation; good name in Colony as servants on farms.
Batoka (Amatonga)	North of Zululand .....	Do. ....	Pastoral and agricultural.
<i>b. Under Patriarchal Rule.</i>			
Damaras ...	Damaraland .....	Under Heads of Families	Pastoral and agricultural. Recently something like chieftainship has been formed.
Banyai or Makalaka	N. and N.W. of Transvaal .....	Do. do.	Very industrious; capital agriculturists; work in brass, iron, and cotton.
Mashona ...	N.E. of Transvaal	Do. do.	Excelling all South African tribes in the old inherited industry—working in brass, iron, and cotton.

It will be seen that despotism and warlike customs go together in South Africa among the tribes under absolute chieftainship. Individual rights are ignored; the whole tribe acts as one machine under the one master-hand of its chief. Europeans found these warlike tribes in possession of the richest parts of South Africa, obtained and

held by the power of their short, broad-bladed spears, which they did not throw from them in battle, but with which, and their ox-hide shield, they rushed forward into close quarters with their enemies. The warlike tribes of South Africa have been a formidable obstacle to progress. Their whole tribal polity had a tendency to stock-lifting and to war; and each generation of youthful braves were eager to equal, if not to excel, the doings of their elders. The power of these warlike tribes has been broken. Some who seem to look only at the surface of things would like that power revived. But whether such despotic sway is wielded by Kreli or Cetewayo or Uzibepu, the true friend of the natives, and of South Africa generally, would not wish for the revival of rude warlike despotism, provided something better is substituted for it.

Our second sub-division of the Bantu people represents the most industrious, progressive, and hopeful portion of the native community in South Africa. Organized into definite and coherent tribes, these people have been accustomed to exercise considerable influence on their chiefs by means of the "Chief's Brothers"—that is, the head men of the tribe, and by the regularly recurring pitsho, or public council of the tribe, where every man has a right to speak—a right which is freely used.

It will surely occur to any student of the subject that as we have here a class of people who were found by Europeans engaged in self-government and in the management of their own public affairs, our wisest policy towards them would not be repression, but the guidance and development of the qualities which we have described. There is nothing in the history of Fingoes or Basutos or Bechwanas to discourage us from doing this.

In our third sub-division we have the interesting tribes who have little or no tribal cohesion, but who are scattered up and down their country under the patriarchal rule of heads of families, without any central or supreme chief. Under this class without doubt are to be reckoned the most industrious and most civilized tribes in South Africa. The best agriculturists, the best workers in iron and in wood, the only workers in African cotton, of which they make blankets and shoulder-cloths or shawls, which they dye blue, are the Mashona and Makalaka. We are not aware that the Mashona cultivate the cotton which they use; but in any case it must be abundant and indigenous in that part of Africa. They also grow rice in the lower valleys, while the higher slopes would be suitable for wheat. Some years ago gold was found over an extensive area in Matebele and Mashona land. It is occasionally taken in quills to the Portuguese traders on the Zambese.

It is one of the saddest episodes in the dreary page of South African history, that these most advanced tribes in what may be called



an old and inherited civilization, have been well-nigh destroyed by the ruthless forces of the military Matebele Zulus, after their removal from what is now the Transvaal. Perceiving the far-reaching and varied results of Christian teaching, both Moselekatse and his son Lopingole refuse permission to missionaries and traders to settle among the Mashona tribes.

If the reader will look at the accompanying map, he will understand the localities occupied by the tribes of South Africa, not one of which is nomadic, but all (except Bushmen) engaged in agriculture, and all (including Bushmen) regarding certain parts of the country as their own. We have carried the map as far north as the Zambese, that the public may understand this question in all its bearings and surroundings.

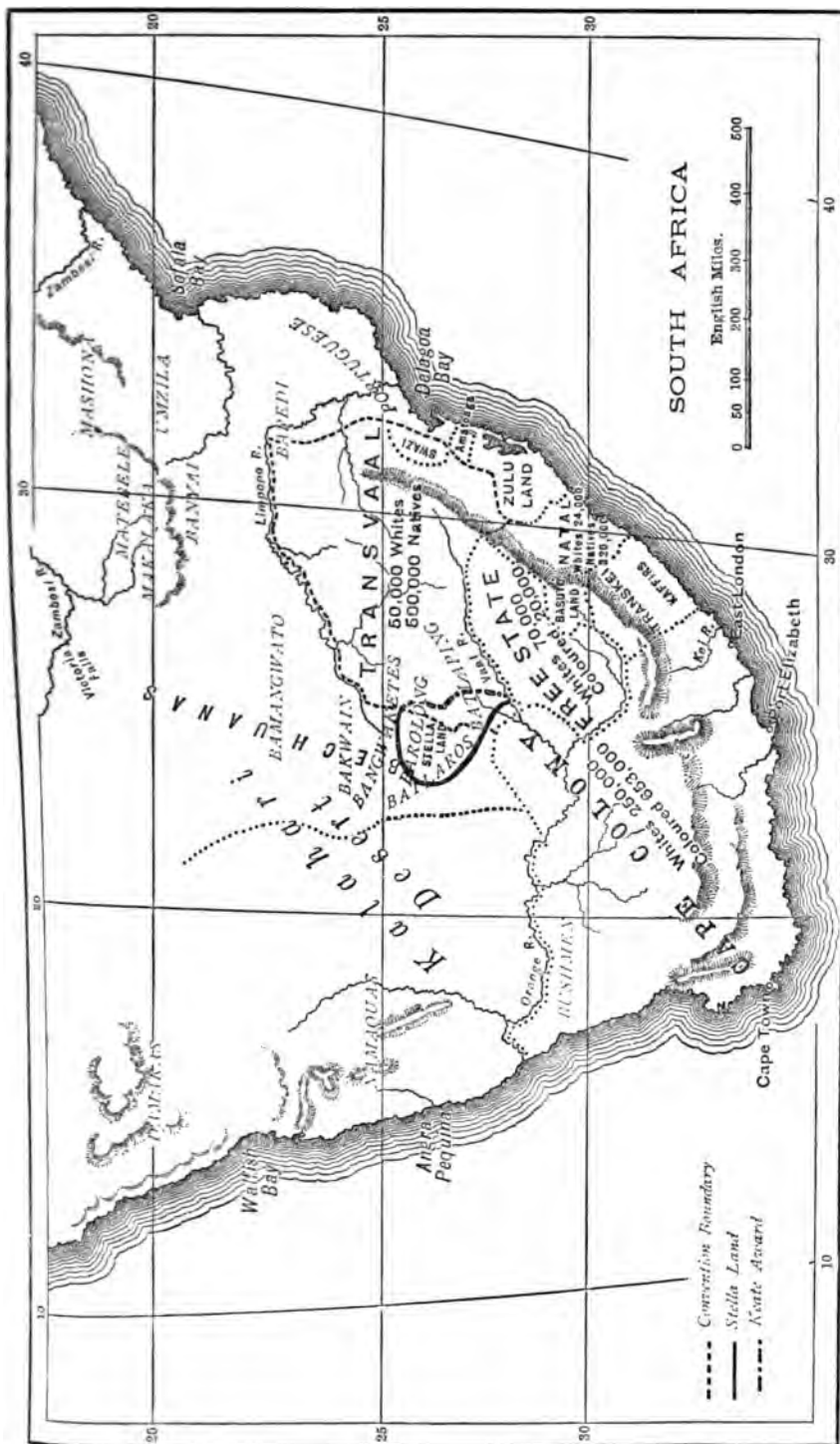
It may be helpful if we bring together in brief compass a few "things worth remembering" in connection with this part of our subject.

1. In so far as European politics are concerned, England does not hold the Cape, as is constantly stated, by right of conquest, but by settlement after conquest, when six millions sterling were paid by England to Holland for supremacy in South Africa and for other matters mentioned in the agreement of the Dutch and English plenipotentiaries. Natives of Holland are, of course, as welcome in South Africa as are other Europeans; but when, directly or indirectly, they seek to undermine the supremacy of England in that part of the world, they have to be reminded that a man cannot both eat his loaf and have it. Dutch supremacy in South Africa is a loaf which has been eaten.

2. The term "Colony," as applied to parts of South Africa, needs explanation, as nowhere else have colonists to do with such a large native population. Left out of consideration, this constitutes a difficulty; brought into account and regulated, it is really so much in favour of the Colony, for nowhere else can a farmer find such cheap labour.

3. Europeans in South Africa have a northward tendency, while natives, when freed from tribal restraint, have a tendency to move southward. In both cases the causes for these movements are to be found in the ideas entertained by the individuals who, without concert, engage in these movements. The tribesman seeks work and wages; the young European a good situation, or a cheap farm. Governments may face and regulate these movements; they cannot stop them.

4. Contact with Christianity, with a higher civilization, and greater energy and resource, has a tendency to weaken the old tribal governments of the natives. The advance of the white men is too rapid for the local growth of something higher politically within the tribe.





These circumstances point to the intervention of a Central Government.

5. In all native territories, with perhaps one or two exceptions, there are large tracts of unoccupied land, the cultivation of which, by Europeans or Colonists, under a Central Government, would be no loss to the tribe. Here we have the great difference between South Africa and India, where there are no such openings for European settlers, but where our Government is entirely the Government of a native population.

6. The case of South Africa must be considered by itself—with all the help which illustration can give—but with the clear understanding that in some respects its circumstances are peculiar to itself. It differs from countries where native races are dying out, or where the natives are impracticable, nomadic, and without the knowledge of agriculture, thus constituting themselves the enemies of European settlers; it differs from the United States and Canada, from New Zealand and Australia, as we have seen it differs from India.

7. The very peculiarities of South Africa impart to its political condition a great interest to all concerned in its government—an interest which is vastly enhanced when we consider the direct bearing of any present policy upon the future of the country and upon the parts lying to the north.

8. I venture to add, in anticipation of present negotiations, that, as in the case of the Convention of Pretoria, so by the Convention of London, the borders of the Transvaal, like those of all other European communities in South Africa, will be defined; and that the native policy and the management of trans-colonial affairs will be retained in the hands of the English Government.

#### IV.

##### THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE TERRITORIES.

We proceed to the consideration of this subject on the supposition that England has no wish to continue to ring the changes between fighting and letting alone in South Africa. Spasmodic action is as unsatisfactory to England as to South Africa; vacillation and uncertainty in our policy tend to the ruin of all that we would wish to cherish in that country. We are deeply convinced that public opinion is in favour of something higher and better, if it could only understand how that could be reasonably attained.

We begin by saying that we do not propose that England should undertake any new duty in South Africa or embark on any new enterprise. What we do propose is the discharge of the duties and responsibilities which England has already accepted. Our case is this: There is a large native population in South Africa outside

colonies and States, where tribal government has broken down, and for the peaceful government of which no suitable provision is made. The High Commissioner, who is also Governor of the Cape Colony, and his private secretary at present constitute the trans-colonial Native Department in South Africa! The work of native government has been unreasonably imposed on the Colonial Government, with the disastrous results which we have seen. Our scheme points to the entire separation of the trans-colonial Native Administration from the Government of the Cape Colony. The circumstances of South Africa seem to us to call for the appointment of a Viceroy or Governor-General of South Africa, who should not be governor of any colony. We have no doubt that the appointment of this officer will necessarily precede that future union of South African governments under the British Crown, to which the friends of South Africa look forward. But, as we wish to be content with the least amount of change which would ensure efficiency, and as the High Commissioner is at present also Governor of the Cape Colony, this combination of offices might, for the present, be continued, provided that the colonial and trans-colonial Native Department under him were entirely separate. As Governor he would have the advice of his responsible ministers. In the management of native territories he ought to have the services of a Permanent Commissioner for Territories, an official who would be chosen for his ability to discharge the combined duties of permanent secretary, and of special native commissioner to a troubled territory in case of emergency. High Commissioners, at longest, are only six years in office at the Cape. Some years are passed before, unaided as at present, they can master the details of the questions that come before them. Hence the necessity for such an officer as a permanent head to the department of the High Commissioner in South Africa.

#### *A "Territory."*

We have adopted the use of this expression in a sense which has been peculiar to the United States. In England a territory has no definite meaning; but in the United States a Territory is a political term, and means a district of country in process of being cleared, and of becoming a State of the Union. In America this process has too frequently included shooting down or driving away the Indians. Through English influence higher work than this has been done in South Africa, where no native race has disappeared or diminished since the establishment of our supremacy. But inasmuch as in South Africa our expanding movement northward is somewhat similar to the westward movement of Europeans in America, we adopt the American expression and propose that a "territory" in South Africa should mean a district in which a Provisional Government



has been established by England prior to, and preparing for, the full establishment of English Colonial law, when the inhabitants of the territory desire it, and are judged to be prepared for it. It is essential to recognize the historical and undoubted fact of this northward European movement, which has never been taken into account by English statesmen, and our scheme would not hasten but regulate it. As long as a native chief managed the affairs of his country in a satisfactory way, we should consider any interference with him would be quite unwarranted. But when chiefs came, as did the Bechwana chiefs in 1878, and admitting their unfitness to govern their country in its changed circumstances, asked for our administrative help, we should with their concurrence and at local expense take up the reins of government which they were no longer capable of holding, and establish what we here call Territorial Government. In our proposed South African Territory, we should thus have something different from mere protection of natives on the one hand, and from the too hasty and aggressive establishment of English law and court procedure on the other. To protect a "reserve" set apart for natives alone is not the best thing to do. The natives are capable of more than is implied in the expression, a "Location Kaffir" or "Reserve Native." On the other hand, if you at once establish English or Colonial law in a native district, among those who are utterly unaccustomed to it, you place the native in the hand of land speculators and agents, whose number is legion.

#### *Territorial Law.*

Taking the population of a territory where we found them, as to education and customs, our object would be to lead them gradually to something higher and better. For this purpose we propose to establish what we shall call Territorial Law, under a Local Administrator or Commissioner—*i.e.*, a system having English-Colonial law in view as its aim; but modifying its procedure, &c., on account of the present ignorance of the people. White men who chose to live in such a Territory would be under this Territorial Law. There ought to be no appeal from decisions of a Territorial Court to a neighbouring Colonial Court. Such a course would not be beneficial. If there were no other objections to it the fatal one would be that colonial lawyers would infallibly throw discredit on the whole procedure of courts which were not constituted on the model of those with which they were familiar. In a Territory, however, where there would be some four or five magistrates, arrangements might be made for trying cases of appeal, as also capital cases. The senior magistrate, or the magistrate at the principal town, might be appointed to try the most serious cases as judge; and a Court of Appeal might consist of this judge and two other magistrates. Chiefs, in certain grave circumstances, would be

invited to act with the judge and magistrates, and there might occasionally be a case where magisterial duties might be intrusted to an intelligent chief. As to the Territorial Laws themselves, it will not be necessary here to specify them in detail. Any one interested in the subject will find full information in the voluminous report of the Native Laws Commission of the Cape Colony. One suggestion as to polygamy and native marriages may, however, be referred to.

So far as our own observation has gone, no polygamist, as a matter of fact, dies intestate. When a native "adds to" his "wives," he at once makes suitable provision for the new establishment in cattle, servants, &c., according to his means. The native practice is, that whatever has not been given to the secondary wives and their families during the man's lifetime, belongs as a matter of heritage to the eldest son. The native custom, therefore, suggests to us how we should treat polygamy in colonies and in territories—tacitly regard it as concubinage, for which the man makes all due arrangements in his lifetime, and of which the law ought to take no cognizance whatever. Taking our stand on the native usage referred to, we should request every polygamist to register his chief wife. As this person is always well known, and much honour is attached to the position, no objection would be made to this. This lady and her children would be the heirs at the man's death. No other children could be regarded as heirs, they would possess only what they had received in their father's lifetime. The rest might fairly be left to education and the gradual raising of the moral tone of the community.

#### *The Land of a "Territory."*

Land after all is the question of questions in South Africa. We hear of the earth-hunger of Europeans; and no doubt this greed for land exists. But it is not a genuine desire to possess land and to hold it; it is greed for land as a paying speculation. The land speculator is as ready to sell as to buy—if only you will give him his price. But passing by the mere land grabber, who often steals the land as truly as another man steals a horse, we come to the genuine expanding movement of white men in South Africa. There is no concert between the individuals; but Europeans spread northward with the dogged determination exhibited by young locusts (the "footmen" of the Colonists), which before they get wings, march straight on in a given course, heedless of every obstacle. This land question has never been settled hitherto, except by war. Can it be faced, and managed without war? We venture to reply in the affirmative.

In a Territory, we should always go on the principle that the land belonged to the chief and tribe, not to the chief alone. The land which has been occupied and used would belong to those who had



occupied and used it. If the chief held ten times as much land as any of his people it would be his, but he would own no more than he had occupied and used. Sympathizers with Highland Crofters would recommend statesmen to hark back some centuries to the time when Highland glens belonged to chiefs and their people. It will be easier to begin aright in South Africa, and declare that tribal lands belong to the tribe—chief and people.

Our first movement as to the land possessed by the natives of a Territory would be to issue individual titles to all landholders. By giving the man this personal title, you help him to shake himself loose from old tribal thoughts, and teach him to look upon the new government as upholding his personal rights. But each title to land would have it legibly printed in more than one language—Not Saleable—Not Transferable. By adopting this course in the first instance you give the native landowner breathing time to become accustomed to the new order of things, and you completely paralyze the insidious efforts of the land speculator. Years run on while land is thus held and used by its native owners. Every farm would be occupied; it would be expected by the Territorial Government that good houses would be raised on the farms, and that the arable land would be enclosed. After the lapse of time, the assembled tribe might request that their land should be made saleable, and when this was ratified by the High Commissioner and sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, the unsaleable titles would be exchanged for saleable ones, and the land question settled without a lawsuit. Long accustomed to hold it by individual title, the well-doing native would retain his land even after he might sell it; the spendthrift native would sell and descend in the social scale, but he would have no grievance as against the white man; his selling would be his own act. When the lands of a Territory became saleable, it would probably be held advisable that in other respects that which was Territorial should cease, and the district itself be joined to some colony of which it would become a district or districts.

As we have elsewhere observed, in almost every native district in South Africa there are tracts of country lying unoccupied. A list of applicants for farms would be kept by the Administrator of a Territory—from whom he would select those whom he held to be most deserving. These occupiers of vacant land might be Europeans. They would hold the land under the same provisional title-deed as the natives—unsaleable and not transferable; the right to the holding to depend upon occupancy and improvement in the case of both whites and blacks. In practice, the farm of a white man could be made saleable by special arrangement in this way, that when the original holder of the farm brought a man to the Local Commissioner and requested his sanction to the transfer of the title, the Com-

missioner might be empowered to consent, if he approved of the new man as suitable for a native Territory. We strongly disapprove of seeking to make white men's countries and black men's countries. It is in the teeth of all the lessons of South African history. Let those who choose to come into a native Territory to farm on the above terms, do so ; their energy and skill would have the best effect on their native neighbours ; while to a young English or Colonial farmer the circumstances would be favourable, as labour would be easily obtained. As African farms are usually miles apart, dissimilar neighbours need not have too much of one another. It seems to us that our suggestions as to land would satisfy the natives—would lead them to confide more and more in the new government, and in the course of time develop the tribesman into the well-to-do farmer tilling his own holding. They would satisfy the Europeans, who would see that by this process vacant land could occasionally be obtained, and that without either bloodshed, false-swearing, or other disgraceful method. Our plan would not satisfy the speculator in land who never intends to occupy a single acre of his scores of farms ; our scheme would take away his occupation. Determined to obtain "something for nothing," our friend would be under the necessity to turn his attention to something else than land.

#### *Taxes.*

Taxes would be cheerfully paid for such a Territorial Government. Many recent events have tended sorely to raise doubt and suspicion in the native mind. Still, by intuition, surely, rather than reasoning, they exercise confidence in English justice ; and when they come to understand the fair terms on which the new government would be conducted, there can be no reasonable doubt of their readiness to support it. The usual way to tax natives has been by a hut-tax or poll-tax. Where natives held an irrigable garden in a village the tax would be higher ; and then we should have the tax on farm-holdings (quit-rent). As strong drink ought to be excluded by law from the Territory, we should have no revenue from licences. We consider the secluded canteens in the Cape Colony to be more costly to the colony than all the revenue which they bring. Stolen stock changes hands there ; thieves meet and hatch plans there. A canteen is no part of our scheme for Territorial Government. A small charge would be made for the title-deeds of which we have spoken, but not so much as to render it difficult for even poor people to pay it.

#### *Police.*

Each territory would have a small police force under the local magistrates and Administrator, and in case of emergency, under the orders of the High Commissioner. The police force should be com-



posed of Europeans and natives. No force would be efficient without this mixture. Europeans are necessary for some reasons, natives for others. Every one who knows the circumstances of the country will agree in this. As it would be known beforehand that no strong drink rations would be served to the corps, only men of certain tastes or certain strength of mind would remain in the force. The non-commissioned officers would be chiefly English, but by occasionally promoting a Griqua or native man a spirit of emulation would be produced.

### *War.*

In a country like South Africa occasional disturbances may be looked for. With territorial administration, however, such as is here described, disturbances would be checked before they drifted into wars. How many instances could be adduced in which the movement of a single finger, so to speak, at an early stage of a complication would have led to peace, whilst afterwards the same end was only secured with great difficulty and outlay? Our plan, therefore, is on the lines of the old saying—"Prevention is better than cure." No doubt, however, some chief or headman would take it upon him to stir up serious strife, and try how far he could go, and might exhaust the patience and diplomatic skill of his own Commissioner, and perhaps of the permanent Commissioner for Territories also. But when delay and reasoning had all failed, our only and most pacific policy would be to come upon him with force so overwhelming as to render his cause a hopeless one from the outset. Rude enemies ought never to obtain an advantage, if you can possibly prevent it. Civilized people cannot imagine the intoxicating effect of beating Europeans even in a minor engagement. It does not matter that you conquer in the end; those minor European defeats will be rehearsed and extolled and magnified, till a younger generation are induced to emulate the prowess of their elders—not that they hope for final success, but that they, too, may have something to brag of over their native beer. The true deterrent from war among such people is to prevent its success, if possible, on every occasion; and never to take the field until you can do so with certainty of complete success.

"But by what force is all this to be accomplished, and at whose expense? We are with you in all that you say about helping on the progress and development of South Africa; but we are not prepared to tax ourselves here in England to fight your battles in South Africa." Such are the remarks which we hear on this subject. Now, this position is completely illogical; for England holds nothing for which she may not have to fight. If England makes up her mind not to fight, she has to give up a great many things and places besides South Africa. If, with reference to South Africa, she really

holds the opinion that she would not fight for anything within its shores, it is quite evident that the time for hauling down the English flag in that country has long passed. There are some who would run away from difficulties, from the ignorance of the natives, from the thanklessness of the Boers and colonists, from the shadows of our own mistakes in South Africa; but they do not represent the great body of the English people.

But while we make these remarks about England going to war over some South African question, and insist that it is quite as much in her way to do so as over any question belonging to any of her colonies or dependencies, one of the leading features of the present scheme of Territorial Government is, that if England adopt it, we shall be in a position to quell local disturbances in South Africa by local forces. Tribal differences in that country render this quite practicable. We need not give illustrations. There is plenty of fighting power in South Africa to put down every local disturbance; what we need from England is the presiding mind and the guiding hand. Let us be explicit, and say that we do not mean to turn black men against white men, or white men against black men as such. We refer to such troubles as have recently taken place in various native territories in South Africa, and assert that they might all have been quelled without the expenditure of a shilling of English money. In case of a border dispute, as between a colonist or Transvaal or Free State man and an inhabitant of a native territory, governed under the High Commissioner, what possible occasion could we have for a war? There is not a State in South Africa that would go to war over the border disputes of one or two of its inhabitants; these would always be settled *seriatim* by the Local and High Commissioners, and not allowed to grow to the proportions of the Bechwanaland difficulty—a difficulty which would never have occurred if the intentions of the High Commissioner in 1878 had been carried out, and a Territorial Government established in the country.

And here we come to the point—which, when briefly stated, may seem somewhat paradoxical—that it will be easier for England to administer the government of several native territories, such as we have been describing, than to administer one. If you have only one trans-colonial native territory, and the necessity for warlike operations occur, you can only attack with European troops; but if you have several native territories under your Government, you will always be able to find fighting men ready to your hand.

We have long been deeply convinced of the feasibility of our scheme of Territorial Government in South Africa; and we now leave it with the English people to give their decision upon it, and trust their decision may be—Give this a fair trial.

But we must face one other objection before concluding our remarks.



Frequently have we heard the remark: "I see what you are driving at. I confess I personally agree with you; but your scheme implies increase of territory, and the English public are opposed to that." Now our scheme undoubtedly implies gradual and regulated increase of territory, as already described; and no scheme for the peaceful government of South Africa would be worth a moment's consideration which did not face the actual conditions of life in that country. But we think we have shown that our scheme would not tend to make aggression easy—it would indeed render it scarcely possible.

The question, then, for the English public to ponder is this. When semi-civilized tribesmen come in sincerity to England and say: "We beg your help in administering the affairs of our country. We have farms and flocks and herds; we wish to live in our own land and to pay our own way; our tribal customs do not any longer answer; help us with a better government;" and when Colonial Ministers approach our Government, as those of the Cape Colony have recently done, and say, "We are unable to administer the affairs of outlying native territories; we have tried and failed. We are willing to contribute in money. Help us;" what reply is England to make? We cannot believe that thoughtful, fair-minded English people will see anything unreasonable in these requests, or anything impossible in granting them. If we wanted native territory for our own purposes, and the chief and people objected and fought against us, and yet we took it because we wanted it, we can well understand that high-minded people would regard such conduct as odiously selfish. We propose no such course in South Africa. There is an "annexation" which is mere theft—that we abhor. But in the successful government of South Africa there must be wise provision made for a process which in our scheme would be like growth and not like theft. No land would be stolen and yet expansion would gradually take place. Black men would come southward, white men would go northward—under control and peacefully. There is a responsibility in accepting such a scheme; but there is a responsibility in rejecting it; and there is the gravest responsibility in letting things alone. The present condition of South Africa is a disgrace to the character and the known administrative ability of England. And yet with intelligent treatment, South Africa, as it has been the most difficult, and is to-day the most unique, may also become the most interesting of English dependencies, and the crowning effort of her successful administration.

JOHN MCKENZIE.

[Before it was announced in the newspapers that Lord Derby had expressed general approval of Mr. Mackenzie's scheme of Territorial Government in South Africa, it was thought well to obtain the views of the two last ex-Governors of the Cape Colony, Sir H. Barkly and Sir Bartle Frere, on the subject. Accordingly proofs of the foregoing article were sent to them and they have written the following notes.—ED.]

## I.

*To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.*

SIR,—Having had an opportunity of perusing the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie's suggestions for the government of Native Territories in South Africa, I have no hesitation in stating that they appear to me practical and wise.

They recommend indeed what—in its main features—is no novel or untried experiment. The general principle of encouraging tribes beyond the limit of the Colony to live under the jurisdiction of British Magistrates administering a modified form of Kaffir law, has long been acted on by the Cape Government. It has been in successful operation in Fingoland, for example, for the last fifteen years, and it worked admirably in Basutoland for fully half that period, until interrupted by extraneous causes.

It is understood to be the intention of the Imperial Government to re-establish the same system of administration in the latter country, and I hope that it will likewise be extended shortly, under the same auspices, to Bechwanaland, where circumstances seem peculiarly favourable for its introduction.

I see no reason why a similar form of government should not be carried out—without much trouble or expense—throughout the Native Territories of South Africa, especially those inhabited by the less warlike and more industrious branches of the Bantu family.

Mr. Mackenzie, in his most interesting paper, throws out hints as to the treatment of polygamy; the subdivision of tribal lands; the issue of individual titles thereto; the gradual admission of European settlers, &c., which strike me as most valuable coming from such a source. They might well form the basis of reforms to be set on foot at once among the Bechwanas, with whose social condition he is so intimately acquainted. They would require to be introduced with great caution among tribes less civilized and not so long accustomed to missionary influence.

With regard to the practicability of carrying out such a system of native government on the large scale which is advocated, under the sole control and guidance of Her Majesty's High Commissioner—I entertain no doubt whatever.

When about to proceed to the Cape, in 1870, I urged the retention of separate authority over native tribes by the Queen's Representative in the event of responsible government being adopted; and the result of the experience I gained whilst in South Africa convinced me that there would have been no serious objection to such an arrangement.

The cordial concurrence of the Cape Government would of course be essential, together with a subvention sufficient to meet the expenses of working a scheme devised mainly for the benefit of the Colony. The High Commissioner would require a special staff for the purpose, including, as Mr. Mackenzie points out, a permanent chief, qualified by long acquaintance with native customs and character, to advise him.

On the other hand, the Department of the present Secretary for Native Affairs might at once be greatly reduced, and eventually abolished, for there would be no small danger of friction if the two systems of management remained in operation side by side.

I have the honour to be

Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY BARKLY.

1, Bina Gardens, December 1883.



## II.

The plan for the future government of Bechwanaland and other native territories (whose relations to our Government in the Colonies of the Cape and Natal are somewhat similar to those of Bechwanaland at present)—as that plan is given under the heading of "The Government of South African Territories," down to the end of the Rev. John Mackenzie's article—is, in my opinion, a scheme not only feasible but easy of execution; and, if fairly and firmly worked out by Her Majesty's Government, it will, I believe, give a reasonable promise of peace, and secure progress to all the neighbours of our South African Colonies and to those Colonies themselves.

Time does not admit of my attempting any detailed remarks on Mr. Mackenzie's proposals, which are not new to me, as I had an opportunity of considering most of them when I had the advantage of personal communication with him in South Africa in 1878-9, and I will therefore only add, that the cardinal points necessary to the success of *any* scheme for the administration of native affairs in South Africa must, in my opinion, be that the British Government shall be the supreme power, and that the principles of any administration of native affairs shall be those of a Christian British Government and not of any barbarian or semi-civilized ruler.

H. B. E. FRERE.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### I.—APOLOGETIC THEOLOGY.

DR. LADD'S "Doctrine of Sacred Scripture" is an important work.\* Its second title gives the reader the best idea of its contents. It is pre-eminently adapted for students, and treats in an exhaustive manner nearly every important subject of Biblical criticism which is agitating the religious mind at the present day, including, among other questions of profound interest, those of Revelation, Inspiration, the Infallibility of the Bible, the human element which enters into it, the Sources of the information of the Sacred Writers, the Nature of the Canon, &c. The author shows a very extensive acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and he informs us that the work has occupied several years in its composition, which we can quite believe. Lest the size of these volumes (they contain no less than 1,475 closely printed pages) should deter students from reading them, we beg to assure them that their careful study will save them from the necessity of perusing an indefinite number of volumes, in which these subjects are separately discussed.

Pressensé's "Study of Origins,"† deals with the various systems of modern anti-theistic philosophy—viz., Positivism, Agnosticism, Pantheism, and Materialistic Atheism. Taken in conjunction with Paul Janet's work on "Final Causes," the work before us is, in our opinion, by far the best defence of Theism which these controversies have evoked. As might be expected from its author being a Frenchman, Positivism occupies a very prominent place in it, but the other subjects are most ably and satisfactorily treated, and with remarkable fairness. Every one who has sufficient leisure ought to make himself master of both these works, for every one ought to feel a deep interest in such questions as involve the existence of a moral governor of the universe, and the responsibility of man.

Dr. Reynolds' "Supernatural in Nature,"‡ travels over a considerable portion of the subjects treated of in the two treatises above referred to. The object of all three is substantially the same—viz., to prove the existence of an intelligent Author of the universe in opposition to the positions taken by the various forms of modern Materialistic, Pantheistic, Agnostic, and Positive Philosophy. The work before us contains a large amount of thought and information respecting the subjects on which it treats; but we cannot assign to it the same rank in philosophical value as to that of De Pressensé, or Paul Janet. One of its chief objects is to effect a reconciliation between the truths of modern science and what the author considers to be the affirmations of Revelation on the same subjects. We

\* "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture: a Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Old and New Testaments." By G. G. T. Ladd, D.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Yale College. T. & T. Clark. 1883.

† "A Study of Origins; or, The Problems of Knowledge, Being, and Duty." By E. De Pressensé. Hodder & Stoughton.

‡ "The Supernatural in Nature." By the Rev. J. R. Reynolds, Prebendary of St. Paul's. Kegan Paul & Co.



have no intention to express an opinion as to his success in this portion of his work. We think it right, however, to allow that if the position taken by Dr. Ladd, in the work above referred to, is correct, not a few of these supposed affirmations of Revelations form no portions of it. Several of these explanations have been previously propounded by others; but the work contains a valuable summary of the literature connected with this part of the question. We cannot help observing, however, that its argumentative value would be greatly enhanced by compression of the matter, and by giving greater prominence to the chief positions which it is the purpose of the author to maintain.

The Bishop of Carlisle's "Walks in the Regions of Science and Faith." (Murray) consists of ten essays and a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the funeral of Mr. Darwin. Some of these essays have appeared in previous numbers of this REVIEW; we must therefore forbear to criticize the work. Its purpose will be best described in the words of the author: "The reader will conclude from the title that he will find in the book discussions of matters scientific and religious, and he will not be disappointed; at the same time the volume is not a scientific treatise—nay, it is what is commonly called a religious book. It deals chiefly with questions which have both a religious and a scientific aspect . . . It contains a record of wanderings that belongs exclusively neither to science nor faith, but appertains more or less to both." We would simply remind the readers that its author is not merely a Bishop, but a Cambridge Senior Wrangler, and even if he had withheld his name we should have had no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that it was the work of a man of trained mathematical intellect.

Mr. H. Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," (Hodder & Stoughton) we understand, has attracted considerable attention. The publishers inform us in their advertisement that a demand has arisen for a fifth edition within the year, but they do not state the number of each issue. We have seen it favourably noticed in periodicals which command our respect. We have carefully read it through for ourselves, but we regret that we cannot concur in the favourable view of it which has been expressed by others. We by no means wish to deny that it has brought out several striking points; but taking the work as a whole, it seems to us to be essentially Pantheistic. The impression which it has left on our mind is best described by designating its contents as Christianized Pantheism, or rather, as Pantheized Christianity. The object of the author is to show that that which is designated "Natural Law" reigns also in the spiritual and moral universe; and that a full recognition of this truth will form the best support of the Christianity of the future. Accordingly, he adopts all those portions of the Spencerian Philosophy which he views as consistent with his system. His range of scientific reading is unquestionably large; but it is with regret that we feel compelled to say that we cannot acquiesce in a large portion of his reasonings, or his conclusions. Not a few of his positions we think wild, as for example, the chapters in which he treats of the subject of Parasites, which, both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, he seems to invest with intelligence, volition, and even responsibility; the poor mistletoe, *e.g.*, being punished with the penalties which attach to the condition of a parasite, owing to the fact of its ancestors not having in former ages lived up to their environment. Fanciful analogies abound throughout the entire work. The application of some of the author's theories to Christianity represents the future kingdom of God as confined within limits as narrow as the most pronounced Calvinism. According to him the Elect will be a very little flock, in which we can find no place for the great luminaries of the heathen world; but he forbears to tell us what will be the fate of the numerous non-



elect. The references to Scripture are frequent, but they are "to the letter which killeth, rather than to the spirit which giveth life." We need hardly say that we are unable to accept his exegesis. We may be in error, but such is the general impression produced on us by a perusal of this work.

—The object of the next work\* is the direct opposite to that of the one above referred to—viz., it is to prove that there is a gulf which it is impossible to bridge over, which separates natural and physical forces and laws from those which are spiritual and moral; and that the former are entirely subordinated to the latter. We have rarely perused an equally clear and perspicuous piece of reasoning with the work before us. While it is worthy of the study of the philosopher, it is comprehensible to the ordinary reader. It is wholly free from the common vice so freely indulged in by certain philosophical and scientific writers, viz.—the use of words which may not inaptly be designated "Chinese English," by which we mean technical terms composed of substantives, consisting of words of Greek and Latin origin, which by being placed in juxta-position, are made to do service as compound adjectives. From this heap of jargon, which ordinary readers find impossible to formulate in definite thought, and to which, we suspect, those who use it often fail to attach a definite meaning, this work is absolutely free; the whole being expressed in simple vernacular English. The subject is one which the vague use of terms during the controversies of the past has involved in no little mist and obscurity; but the author has made it quite comprehensible to all who are capable of following a course of clear reasoning, thus proving that the practice of those "who darken counsel by words without knowledge" (by which in this place we mean words the meaning of which it is hardly possible to realize in definite thought) is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. Greg's work† consists of a number of dialogues, in which numerous questions connected with Theism, Agnosticism, and Materialistic Philosophy in their bearing on religion and morality are discussed by the *dramatis personæ* with the most outspoken freedom. This dialogue form of treating subjects of profound religious and moral interest may be a very popular one; but we think that it seldom conduces to the interest of truth, as it practically converts the writer into judge, jury, plaintiff, defendant, and counsel to the cause. We readily allow that there are many striking points in the book. One of the interlocutors, who is a Theist, but whose theism is far more negative than positive, very ably disposes of several points in the Agnostic and Positive Philosophy, in the Darwinian Theory, and in Utilitarian morality. Most of the speakers take it for granted, that belief in the supernatural element in Christianity is no better than a worn-out superstition, the truth of which it is a mere waste of time to discuss. In thus representing the case, we cannot forbear charging the author with deliberate unfairness. We also consider that while upsetting Utilitarianism, as affording a basis on which to found moral obligation, he has neglected to place on a firm foundation the principles of morality, on which much doubt is cast in the course of the discussion. Our opinion therefore is, that however useful a work of this kind may be to minds that are capable of digesting strong meat, it is pre-eminently calculated to render persons who are shaky in their belief in religion and morality more shaky still.

The two volumes, of which Mr. Lake's work‡ is composed, consist of a number of letters, which are devoted to the discussion of the three following subjects—viz., the Old and New Testament, Rational Theology, and Transcendental

\* "On the Difference between Moral and Physical Law." The Fernley Lecture, 1883. By W. Arthur. T. Walmer.

† "Without God." By P. Greg. Hurst & Blackett.

‡ "Creeds of the Day; or, Collated Opinions of Reputable Thinkers." By H. Lake. Trübner & Co.



Theology. The first of these contains a most incisive attack on Judaism and Christianity. It is either pre-eminently one-sided, or the author must be of opinion that there are no "reputable thinkers" who have held views on this subject, which are contrary to his own; for we find the literature on that side of the question most imperfectly referred to, and then, when it is noticed, no attempt is made to weigh its argumentative value. Of that portion of the work which is devoted to "Rational Theology," we can speak more favourably; and we are of opinion, that there are many points in it which are well worthy of consideration by both sides of the question. Of the concluding division, our opinion is less favourable. While there are points in it deserving of attention, we think it one-sided, though not so much, so as the mode in which Judaism and Christianity are discussed, which amounts to nothing less than *petitio principii* of the entire question. We should have considered Paul Janet a "writer of repute" on several of the subjects treated in this book, but we have failed to recognize his name; and the work is destitute of an index or table of contents, which renders references extremely difficult.

Our next book\* is another attack on Christianity. We can only say of it, that the paper and the type are excellent, but that the reasoning is as poor as the paper and the type are good. We hope that the Barrister's acquaintance with law is more extensive than with this controversy.

We notice Professor Fairbairn's work† in this place because it contains a portion of the evidences of Christianity, which the authors of the above works would have done well to have given their attention to, and if they had been able, to refute; we mean that portion of the evidence which concentrates around the person of our Lord. With this the author deals with uncommon fervour. One or two chapters are not quite up to the level of the remainder; but we cannot more strongly express our sense of the value of the work, than by saying that we have read it through twice; and that we are meditating to give it a third perusal.

The next work‡ has the advantage of dealing with one single point in the Evidence of Christianity, which admits of a separate treatment, without being mixed up with any other—viz., the institution of the Eucharist, the truths which are involved in its institution, and the results which have followed from it. Here the strongest opponent of Christianity must admit that we are in the presence of facts, which are unquestionably historical, and which can be traced upon indubitable historical evidence to the very night which preceded the Crucifixion. The important question is, what is necessarily implied by an institution, which is so absolutely unique in history? To this, Dr. Maclear has returned a clear and perspicuous answer—an answer which is level to the intelligence of ordinary readers. We strongly recommend the school of critics who deny the historical character of the Gospel, instead of continually arguing that miracles are impossible, and carping at minor details, to deal with such special points in the evidence of Christianity as are treated of in this and in the previous work. This will bring the controversy within definite limits; for the truth of Christianity really rests on a very moderate number of historical facts. If these can be proved to be destitute of an historical foundation, Christianity will perish; but if they cannot, it will endure, despite of all the efforts, theories, and conjectures of that school of thought, which is designated "The Higher Criticism."

CHARLES A. ROW.

\* "Christianity and Common Sense." By a Barrister. Chapman & Hall.

† "The City of God." By Professor Fairbairn. Hodder & Stoughton.

‡ "The Evidential Value of the Holy Eucharist." By the Rev. G. Maclear, D.D. Macmillan & Co.

## II.—POETRY.

MR. AUSTIN DOBSON'S volume of "Old-World Idylls" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.) will be very welcome to all those readers whom bad luck or their own negligence has prevented from obtaining the earlier volumes, "Vignettes in Rhyme" and "Proverbs in Porcelain." The "Old-World Idylls" have been selected from these volumes. For any one who is disappointed to find only a selection of old poems reprinted where he looked for a new book of poetry, there is some consolation on the fly-leaf, which promises another volume shortly, "At the Sign of the Lyre." Besides, there are some new verses among the old ones in this present collection, and these make it more than a second edition of "Vignettes" and "Proverbs." It is probable that Mr. Dobson's fame suffered a little, after the first publication of his poems, from the hasty judgment which coupled his name with that of the author of "London Lyrics." Ten years ago it was still possible to find, every now and then, a review article on what were called "Vers de Société." This review article was always very much the same, from period to period. It began with Praed and ended with Mr. Locker. When "Vignettes in Rhyme" appeared, they were taken captive by the rambling and predatory article: for review purposes, they became a mere appendix to "London Lyrics." No distinction was made between them and the other victims, except that they were the last to be devoured. Small justice was done by this indiscriminating treatment either to Mr. Dobson or to the poets with whom he was compared. Mr. Dobson has done well to present his poems a second time to his readers, and his "Plaudite" will be answered heartily by a large audience. The poems have one great virtue—each one of them claims to be remembered; and this, after all, is the surest test of poetry. Each one of the poems presents itself as a distinct work, to forget which is a definite loss, as much as the breaking of a statue. To read them is a different thing from going through a number of blank verse pages, which leave the mind in a certain more or less exhilarated condition, but without any distinct image or clear word to carry away. The "Old-World Idylls" and the other poems in this book have protected themselves against criticism in a very effectual way, by compelling the reader to remember them in all their variety, and making him ashamed of the ordinary comparative methods which make one poem look exactly like any other poem—as soon as the poetry is taken out of it. What criticism can there be of a book which contains both the "Ballad of Beau Brocade" and "Before Sedan"—both "Pot-Pourri" and "A Case of Cameos"? A quotation from the last-named poem will give an example of one of the many manners of the poet: it is "a dream of form in days of thought":—

## BERYL.

(THE SIRENS.)

"Lastly with Pleasure was a Beryl graven,  
Clear-hued, divine. Thereon the Sirens sung.  
What time, beneath, by rough rock bases caven,  
And jaw-like rifts where many a green bone clung,  
The strong flood-tide, in-rushing, coiled and swung.  
Then,—in the offing,—on the lift of the sea,  
A tall ship drawing shoreward—helplessly.  
For from the prow e'en now the rowers leap  
Headlong, nor seek from that sweet fate to flee. . . .  
Ah me, those Women-witches of the Deep!"

It would be unjust to Mr. Dobson not to give an example of his lighter manner, and equally unjust to judge his poetical power by a single specimen. This Rondeau shows his "light-heeled numbers" moving to one of "the fair old tunes of France":—



" Farewell, Renown ! too fleeting flower  
That grows a day to last an hour ;—  
Prize of the race's chest and beat,  
Too often trodden under feet,—  
Why should I court your ' barren dower !'

" Nay ;—had I Dryden's angry power—  
The thews of Ben,—the wind of Gower ;  
Not less my voice should still repeat  
' Farewell, Renown !'

" Farewell !—Because the Muses' bower  
Is filled with rival brows that lower ;—  
Because, howe'er his pipe be sweet,  
The Bard, that ' pays,' must please the street ;—  
But most . . . because the grapes are sour,—  
' Farewell, Renown !'

Mr. Arnold's "Indian Idylls" (Trübner) are versions in a plain, smooth style of portions of the Mahābhārata—a harvest from the Oriental field which the hungry Romantic School of Germany discovered in its search for new poetic material to fatten its lean kine upon. These versions—perhaps fortunately—have nothing of the Romanticist extravagance. They are sober narratives, in which every opportunity for exaggerated emphasis is rejected. The most curious part of the book is at the end—the story of a kind of "Harrowing of Hell," where the righteous king Yudhishtira leaves heaven to look for the souls of his brothers,—his descent into the evil place being for him, though he does not know it, the necessary purgation appointed for his spirit. At his first sight of the horrors he turns back, but the spirits call to him to stay and help them by his presence :

"Thou (O thou son of Bhārat!) Yudhishtir  
Turned heavenward his face, so was he moved  
With horror and the hanging stench, and spent  
By toil of that black travel. But his feet  
Scarce one stride measured, when about the place  
Pitiful accents ran: 'Alas, sweet king!—  
Ah, saintly Lord!—ah, Thou that hast attained  
Peace with the blessed, Pandū's offspring!—pause  
A little while, for love of us who cry!  
Naught can harm thee in all this baneful place;  
But at thy coming there 'gan blow a breeze  
Balmy and soothing, bringing us relief.  
O Pritha's son, mightiest of men! we breathe  
Glad breath again to see thee; we have peace  
One moment in our agonies. Stay here  
One moment more, Bhārata's child! Go not,  
Thou victor of the Vārū! Being here,  
Hell softens and our bitter pains relax.'

These pleadings, wailing all around the place,  
Heard the King Yudhishtira,—words of woe  
Humble and eager; and compassion seized  
His lordly mind. 'Poor souls unknown,' he sighed,  
And hellwards turned anew; for what those were,  
Whence such beseeching voices, and of whom,  
That son of Pandū wist not,—only wist  
That all the noxious murk was filled with forms,  
Shadowy, in anguish, crying grace of him."

This is a good specimen of the unaffected style of the narratives. The story is never obscured by the words in which it is told, and the whole book is a clear gain to those who are curious about the Indian epic poetry.

Several different styles are represented in Mr. Lewis Morris's new volume. ("Songs Unsung." Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.) There are three collections headed "Pictures"—collections of quatrains, each quatrain suggesting some scene or figure or dramatic situation. These pictures are perhaps the most

interesting of all the new poems. They are certainly successful in calling up shapes that command the attention of those who read the book. But these short notes can hardly be called works of art. They resemble the notes and sketches left by Hawthorne, which, with all their charm, are yet not to be compared with his finished stories. Should the poet leave his audience to work out his suggestions for themselves? Will not the audience in that case prefer to take suggestions for poems from the original storehouse, the much maligned "external world"?

This is a good sketch:

"A poisonous dead sad sea marsh filled with pines,  
Thin-set with mouldering churches, old as Time;  
Beyond, on high, just touched with wintry rime,  
The long chain of the autumnal Apennines;"

—though "old as Time" will not bear comparison with the "half as old" of an earlier poet. "Niobe" and "Clytemnestra in Paris" are monologues. "Odatis" and "St. Christopher" are narrative poems in blank verse. "Niobe" is a disappointing poem—disappointing because one looks for Apollo and Artemis, and gets only the sun and moon instead. Without disrespect to the sun and moon, it may be contended that Apollo and Artemis are divinities to be revered by poets, and that to make the sun and the moon take vengeance with sunstroke and moonstroke is to revert to a Pagan mythology that is too much out-worn. We (who are sophisticated) can't imagine that the visible moon is a goddess bending a bow against men, though savages believe in this moon archery, believe that the actual moon which they can see and point to is aiming arrows at earth. "The arrow is turned towards us and we cannot see it." (v. Tylor's "Primitive Culture.") [The *Athenæum*, Dec. 8, says that "the suns shake hands across all the revolving constellations"—an interesting survival from a mythology older than Apollo.] It is instructive to compare Mr. Lewis Morris's "Niobe" with the account of the vengeance of Artemis in the "Lady of the Land" ("Earthly Paradise, vol. ii.) where the avenging goddess appears in the moonlight. "Clytemnestra in Paris" is an interesting poem, though the woman's character does not—like that of some women in Balzac—fascinate, and tortures while it repels the reader; the character is perhaps too entirely worthless for a dramatic sketch—mere "emptiness with a human face." The two narrative poems "St. Christopher" and "Odatis" are pleasing enough, but they pass away from the memory very soon. The Breton Poems—three ballads from the "Barsaz Breiz"—are very interesting, especially "The Foster Brother," a ballad on the "Lenore" theme, in which the death-ride ends in some Celtic paradise—a sunny orchard where the spring of life is. Of the moral and reflective poems in the volume it is hard to speak, when one remembers what the author has written before, and how unlike these colourless and prosaic arguments are to some of the "Songs of Two Worlds," to the poem on Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, or the poem—perhaps the strongest of all its author's works—"O snows so fine, O peaks so high."

Mr. F. Wyville Home, in his little book of "Lay Canticles," has written some graceful verses—most successfully, when his subject is not too serious. "Buffalmacco's Stratagem" is a good piece of comic story-telling from Sacchetti. The Italian novelists have been too much neglected since the great days of their popularity. Mr. F. Wyville Home should try his hand on some of the *Fabliaux*.

The Oxford edition of the old Northern Poetry\* is a work of the first order of scholarship. That is plainly seen almost at the first glance by any one who

\* "Corpus Poeticum Boreale:" the Poetry of the Old Northern Tongue from the earliest times to the Thirteenth Century. Edited, classified, and translated, with Introduction, Exercises, and Notes, by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A., and F. York Powell, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1883.



opens the volumes. It may be a long time before the value of the separate details can be truly estimated; yet it is possible to judge a critical work by the way in which it states its problems no less than by the way in which it solves them. Considered simply as an example of critical style and method, this edition would be memorable as an example of the way in which a mass of learning can be made vivid, inspired and inspiring, by scholars whose imagination is not dulled but quickened under its load of philological and other material. The editor and translator are not limited in their views of the duty of a scholar; they see no reason why critical restoration of a text should be confined to men unable to frame a general statement on any subject; they give liberally, not only texts and translations, but discussions of most of the points which make the Northern religion and literature so difficult and so interesting a problem: they are believers in poetry as well as critics of words, and students of history as well as literature. Their work will be one of the most memorable products of that modern learning which is reconstructing the history of the "dark" and the "middle" ages.

The parts of the edition which are most striking are the discussion of the place and date of the Eddic songs (i. p. 61); that "On some Mythologic Aspects of Old Northern Poetry;" the two Excursus in vol. i. "On the Belief and Worship of the Ancient Northmen," and "On the Northern and Old Teutonic Metres;" the Excursus in vol. ii. p. 501, "On Traces of Old Heroic Teutonic Songs to be found in *Islendinga Sögur*, and in other Tales;" and the new text of the *Völuspá* given in vol. ii. p. 621.

The editor's theory of the date and place of the early poems makes a broad distinction between two stages in the history of the Northern mythology and poetry. The first period is that before the Exodus of the sea-rovers; the poetry of this period is wanting in most of the ideas, and in many of the words, which belong to the later period. The poems of the earliest period are, in the first place, the old collection of gnomic verses, then the oldest religious poetry, then the oldest versions of the common German traditions, those of the *Völsungs*, of Attila the Hun, of Ermanaric the Goth. The poems of this period know nothing of the beliefs which are made so much of in later poems, and in the prose Edda—nothing of Valhall, or the Valkyries, or the Final Judgment approaching. The second period of the older poetry, the period of the last days of heathenism, is marked by new beliefs, new words, and new ideas about the daily life. The editor believes that the great school of Northern poetry, after the first period, flourished not in Iceland, but in the colonies on the Celtic coasts, and chiefly in the Western Isles. The splendour and luxury of the manner of living represented in these poems, point to some other land than Iceland or Scandinavia as their place of origin: the Celtic element in their vocabulary points to the Western islands; the mythology of the end of all things, of the coming of a new heaven and a new earth, points to the influence of Christian teaching, probably of the Irish Church (i. pp. 56-64). The Valhall mythology is the mythology of the Viking time—of three generations of men—not the original Scandinavian mythology, which is the same as that of all the Teutonic tribes. The early Scandinavian religion is in the main ancestor-worship. The *Anses* are the spirits of heroes, *ἑσθλοὶ ἀλκιμακοί*. "Thunder and Woden are worshipped by a tribe or confederation and a king or prince acts as his *rex sacrificulus*, but each clan and family has its own *Anses*," i. p. 418.

The oldest myths are those of the creation. The editor has discovered the God Hoene ("long legged," "lord of the ooze") the stork (Hoene=hohni=κύκνος) that hatches the egg of the world. He is "the Creator walking in Chaos, brooding over the primitive mish-mash or tobu-bobu." But not all of the early myths are of this barbaric character. Besides the very old myths of cosmogony given in the Prose Edda, there are other myths of t



early religion which are more spiritual, and show the beginning of that grave imagination which afterwards made the stories of the Doom of the Gods. The myths of Odin's wanderings in search of wisdom are reckoned as archaic by the Editor (i. p. 103). The wandering god of these myths is different from the god who holds his court in the unbroken high-tide and holiday of Valhall. There is one of these earlier myths which seems to be an anticipation of the later Christianized myths. It appears in the *Hávamál*—the myth of Odin hanging over the abyss "on the tree whose roots no man knoweth," gaining the gift of wisdom—the runes. "I caught the mysteries up with a cry,\* then I fell back (descended)." The tree that goes through the Universe is reckoned by the Editor (p. 63) as one of the Western additions to the Northern mythology. Is not this gallows-tree of Odin the same as *Yggdrasill*, with its spring of wisdom at its roots? It is so taken in the brilliant literary criticism of the Northern poetry which appeared about fifteen years ago in the *North British Review*—(written by whom?).

In connection with this subject of the two stages in the development of Northern religion the new text of the *Volospa* should be carefully studied. This new text is one of the great achievements of the Editor: the manner in which it is introduced is a good indication of the lively and unpedantic character of the whole work. The Editor, after printing a text of the *Volospa* in vol. i. found himself obliged, while the sheets were going through the press, to change the whole arrangement of the poem. The happy idea came to him, a little late indeed—too late to allow him to conceal from his readers the processes of his working—but in time to allow the new text to be included in an appendix. That new text is based on a comparison of the old text with the Prose Edda paraphrase. From the paraphrase a clue is found to the reconstruction of the poem. In the first place the poem is divided into two distinct poems—the longer and the shorter *Volospa*. "The shorter *Volospa* is a poem of the old type, somewhat rough and coarse and material in character, didactic, genealogic, anthropomorphic, altogether more barbarous and indigenous with a simple framework of archaic fashion. The longer *Volospa* is, on the other hand, a poem which stands quite alone among the creations of Northern poets; it is spiritual, immaterial, philosophic, even mystical in its inspiration." This separation of the two poems is one great exploit. The next is the division of the larger *Volospa* into its three parts; the songs of *three* Sibyls, not of one, as represented in the old editions. The first Sibyl tells of the beginning of things and the first murder; the second, of the Doom of the Gods; the third, of the new world—"all ills shall be healed at the coming of Balder."

The restoration of the text in particular words is as bold as the general plan of reconstruction.

The Editor's powers of conjectural emendation are best shown in the second volume, in his dealing with the later poetry, the Court poetry, the extant text of which has suffered grievously from some one unknown with a talent for *réfacimento* work.

Two of the most interesting of the Essays in these volumes are those on the old German heroic traditions (i. p. 1), and on the influence of the epic traditions of the later Iceland family stories (*Islendinga Sögur*) (ii. p. 501).

The first of these Essays deals with one of the most interesting points of literary history: the vitality of historical tradition among the Germans at the time of the wandering of the peoples, and the rapidity and certainty with which the hero of one of the tribes became, for poetic purposes, the common property of all. Sigmund and Sinfitela belong to the Beowulf poet; Hildebrand, of the Old High German lay, belongs also to the Northern stock

\* This cry of Odin at his attainment of wisdom might be compared (and contrasted) with the cry of the old Nature powers at the birth of Athena (v. *Pindar*).



of epic material; and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, is known not only to Deor the English poet, but to the Scandinavians as well. This is what is said of him in the four verses of the Rökstone inscription—(Redmere is taken to mean the Mediterranean): "Theodrick, the daring of mood, the lord of sea, ruled Redmere's strand. He, the prince of the Maerings, sitteth now in full war-gear on his steed, shield-girt."

The second Essay traces the epical traditions in the prose sagas. Mr. Vigfusson's discovery of Beowulf in the Grettis saga is well known. He believes also that there is a reminiscence of the Lombard story of Alboin in the Vatusdaela Saga and of Walther of Aquitaine, the hero of Ekluhard's poem, and of the English "Waldere," in the story of Gunnlang the Wormtongue.

The Excursus "on the Old Northern and Teutonic metres" has the breadth of view which belongs to all the discussions in the book. The German literature of the subject is wholly ignored. The original Teutonic metre (little more than emphatic alliterative prose) is supposed by the Editor to be fairly well represented by the long line of the Harbardsliód, "the most prose-like of them all." From this "stretched metre of an antique song" were derived all the Teutonic and Scandinavian alliterative metres—the long line of the older lays and the short line of Guewulf, the Beowulf poet and the Norse poets of the Western Isles being the two earliest forms.

The University of Oxford deserves the thanks of all students of literature, mythology, history, and language, for this latest of its many good books.

W. P. KER.

### III.—PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

#### GREEN SUN AND STRANGE SUNSETS.

DURING the first half of September, the sun in Ceylon and India, and also in the West Indies, presented at rising and setting the appearance of a green or greenish-blue disc. Even when at his highest the sun appeared pale blue in Ceylon (from the other places no account of the sun's aspect at high noon has reached me). On September 2, at Trinidad, the sun looked like a blue globe after five in the evening, "and after dark," says the report, "we thought there was a fire in the town from the bright redness of the heavens." At Ongole, as the sun approached the horizon his disc passed from a blueish tinge to green, which became tinged with yellow as he approached the horizon. "After he had set, light yellow and orange appeared in the west, a very deep red remaining for more than an hour after sunset; whereas, under ordinary conditions, all traces of colour leave the sky in this latitude," says the narrator, "within half an hour after the sun disappears." These accounts, from both the eastern and western hemispheres, seem clearly to associate the green sun which attracted so much attention in the tropics early in September, with the remarkable sunsets seen in Arabia, in Africa (North and South), and throughout Europe during October and November. For we see that whatever may have been the explanation of the green sun, the phenomenon must have been produced by some cause capable of producing after sunset a brilliant red and orange glow, for a time much exceeding the usual duration of the twilight after-glow. The occurrence of the after-glow, with the same remarkable tints and similar exceptional duration elsewhere—though some weeks later—shows that a similar cause was at work.

Two points are clear. First, the cause alike of the greenness of the sun and the ruddy after-glow was in the air, not outside; and, secondly, the matter, whatever it was, which made the sun look green when he was seen through it, and

which under his rays looked red, was high above the surface of the earth. It can readily be shown, so far as this last point is concerned, that matter at a lower level than 16 miles could not have caught the sun's rays so long after sunset as the glow was seen. On the other point it suffices, of course, to note that if some cause in the sun himself had been at work, the whole earth would have seen the green sun, while the after-glow would have found no explanation at all.

As to the actual cause to which both phenomena are to be ascribed, we must, I think, exculpate Krakatoa from all part or share in producing these strange effects. The appearance of a blue sun at Trinidad, followed two or three days later by a green sun in the East Indies, cannot possibly be associated with the occurrence of an earthquake on the Javan shore a few days earlier. Besides, it must be remembered that we should have to explain two incongruous circumstances; first, how the exceedingly fine matter ejected from Krakatoa could have so quickly reached the enormous height at which the matter actually producing the after-glow certainly was; and, secondly, how having been able to traverse still air so readily one way, that matter failed to return as readily earthwards under the attraction of gravity. Again the explanation, which at first seems a most probable one, that unusually high strata of moist air, with accompanying multitudes of ice particles, caused the phenomena alike of absorption and of reflection, seems negatived—first, by the entire absence of any other evidence of extraordinary meteorological conditions in September, October, and November last; and, secondly, by the entire absence of any of the optical phenomena which necessarily accompany the transmission of sunlight through strata of air strewn with many ice particles.

We seem obliged then to adopt a theory, first advanced, I believe, by Mr. A. C. Ranyard, that the phenomena were caused by a cloud of meteoric dust encountered by the earth, and received into the upper regions of the air, thence to penetrate slowly (mayhap not till many months have passed) to the surface of the earth. Mr. Ranyard calls attention to the circumstance that probably the early snows of the winter 1883-4 would bring down the advanced guard of such meteoric dust; and even as I write I learn that Mr. W. Mathieu Williams has followed the suggestion (thrown out in *Knowledge* for December 7). He carefully collected the snow which fell in his garden, 80 yards from his chimneys and half a mile from any to windward. Slicing off a top film of the snow with a piece of glass he thawed it, and found a sediment of fine brownish-black powder. Ferrocyanide of potassium added to the snow-water produced no change of colour, showing the absence of iron in solution, nor was there any visible reaction on the black dust till he added some hydrochloric acid. Then the blue compound indicating iron was abundantly formed all round the granules, and presently, as their solution was effected, a bluish-green deposit was formed, and the whole liquid deeply tinged with the same colour. "It was not," says Mr. Williams, "the true Prussian-blue reaction of iron alone, but just the colour that would be produced by mixing small quantities of the cyanide of nickel (yellowish green) and the cyanide of cobalt (brownish white) with a preponderating amount of Prussian blue."

If this explanation of the green sun and the extraordinary sunsets should be confirmed, it appears to me that a most interesting result will have been achieved. Of course it is no new thing that as the earth rushes onwards through space she encounters yearly many millions of meteoric bodies, large and small; nor ought it to be regarded as strange that besides these separate bodies, millions of millions in the form of fine cosmical dust should be encountered; but actual evidence, derived from the behaviour of sunlight (the red and yellow rays reflected and a relative superabundance of green and blue



rays therefore transmitted), would be an interesting and important addition to our knowledge of matters meteoric.

#### PONS'S COMET.

The return of Pons's Comet is interesting to astronomers, because of the evidence it affords as to the elements of this body's orbit; to the general observer of the heavens less interesting, because the Comet is not a very conspicuous object, though clearly visible to the naked eye: but to that increasing body of amateur astronomers who study the heavenly bodies with powerful telescopes (and from whom most of our knowledge of new physical features in those orbs has recently been derived), the Comet is interesting because of strange changes which have taken place in its aspect. In 1812 the Comet was visible to the eye for ten weeks, and showed a tail about two degrees in length. At the time of writing these lines (December 11) we have not been able to say more than that the Comet has been visible to the naked eye. But as a telescopic object, the Comet has been very noteworthy. The nucleus and coma have singularly interchanged lustre; when the Comet has been best seen as a whole, the telescope has shown it with a sharply defined and bright nucleus, but the coma or nebulous light around the nucleus barely discernible. Anon the coma has formed a diffused rather bright disc, the nucleus being no longer bright or well defined. Several changes of this sort have already taken place. We shall lose the Comet in the beginning of February, and before that time it will be but ill seen in these northern latitudes.

#### THE GREAT SPOT ON JUPITER.

This remarkable object has continued to attract attention, though no longer presenting the ruddy tint on the singular red tint (partly due to inherent light, according to the late Dr. Draper), which gave to this enormous region of disturbance an exceptional interest from 1878 to 1881. A remarkable phenomenon has been observable during the later months of this spot's existence. The equatorial zone's southern edge has spread southwards till it has reached and then overlapped the spot, until at length half the spot was traversed by this southern extension of the equatorial zone. Traversed, but not concealed. Professor Hough, of the Chicago Observatory, considers that this shows the two layers to be "composed of matter having repellent properties similar to two clouds charged with the same kind of electricity." Surely it suffices to infer that the equatorial layer lies high above the region where the great spot has been formed, and that we see the form of the great spot *through* the zone of clouds which has spread over it. We may safely infer that a great distance, probably much more than a thousand miles, separates the two regions. So far as I know, the singularly symmetrical form of the great spot has not yet received the attention it deserves. Surely it is a most significant feature. Here was a spot with a surface three-fourths of our earth's extent, of all but perfectly elliptical form, maintaining that form with very few changes for two or three years. Whence could the symmetrical form have been obtained but from the action of some expansive force spreading around a centre of disturbance. It appears to me in effect demonstrated that the great spot was due to the action of eruptive forces at the real surface of the planet, thousands of miles below the surface of visible cloud we see, great masses of compressed and intensely hot vapour being flung up into the cloud region, and there expanding in all directions, but most in the direction of the planet's rotation, so as to produce a vast elliptical opening in the cloud layer, the greater axis of the ellipse being parallel to the planet's equator.

#### MATHEMATICS OF THE IMAGINARY.

Since the last meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, so much has been said about non-Euclidean geometry, four-

dimensioned space, and imaginary mathematics generally, that a science record of the season could be hardly complete without some reference to the chief subject of the Presidential address. Yet there is very little to be said save that, so far as the advancement of science is concerned, the Mathematics of the Imaginary is absolutely valueless; time and thought devoted to it are time and thought withdrawn from useful work. So-called imaginary quantities, or impossible quantities, play an important part in analytical mathematics, and it is useful, where possible, to show how such quantities have their analogies in space relations. For in these relations, we not only find the aptest and fullest illustrations of the quantitative relations dealt with in mathematical analysis, but the most valuable applications of our analysis are found in their case. But it is idle to try to find more in this way than exists in space as we actually conceive it, and can alone conceive it. We might with equal reason try to make time do more than it has yet done in the way of illustrating mathematical analysis. We know of time as of one dimension only; we may represent duration by numbers, or by such expressions,  $a, b, c, x, y, z$ , as we use in algebraical formulæ. But in a problem relating to time, the progress of our calculations may introduce the squares, cubes, &c., the square roots, cube roots, and so forth, of these numbers or quantities. And if we like, we may choose to bewilder ourselves and others by asking whether, in some other universe than ours, a concrete meaning may not be recognized in the square or the square root of time, or its cube or cube root, and so forth; whether, in fact, time may not be imagined as having other dimensions than duration. Undoubtedly, there is nothing more inconceivable in the idea of time having some property akin to breadth, as well as that property of duration which is akin to length, than there is in the thought that space besides extension in length, in breadth, and in depth, may have some fourth kind of extension, or even a fifth, sixth, or many; nor is there anything more intrinsically absurd in the idea of time re-entering into itself, or branching off in several directions, than there is in the idea of a straight line, extended indefinitely, returning into itself, or of two divergent straight lines eventually meeting.

#### THE SOLAR CORONA.

Two announcements which have been recently made respecting the total eclipse of last May, seem to me worthy of special notice. One is M. Janssen's statement, that he assuredly saw the Fraunhoferian dark lines in the spectrum of the corona (recognizing at least a hundred of them), because this proves beyond all possibility of doubt or question that the corona consists in part of meteoric matter in cosmical dust. The other is the statement of the experienced Italian spectroscopist Tacchini, that he detected in the light of the brightest coronal plume or streamer, the characteristic bands of the well-known comet spectrum; for this shows that we have in the corona, as had long been suspected, matter of the same nature and in the same condition, as in comets. M. Janssen touches passingly on the strange fancy of Dr. Hastings, that the corona is a phenomenon of diffraction; but it need hardly be said, he is not at the pains seriously to refute that idea. Dr. Hastings noted, rather cleverly, precisely what it was certain beforehand would be detected—if any one thought it worth while to look for it—evidence of diffraction. But to attribute the complicated and far extending system of streamers, called the corona, to a cause which could only produce a fine ring of sun-surrounding light, is out of all reason.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.



## NEW BOOKS.

*The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton.* By his Son. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.)—Lord Lytton makes a mistake in interlarding his father's biography with his unpublished writings. The reason he gives for doing so is that he is writing, not so much a life of his father as a book "to illustrate his father's works by his life and his life by his works;" but that would require him to incorporate in the same way all his father's published writings; and, besides, it can be done better by printing the works and the life separately. The biography, taken by itself, promises to be one of uncommon interest. The present two volumes are little more than a third of the whole work, and carry us down only to the threshold of Bulwer Lytton's public career. The first volume contains his autobiography, which, as so often happens with autobiographies, ends with his attainment of manhood; but, as far as it goes, it is full of curious adventure and romance, and, in spite of the writer's mannerisms, very entertaining. The son continues the narrative in the next volume with great good taste and thoughtful discriminating filial appreciation. His first duty in it is the very delicate one of touching on the romantic and unhappy marriage of his father. Unhappy marriages—judging from the genealogical chapter of the autobiography—seem to be a kind of heirloom in the family. The Lytton blood is always setting father against son and wife against husband, nobody can tell why. The chapters on Lord Lytton's early literary work contain many good remarks, and the author is probably right in saying "Pelham" will outlive his father's later and better works. It has more individuality, such as it is. But surely he is too credulous when he attributes the present fashion of wearing black coats to evening dress to the remark of Lady F. Pelham, that only distinguished people look best in black.

*Oriental Experience.* By Sir Richard Temple, Bart. (Murray.)—Sir R. Temple deals in this work with the most varied subjects, but we are struck throughout with his mastery of the facts, his lucid arrangement and exposition, and his broad and statesmanlike views. His work is "the outcome," he tells us, "of thirty years' preparation," and, we may add, of preparation of the best kind, the mixture of careful study with long personal experience of practical administration. He says the one ruling thought that connects together all the different papers he has gathered in this book, is the thought of British responsibility; and looking at questions from that standpoint, he is not only aloof from the spirit of party contention, but also from the ordinary *idola* of the Indian provincial. He is strongly in favour of committing the local government of India to natives, and believes any perils such a system may have will be amply provided against by retaining the ultimate control over the local boards in the hands of the central government. He gives us a hearty defence of missions, and interesting accounts of religious movements among the natives, and the temperance movement among Europeans. His geographical papers are very instructive, and accompanied by maps; and the articles on the Mahrattas, whom he has had special opportunities of becoming familiar with, are a series of great value.

*Life of Goethe.* By Heinrich Düntzer. Translated by Thomas W. Lyster, Assistant Librarian, National Library of Ireland. (Macmillan & Co.)—We have no adequate biography of Goethe; Mr. Lewes's is still the best, but it was written long ago, and when the critical essays it contains are deducted from it, it is meagre. Professor Düntzer's book, however, does not supply our want. It is really rather the annals than the life of the great poet. It relates, but does not interpret. Copiousness and laborious accuracy of detail are what the author aims at and gives. Insignificant incidents get often much more space than important and characteristic events. It is about as unimpressive a biography of a great man as was ever written; but it is a very valuable book, nevertheless, as indeed a book built on so much careful research could not fail to be. We may add that it is very well translated and furnished with many serviceable illustrations.

## THE NEW TORYISM.

**M**OST of those who now pass as Liberals, are Tories of a new type. This is a paradox which I propose to justify. That I may justify it, I must first point out what the two political parties originally were; and I must then ask the reader to bear with me while I remind him of facts he is familiar with, that I may impress on him the intrinsic natures of Toryism and Liberalism properly so called.

Dating back to an earlier period than their names, these two political parties at first stood respectively for two opposed types of social organization, broadly distinguishable as the militant and the industrial—types which are characterized, the one by the *régime* of status, almost universal in ancient days, and the other by the *régime* of contract, which has become general in modern days, chiefly among the Western nations, and especially among ourselves and the Americans. If, instead of using the word “co-operation” in a limited sense, we use it in its widest sense, as describing the combined activities of citizens under whatever system of regulation; then these two are definable as the system of compulsory co-operation and the system of voluntary co-operation. The typical structure of the one we see in an army formed of conscripts, in which the units in their several grades have to fulfil commands under pain of death, and receive food and clothing and pay, arbitrarily apportioned; while the typical structure of the other we see in a body of producers or distributors, who severally agree to specified salaries and wages in return for specified services, and may at will, after due notice, leave the organization if they do not like it.

During social evolution in England, the distinction between these two fundamentally-opposed forms of co-operation, made its appearance



gradually; but long before the names Tory and Whig came into use, the parties were becoming traceable, and their connexions with militancy and industrialism respectively, were vaguely shown. The truth is familiar that, here as elsewhere, it was habitually by town-populations, formed of workers and traders accustomed to co-operate under contract, that resistances were made to that coercive rule which characterizes co-operation under status. While, conversely, support of co-operation under status, arising from, and adjusted to, chronic warfare, came from rural districts, originally peopled by military chiefs and their dependents, which retained the primitive ideas and traditions. Moreover, this contrast in political leanings, shown before Whig and Tory principles became clearly distinguished, continued to be shown afterwards. At the period of the Revolution, "while the villages and smaller towns were monopolized by Tories, the larger cities, the manufacturing districts, and the ports of commerce, formed the strongholds of the Whigs;" and that, spite of exceptions, the like general relation still exists, needs no proving.

Such were the natures of the two parties as indicated by their origins. Observe, now, how their natures were indicated by their early doctrines and deeds. Whiggism began with resistance to Charles II. and his cabal, in their efforts to re-establish unchecked monarchical power. The Whigs "regarded the monarchy as a civil institution, established by the nation for the benefit of all its members;" while with the Tories "the monarch was the delegate of heaven." And these doctrines involved the beliefs, the one that subjection of citizen to ruler was conditional, and the other that it was unconditional. Describing Whig and Tory as conceived at the end of the seventeenth century, some fifty years before he wrote his "Dissertation on Parties," Bolingbroke says:—

"The power and majesty of the people, an original contract, the authority and independency of Parliaments, liberty, resistance, exclusion, abdication, deposition; these were ideas associated, at that time, to the idea of a Whig, and supposed by every Whig to be incommunicable, and inconsistent with the idea of a Tory.

"Divine, hereditary, indefeasible right, lineal succession, passive-obedience, prerogative, non-resistance, slavery, nay, and sometimes popery too, were associated in many minds to the idea of a Tory, and deemed incommunicable and inconsistent, in the same manner, with the idea of a Whig."—*Dissertation on Parties*, p. 5.

And if we compare these descriptions, we see that in the one party there was a desire to resist and decrease the coercive power of the ruler over the subject, and in the other party to maintain or increase his coercive power. This distinction in their aims—a distinction which transcends in meaning and importance all other political distinctions—was displayed in their early doings. Whig principles

were exemplified in the Habeas Corpus Act, and in the measure by which judges were made independent of the Crown; in defeat of the Non-Resisting Test Bill, which proposed for legislators and officials a compulsory oath, that they would in no case resist the king by arms; and, later, they were exemplified in the Bill of Rights, framed to secure subjects against monarchical aggressions. These Acts had the same intrinsic nature. The principle of compulsory co-operation throughout social life was weakened by them, and the principle of voluntary co-operation strengthened. That at a subsequent period the policy of the party had the same general tendency, is well shown by a remark of Mr. Green concerning the period of Whig power after the death of Anne:—

“Before the fifty years of their rule had passed, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for differences of religion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a Parliament.”—*Short History*, p. 705.

And now, passing over the war-period which closed the last century and began this, during which that extension of individual freedom previously gained was lost, and the retrograde movement towards the social type proper to militancy was shown by all kinds of coercive measures, from those which took by force the persons and property of citizens for war-purposes to those which suppressed public meetings and sought to gag the press, let us recall the general characters of those changes effected by Whigs or Liberals after the re-establishment of peace permitted revival of the industrial régime and return to its appropriate type of structure. Under growing Whig influence there came repeal of the laws forbidding combinations among artisans, as well as of those which interfered with their freedom of travelling. There was the measure by which, under Whig pressure, Dissenters were allowed to believe as they pleased without suffering certain civil penalties; and there was the Whig measure, carried by Tories from compulsion, which enabled Catholics to profess their religion without losing part of their freedom. The area of liberty was extended by Acts which forbade the buying of negroes and the holding of them in bondage. The East India Company's monopoly was abolished, and trade with the East made open to all. The political serfdom of the unrepresented was narrowed in area, both by the Reform Bill and the Municipal Reform Bill; so that alike generally and locally, the many were less under the coercion of the few. Dissenters, no longer obliged to submit to the ecclesiastical form of marriage, were made free to wed by a purely civil rite. Later came diminution and removal of restraints on the buying of foreign commodities and the employment of foreign vessels and foreign sailors; and later still the removal of those burdens on the press, which were originally imposed to hinder the diffusion of opinion. And of all these changes it is



unquestionable that, whether made or not by Liberals themselves, they were made in conformity with principles professed and urged by Liberals.

But why do I enumerate facts so well known to all? Simply because, as intimated at the outset, it seems needful to remind everybody what Liberalism was in the past, that they may perceive its unlikeness to the so-called Liberalism of the present. It would be inexcusable to name these various measures for the purpose of pointing out the character common to them, were it not that in our day men have forgotten their common character. They do not remember that, in one or other way, all these truly Liberal changes diminished compulsory co-operation throughout social life and increased voluntary co-operation. They have forgotten that, in one direction or other, they diminished the range of governmental authority, and increased the area within which each citizen may act unchecked. They have lost sight of the truth that in past times Liberalism habitually stood for individual freedom *versus* State coercion.

And now comes the inquiry—How is it that Liberals have lost sight of this? How is it that Liberalism, getting more and more into power, has grown more and more coercive in its legislation? How is it that, either directly through its own majorities or indirectly through aid given in such cases to the majorities of its opponents, Liberalism has to an increasing extent adopted the policy of dictating the actions of citizens, and, by consequence, diminishing the range throughout which their actions remain free? How are we to explain this spreading confusion of thought which has led it, in pursuit of what appears to be public good, to invert the method by which in earlier days it achieved public good?

Unaccountable as at first sight this unconscious change of policy seems, we shall find that it has arisen quite naturally. Given the unanalytical thought ordinarily brought to bear on political matters, and, under existing conditions, nothing else was to be expected. To make this clear some parenthetical explanations are needful.

From the lowest to the highest creatures, intelligence progresses by acts of discrimination; and it continues so to progress among men, from the most ignorant to the most cultured. To class rightly—to put in the same group things which are of essentially the same natures, and in other groups things of natures essentially different—is the fundamental condition to right guidance of actions. Beginning with rudimentary vision, which gives warning that some large opaque body is passing near (just as closed eyes turned to the window, perceiving the shade caused by a hand put before them, tell us of something moving in front), the advance is to developed vision, which,

by exactly-appreciated combinations of forms, colours and motions, identifies objects at great distances as prey or enemies of this or that kind, and so makes possible adjustments of conduct for securing food or evading death. That progressing perception of differences and consequent greater correctness of classing, constitutes, under one of its chief aspects, the growth of intelligence, is equally seen when we pass from the relatively simple physical vision to the relatively complex intellectual vision—the vision through the agency of which, things previously grouped by certain external resemblances or by certain extrinsic circumstances, come to be more truly grouped in conformity with their intrinsic structures or natures. Undeveloped intellectual vision is just as indiscriminating and erroneous in its classings as undeveloped physical vision. Instance the early arrangement of plants under the heads, trees, shrubs, and herbs: size, the most conspicuous trait, being the ground of distinction; and the assemblages formed being such as united many plants extremely unlike in their natures, and separated others that are near akin. Or still better, take the popular classification which puts together under the same general name, fish and shell-fish, and under the sub-name, shell-fish, puts together crustaceans and molluscs; nay, which goes further, and regards as fish the cetacean mammals. Partly because of the likeness in their modes of life as inhabiting the water, and partly because of some general resemblance in their flavours, creatures that are in their essential natures far more widely separated than a fish is from a bird, are grouped under the same class and under the same sub-class.

Now the general truth thus exemplified, holds throughout those higher ranges of intellectual vision concerned with things not presentable to the senses, and, among others, such things as political institutions and political measures. For when thinking of these, too, the results of inadequate intellectual faculty, or inadequate culture of it, or both, are erroneous classings and consequent erroneous conclusions. Indeed, the liability to error is here much greater; since the things with which the intellect is concerned do not admit of examination in the same easy way. You cannot touch or see a political institution: it can be known only by an effort of constructive imagination. Neither can you apprehend by physical perception a political measure: this no less requires a process of mental representation by which its elements are put together in thought, and the essential nature of the combination conceived. Here, therefore, still more than in the cases above named, defective intellectual vision is shown in grouping by external characters, or extrinsic circumstances. How institutions are wrongly classed from this cause, we see in the common notion that the Roman Republic was a popular form of government. Look into the early ideas of the



French revolutionists who aimed at an ideal state of freedom, and you find that the political forms and deeds of the Romans were their models; and even now a historian might be named who instances the corruptions of the Roman Republic as showing us what popular government leads to. Yet the resemblance between the institutions of the Romans and free institutions properly so-called, was less than that between a shark and a porpoise—a resemblance of general external form accompanying widely different internal structures. For the Roman Government was that of a small oligarchy within a larger oligarchy: the members of each being unchecked autocrats. A society in which the relatively few men who had political power, and were in a qualified sense free, were so many petty despots, holding not only slaves and dependents but even children in the same absolute bondage as they held their cattle, was, in its intrinsic nature, more nearly allied to an ordinary despotism than it was to a society of citizens politically equal.

Passing now to our special question, we may understand the kind of confusion in which Liberalism has lost itself; and the origin of those mistaken classings of political measures which have misled it—classings, as we shall see, by conspicuous external traits instead of by internal natures. For what, in the popular apprehension and in the apprehension of those who effected them, were the changes made by Liberals in the past? They were abolitions of grievances suffered by the people, or by portions of them: this was the common trait of them which most impressed itself on men's minds. They were mitigations of evils which had directly or indirectly been felt by large classes of citizens, as causes of misery or as hindrances to happiness. And since, in the minds of most, a rectified evil is equivalent to an achieved good, these measures came to be thought of as so many positive benefits; and the welfare of the many came to be conceived alike by Liberal statesmen and Liberal voters as the aim of Liberalism. Hence the confusion. The gaining of a popular good, being the external conspicuous trait common to Liberal measures in earlier days (then in each case gained by a relaxation of restraints), it has happened that popular good has come to be sought by Liberals, not as an end to be indirectly gained by such relaxations, but as the end to be directly gained. And seeking to gain it directly, they have used methods intrinsically opposed to those originally used.

And now having seen how this reversal of policy has arisen (or partial reversal, I should say, for the recent Burials Act and the efforts to remove all remaining religious inequalities, show continuance of the original policy in certain directions), let us proceed to contemplate the extent to which it has been carried during recent times, and the still greater extent to which the future

will see it carried if current ideas and feelings continue to predominate.

Before proceeding, it may be well to say that no reflections are intended on the motives which have prompted one after another of these various restraints and dictations. These motives were doubtless in nearly all cases good. It must be admitted that the restrictions placed by an Act of 1870, on the employment of women and children in Turkey-red dyeing works, were, in intention, no less philanthropic than those of Edward VI., which prescribed the minimum time for which a journeymen should be retained. Without question, the Seed Supply (Ireland) Act of 1880, which empowered guardians to buy seed for poor tenants, and then to see it properly planted, was moved by a desire for public welfare no less great than that which in 1533 prescribed the number of sheep a tenant might keep, or that of 1597, which commanded that decayed houses of husbandry should be rebuilt. Nobody will dispute that the various measures of late years taken for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors, have been taken as much with a view to public morals as were the measures taken of old for checking the evils of luxury; as, for instance, in the fourteenth century, when diet as well as dress was restricted. Everyone must see that the edicts issued by Henry VIII. to prevent the lower classes from playing dice, cards, bowls, &c., were not more prompted by desire for popular welfare than were the Acts passed of late to check gambling.

Further, I do not intend to question the wisdom of these modern interferences, which Conservatives and Liberals vie with one another in multiplying, any more than to question the wisdom of those ancient ones which they in many cases resemble. We will not here consider whether the plans of late adopted for preserving the lives of sailors are or are not more judicious than that sweeping Scotch measure which, in the middle of the fifteenth century, prohibited captains from leaving harbour during the winter. For the present, it shall remain undebated whether there is a better warrant for giving sanitary officers powers to search certain premises for unfit food, than there was for the law of Edward III., under which innkeepers at seaports were sworn to search their guests to prevent the exportation of money or plate. We will assume that there is no less sense in that clause of the Canal-boat Act, which forbids an owner to board gratuitously the children of the boatmen, than there was in the Spitalfields Acts, which, up to 1824, for the benefit of the artisans, forbade the manufacturers to fix their factories more than ten miles from the Royal Exchange.

We exclude, then, these questions of philanthropic motive and wise judgment, taking both of them for granted; and have here to con-



cern ourselves solely with the compulsory nature of the measures which, for good or evil as the case may be, have been put in force during periods of Liberal ascendancy.

To bring the illustrations within compass, let us commence with 1860, under the second administration of Lord Palmerston. In that year, the restrictions of the Factories Act were extended to bleaching and dyeing works; authority was given to provide analysts of food and drink to be paid out of local rates; there was an Act providing for inspection of gas-works, as well as for fixing quality and limits of price; there was the act which, in addition to further mine-inspection, made it penal to employ boys under twelve not attending school and unable to read and write. In 1861 occurred an extension of the compulsory provisions of the Factories Act to lace-works; power was given to poor-law guardians, &c., to enforce vaccination; local boards were authorized to fix rates of hire for horses, ponies, mules, asses, and boats; and certain locally-formed bodies had given to them powers of taxing the locality for rural drainage and irrigation works, and for supplying water to cattle. In 1862, an Act was passed for restricting the employment of women and children in open-air bleaching; and an act for making illegal a coal-mine with a single shaft, or with shafts separated by less than a specified space; as well as an act giving the Council of Medical Education the exclusive right to publish a *Pharmacopœia*, the price of which is to be fixed by the Treasury. In 1863 came the extension of compulsory vaccination to Scotland, and also to Ireland; there came the empowering of certain boards to borrow money repayable from the local rates, to employ and pay those out of work; there came the authorizing of town-authorities to take possession of neglected ornamental spaces, and rate the inhabitants for their support; there came the Bakehouses Regulation Act, which, besides specifying minimum age of employes occupied between certain hours, prescribed periodical lime-washing, three coats of paint when painted, and washing with hot water and soap at least once in six months; and there came also an Act giving a magistrate authority to decide on the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness of food brought before him by an inspector. Of compulsory legislation dating from 1864, may be named an extension of the Factories Act to various additional trades, including regulations for cleansing and ventilation, and specifying of certain employes in match-works, that they might not take meals on the premises except in the wood-cutting places. Also there were passed the Chimney-Sweepers Act, an Act for further regulating the sale of beer in Ireland, an Act for compulsory testing of cables and anchors, the Contagious Diseases Act (which last gave the police, in specified places, powers which, in respect of certain classes of women, abolished sundry of those safeguards to individual freedom established in past times) and an Act extending the Public Works

Act of 1863. The year 1865 witnessed further provision for the reception and temporary relief of wanderers at the cost of ratepayers; another public-house closing Act; and an Act making compulsory regulations for extinguishing fires in London. Then, under the Ministry of Lord John Russell, in 1866, have to be named an act to regulate cattle-sheds, &c., in Scotland, giving local authorities powers to inspect sanitary conditions and fix the numbers of cattle; an Act forcing hop-growers to label their bags with the year and place of growth and the true weight, and giving police power of search; an Act to facilitate the building of lodging-houses in Ireland, and providing for regulation of the inmates; a Public Health Act, under which there is registration of lodging-houses and limitation of occupants, with inspection and directions for lime-washing, &c.; and a Public Libraries Act, giving local powers by which a majority can tax a minority for their books.

Passing now to the legislation under the first Ministry of Mr. Gladstone, we have, in 1869, the establishment of State-telegraphy, with the accompanying interdict on telegraphing through any other agency; we have inspection, not only of endowed schools, but of registered private schools; we have the empowering a Secretary of State to regulate hired conveyances in London; we have further and more stringent regulations to prevent cattle diseases from spreading, another Beer-house Regulation Act, and a Sea-birds Preservation Act (ensuring greater mortality of fish). In 1870 we have a law authorizing the Board of Public Works to make advances for landlords' improvements and for tenants to purchase; we have the Act which enables the Education Department to form school-boards which shall purchase sites for schools, and may provide free schools supported by local rates, and enabling school-boards to pay a child's fees, to compel parents to send their children, &c. &c.; we have a further Factories and Workshops Act, making, among other restrictions, some on the employment of women and children in fruit-preserving and fish-curing works. In 1871 we meet with an amended Merchant Shipping Act, directing officers of the Board of Trade to record the draught of sea-going vessels leaving port; there is another Factory and Workshops Act, making further restrictions; there is a Pedlar's Act, inflicting penalties for hawking without a certificate, and limiting the police-district within which the certificate holds, as well as giving the police power to search pedlars' packs; and there are further measures for enforcing vaccination. The year 1872 had, among other Acts, one which makes it illegal to take for hire more than one child to nurse, unless in a house registered by the authorities, who prescribe the number of infants to be received; it had a Licensing Act, interdicting sale of spirits to those apparently under sixteen; and it had another Merchant Shipping Act, establishing an annual survey of



passenger steamers. Then in 1873 was passed the Agricultural Children's Act which makes it penal for a farmer to employ a child who has neither certificate of elementary education nor of certain prescribed school attendances; and there was passed a Merchant Shipping Act, requiring on each vessel a scale showing draft and giving the Board of Trade power to fix the number of boats and life-saving apparatus to be carried. Turn now to Liberal law-making under the present Ministry. We have, in 1880, a law which forbids conditional advance-notes in payment of sailors' wages; also a law which dictates certain arrangements for the safe carriage of grain-cargoes; also a law increasing local coercion over parents to send their children to school. In 1881 comes legislation to prevent trawling over clam-beds and bait-beds, and an interdict making it impossible to buy a glass of beer on Sunday in Wales. In 1882 corn-factors were required, under a penalty of £20, to furnish for publication weekly returns of their transactions; the Board of Trade was authorized to grant licences to generate and sell electricity, and municipal bodies were enabled to levy rates for electric-lighting; further exactions from ratepayers were authorized for facilitating more accessible baths and washhouses; and local authorities were empowered to make bye-laws for securing the decent lodging of persons engaged in picking fruit and vegetables. Then, finally, of such legislation during the last Session may be named the Cheap Trains Act, which, partly by taxing the nation to the extent of £400,000 a year (in the shape of relinquished passenger duty), and partly at the cost of railway-proprietors, still further cheapens travelling for workmen: the Board of Trade, through the Railway Commissioners, being empowered to ensure sufficiently good and frequent accommodation. Again, there is the Act which, under penalty of £10 for disobedience, forbids the payment of wages to workmen at or within public-houses; there is another Factory and Workshops Act, commanding inspection of white lead works (to see that there are provided overalls, respirators, baths, acidulated drinks, &c.) and of bake-houses, regulating times of employment in both, and prescribing in detail some constructions for the last, which are to be kept in a condition satisfactory to the inspectors.

But we are far from forming an adequate conception if we look only at the compulsory legislation which has actually been established of late years. We must look also at that which is advocated, and which threatens to be far more sweeping in range and stringent in character. We have lately had a Cabinet Minister, one of the most advanced Liberals, so-called, who pooh-poohs the plans of the late Government for improving industrial dwellings as so much "tinkering;" and contends for effectual coercion to be exercised  
 ners of small houses, over land-owners, and over ratepayers.

Here is another Cabinet Minister who, addressing his constituents, speaks slightly of the doings of philanthropic societies and religious bodies to help the poor, and says that "the whole of the people of this country ought to look upon this work as being their own work:" that is to say, some extensive Government measure is called for. Again, we have a Radical member of parliament who leads a large and powerful body, aiming with annually-increasing promise of success, to enforce sobriety by giving to local majorities power to prevent freedom of exchange in respect of certain commodities. Regulation of the hours of labour for certain classes, which has been made more and more general by successive extensions of the Factories Acts, is likely now to be made still more general: a measure is to be proposed bringing the employes in all shops under such regulation. There is a rising demand, too, that education shall be made gratis for all: the payment of school-fees is beginning to be denounced as a wrong—the State must take the whole burden. Moreover, it is proposed by many that the State, regarded as an undoubtedly competent judge of what constitutes good education for the poor, shall undertake also to prescribe good education for the middle classes—shall stamp the children of these, too, after a State-pattern, concerning the goodness of which they have no more doubt than the Chinese had when they fixed theirs. Then there is the "endowment of research," of late energetically urged. Already the Government gives every year the sum of £4,000 for this purpose, to be distributed through the Royal Society; and in the absence of those who have much interest in resisting, the pressure of the interested, backed by those they easily persuade, may by-and-by establish that paid "priesthood of science" long ago advocated by Sir David Brewster. Once more, plausible proposals are made that there should be organized a system of compulsory insurance, by which men during their early lives shall be forced to provide for the time when they will be incapacitated.

Nor does enumeration of these further measures of coercive rule, looming upon us near at hand or in the distance, complete the account. Nothing more than cursory allusion has yet been made to that accompanying compulsion which takes the form of increased taxation, general and local. Partly for defraying the costs of carrying out these ever-multiplying coercive measures, each of which requires an additional staff of officers, and partly to meet the outlay for new public institutions, such as board-schools, free libraries, public museums, baths and washhouses, recreation grounds, &c. &c., local rates are year after year increased; as the general taxation is increased by grants for education and to the departments of science and art, &c. Every one of these involves further coercion—restricts still more the free action of the citizen. For the implied address accompanying every additional exaction is—"Hitherto you have been free to spend



this portion of your earnings in any way which pleased you; hereafter you shall not be free so to spend it, but we will spend it for the general benefit." Thus, either directly or indirectly, and in most cases both at once, the citizen is at each further stage in the growth of this compulsory legislation, deprived of some liberty which he previously had.

Such, then, are the doings of the party which claims the name of Liberal; and which calls itself Liberal as being the advocate of extended freedom.

I doubt not that many a member of the party has read the preceding section with impatience; wanting, as he does, to point out an immense oversight which he thinks destroys the validity of the argument. "You forget," he wishes to say, "the fundamental difference between the power which, in the past, established those restraints that Liberalism abolished, and the power which, in the present, establishes the restraints you call anti-Liberal. You forget that the one was an irresponsible power while the other is a responsible power. You forget that if by the recent legislation of Liberals, people are variously regulated, the body which regulates them is of their own creating, and has their warrant for its acts."

My answer is, that I have not forgotten this difference, but am prepared to contend that the difference is in large measure irrelevant to the issue.

In the first place, the real issue is whether the lives of citizens are more interfered with than they were; not the nature of the agency which interferes with them. Take a simpler case. A member of a trades' union has joined others in establishing an organization of a purely representative character. By it he is compelled to strike if a majority so decide; he is forbidden to accept work save under the conditions they dictate; he is prevented from profiting by his superior ability or energy to the extent he might do were it not for their interdict. He cannot disobey without abandoning those pecuniary benefits of the organization for which he has subscribed, and bringing on himself the persecution, and perhaps violence, of his fellows. Is he any the less coerced because the body coercing him is one which he had an equal voice with the rest in forming?

In the second place, if it be objected that the analogy is faulty, since the governing body of a nation, to which, as protector of the national life and interests, all must submit under penalty of social disorganization, has a far higher authority over citizens than the government of any private organization can have over its members; then the reply is that, granting the difference, the answer made continues valid. If men use their liberty in such a way as to surrender their liberty, are they thereafter any the less slaves? If people by a

*plébiscite* elect a man despot over them, do they remain free because the despotism was of their own making? Are the coercive edicts issued by him to be regarded as legitimate because they are the ultimate outcome of their own votes? As well might it be argued that the East African, who breaks a spear in another's presence that he may so become bondsman to him, still retains his liberty because he freely chose his master.

Finally if any, not without marks of irritation as I can imagine, repudiate this reasoning, and say that there is no true parallelism between the relation of people to government where an irresponsible single ruler has been permanently elected, and the relation where a responsible representative body is maintained, and from time to time re-elected; then there comes the ultimate reply—an altogether heterodox reply—by which most will be greatly astonished. This reply is, that these multitudinous restraining acts are not defensible on the ground that they proceed from a popularly-chosen body; for that the authority of a popularly-chosen body is no more to be regarded as an unlimited authority than the authority of a monarch; and that as true Liberalism in the past disputed the assumption of a monarch's unlimited authority, so true Liberalism in the present will dispute the assumption of unlimited parliamentary authority. Of this, however, more anon. Here I merely indicate it as an ultimate answer.

Meanwhile it suffices to point out that until recently, just as of old, true Liberalism was shown by its acts to be moving towards the theory of a limited parliamentary authority. All these abolitions of restraints over religious beliefs and observances, over exchange and transit, over trade-combinations and the travelling of artisans, over the publication of opinions, theological or political, &c. &c., were tacit assertions of the desirableness of limitation. In the same way that the final abandonment of sumptuary laws, of laws forbidding this or that kind of amusement, of laws dictating modes of farming, and many others of like meddling nature, which took place in early days, was an implied admission that the State ought not to interfere in such matters; so those removals of hindrances to individual activities of one or other kind, which the Liberalism of the last generation effected, were practical confessions that in these directions, too, the sphere of governmental action should be narrowed. And this recognition of the propriety of restricting governmental action was a preparation for restricting it in theory. One of the most familiar political truths is that, in the course of social evolution, usage precedes law; and that when usage has been well established it becomes law by receiving authoritative endorsement and defined form. Manifestly then, Liberalism in the past, by its practice of limitation, was preparing the way for the principle of limitation.

But returning from these more general considerations to the



special question, I emphasize the reply that the liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints it imposes on him; and that, whether this machinery is or is not one that he has shared in making, its actions are not of the kind proper to Liberalism if they increase such restraints beyond those which are needful for preventing him from directly or indirectly aggressing on his fellows—needful, that is, for maintaining the liberties of his fellows against his invasions of them: restraints which are, therefore, to be distinguished as negatively coercive, not positively coercive.

Probably, however, the Liberal, and still more the sub-species Radical, who more than any other in these latter days seems under the impression that so long as he has a good end in view he is warranted in exercising over men all the coercion he is able, will continue to protest. Knowing that his aim is popular benefit of some kind, to be achieved in some way, and believing that the Tory is, contrariwise, prompted by class-interest and the desire to maintain class-power, he will regard it as palpably absurd to group him as one of the same genus, and will scorn the reasoning used to prove that he belongs to it.

Perhaps an analogy will help him to see its validity. If, away in the far East, where personal government is the only form of government known, he heard from the inhabitants the account of a struggle by which they had deposed a cruel and vicious despot, and put in his place one whose acts proved his desire for their welfare—if, after listening to their self-gratulations, he told them that they had not essentially changed the nature of their government, he would greatly astonish them; and probably he would have difficulty in making them understand that the substitution of a benevolent despot for a malevolent despot still left the government a despotism. Similarly with Toryism as rightly conceived. Standing as it does for coercion by the State *versus* the freedom of the individual, Toryism remains Toryism, whether it extends this coercion for selfish or unselfish reasons. As certainly as the despot is still a despot, whether his motives for arbitrary rule are good or bad; so certainly is the Tory still a Tory, whether he has egoistic or altruistic motives for using State-power to restrict individual liberty, beyond the degree required for maintaining the liberties of other individuals. The altruistic Tory as well as the egoistic Tory belongs to the genus Tory; though he forms a new species of the genus. And both stand in distinct contrast with the Liberal as defined in the days when Liberals were rightly so called, and when the definition was—"one who advocates greater freedom from restraint, especially in political institutions."

Thus, then, is justified the paradox I set out with. As we have seen, Toryism and Liberalism originally emerged, the one from militancy and the other from industrialism. The one stood for the *régime* of status and the other for the *régime* of contract—the one for that system of compulsory co-operation which accompanies the legal inequality of classes, and the other for that voluntary co-operation which accompanies their legal equality; and beyond all question the early acts of the two parties were respectively for the maintenance of agencies which effect this compulsory co-operation, and for the weakening or curbing of them. Manifestly the implication is, that, in so far as it has been extending the system of compulsion, what is now called Liberalism is a new form of Toryism.

How truly this is so, we shall see still more clearly on looking at the facts the other side upwards, which we will presently do.

HERBERT SPENCER.



## THE CHURCH COURTS COMMISSION.

THE Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission has only been before the public for a short time, and I venture to think that we shall make a grave mistake, if we commit ourselves either to unqualified praise or unqualified blame of it. The recommendations of the Commission require more calm sifting and examination than there has yet been time to bestow on them.

On one point at any rate we shall all be agreed, however much we may differ on others. The members of the Royal Commission deserve the highest praise for the diligence and the ability with which they have discharged the duties devolved on them. They have got together an immense amount of historical and antiquarian information. They have gathered a large mass of evidence from able witnesses of the most various schools of thought, and have succeeded in eliciting what these representatives of opposing parties think, wish, and want. Finally, they have presented the Church with a complete system of recommendations, which are now before the Church, and await her verdict. For all this work, done at the cost of much time and labour, they have laid us under deep obligations. They demand the grateful thanks even of those who do not accept their conclusions.

Concerning these conclusions I propose to make a few observations.

I begin with the general remark, that no department of English law stands in more need of reform than the Ecclesiastical. From one cause or another, the ecclesiastical Courts are a by-word, a scandal, and a disgrace to our land. Their procedure is clumsy, cumbrous, expensive, and fraught with endless delays. Speedy and cheap settlement of any ecclesiastical dispute seems utterly unattainable. Up to this point all persons seem to be of one mind. Neither

the Clergy Discipline Act, nor the Public Worship Act gives satisfaction. We need some change. So far probably we are all agreed.

But now comes a striking illustration of the old adage, that it is much easier to pull down than to build, to pick holes than to mend, to find fault than to suggest remedies.

For we must never forget that we live in the latter part of the nineteenth century. We are not living in the reign of Henry VIII., or Edward VI., or Queen Elizabeth, or James I., or Charles II., but of Queen Victoria. Our lot is cast in a day of immense intellectual activity among the laity, and of great jealousy of clerical influence in every direction. Bishops and clergy have no longer any monopoly of learning. Laymen are thought quite competent to be Heads of colleges and schools. It is vain to ignore these facts. It is vain to suppose that the English laity of this day will shut their eyes, open their mouths, swallow whatever the clergy give them, and allow the clergy to settle this Ecclesiastical Courts question as they please. They will not. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts are well meant, and look very well at first sight. But at present they are only on paper. They must be approved and sanctioned by an Act of Parliament before they can become the law of the land. Mr. Beresford Hope said recently, at the Reading Congress, that the Report had slain the Clergy Discipline Act and the Public Worship Act. They certainly are not dead yet, and, possibly, may take much killing. Now will an Act of Parliament based on the lines of this Report be obtained? Will the laity of this country adopt the recommendations of the Commission? Will the House of Commons approve, accept, and adopt them? These are very serious questions, and I find it very difficult to answer them. I confess I have been amazed at the chorus of praise with which the Report has been received: first, at the late Reading Congress, and since that time, by various Diocesan Conferences throughout the country. The greater part of the speakers appear to me to forget that the problem to be solved is how to obtain a measure of Ecclesiastical Courts Reform which will work well, which Parliament will sanction, and which the laity will accept. To attempt changes which are not workable and practical is very unwise.

I will now proceed to give my opinion on the Report, according to such light as I possess. As an English Bishop, I have felt it my duty to study it carefully. I have repeatedly asked myself how its recommendations will affect me in the official position which I have the honour to hold, and I will say honestly and unreservedly what the conclusions are at which I have arrived. Those conclusions are of three kinds.

(a) In the first place, I entirely approve the laudable tendency of the Report to simplify, shorten, and cheapen all Ecclesiastical litiga-



tion. The present condition of English law in ecclesiastical matters is a disgrace to the common-sense of our country, and a positive injury to the cause of religion.

I entirely approve the proposal to abolish the penalty of imprisonment in all cases of disobedience to ecclesiastical sentences. I never had but one opinion on this subject. To put a man in prison for contumacy, who at any rate is conscientious, is justly offensive to public feeling, and is calculated to stop all prosecutions and produce anarchy. Suspension first, and deprivation, as a last resource, are the right remedy.

I entirely approve the recommendation of a lay tribunal as the final court of appeal, and I have not the slightest sympathy with the many angry critics who are protesting against it in all directions. So long as the 37th Article remains unrepealed, so long it is the doctrine of our Church, that the Crown has the chief government of all estates in the realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes. If the Commission had come to any other conclusion they would have contradicted the 37th Article, and struck a heavy blow at the union of Church and State. For my part, I am not in the least afraid of a final court of appeal composed of laymen, and I am quite certain that the public at large will never allow Church questions to be settled by a merely clerical tribunal.

So much, then, for points in the Report which I approve. I will pass on to one about which I feel very grave doubts. I approach it with some hesitation, but I feel it a duty to speak my mind without reserve.

(b) Let me, then, say plainly that I doubt extremely the wisdom of putting such a great amount of power into the hands of the Bishops, as the Report recommends. I do not think it will be acceptable to the public. I do not think it will work well.

Will the decision of any Court in which a Bishop is the chief judge carry much weight with litigants, whether clerical or lay? I doubt it. A Bishop is not a lawyer. Like all ministers of religion who are continually telling their own side of a story, and are never answered, he is not likely to have a judicial mind. He is not trained and accustomed to weigh evidence, and to see both sides of a question. If Episcopal sentences did not lead to constant appeals to the Final Court, and endless litigation, I should be greatly surprised.

Is there the slightest likelihood of uniformity in the judgments of Bishops in disputed cases of doctrine or ritual? Are not the opinions of every Bishop on the Bench known perfectly well before the case is heard? Would not the result be a set of conflicting decisions from one end of the land to the other? We should set Bishop against Bishop and Diocese against Diocese, and increase our unhappy divisions. In short, we should set Canterbury against

York, and York against Canterbury. We should have the "use" of Sarum, and the "use" of Manchester, and, perhaps, the "use" of Liverpool, or of Ely and the like, and the Church would become a Babel.

Is there any appearance of the clergy or laity being disposed to accept the decisions of the Bishops if their decisions happen to be contrary to their opinions? I am obliged to say that I fail to see it. I am afraid there is hardly a bishop in our Church who could not tell a sorrowful tale of "fatherly admonitions" set at nought and advice despised. In plain truth, if there is any point on which multitudes of people seem agreed, it is the ignorance and the incompetence of the Episcopal order. Yet this is the very order of men whom the Royal Commission proposes to put on the Judicial Bench, and, with amazing simplicity, it appears to suppose that clerical litigants are hungering and thirsting to listen to our "admonitions" and obey our decrees. Once more I say, I doubt it.

Of course there is a ready answer to all this; but I fear it will not hold water. The present race of Bishops is to be succeeded by a set of Daniels whose admonitions will always be respected, and whose decisions will always be obeyed. There are never to be appeals from them to any final court of laymen! Well, that may possibly be, though I confess I know not where these Episcopal Daniels are to come from. A member of the English Church Union thought fit to say of me, behind my back, at the Derby Congress, that if Bishops were elected by the Church and not chosen and nominated by the Crown, I should never have been Bishop of Liverpool. But the worthy man forgot that when Bishops are chosen by popular election the laity will have a voice as well as the clergy, and the result might not be favourable to his friends. The plain truth is, that, however you may have the Bishops appointed, I shall always maintain that to give them much judicial power is not wise. At any rate, if they are to be judges, I hope the legislation will insist on their having much more legal assistance than the Report of the Commission proposes. At present I can only say that I regard this recommendation with grave doubts. It will not work well.

So much for doubts. I now pass on to say a few words on three points, about which I feel very strong objections, and cannot see with the eyes of the Commissioners.

(c) For one thing, I strongly object to the absence of any distinction between the Court for trying offences in matters of doctrine and ritual, and the Court for offences which I will call moral, such as intemperance or incontinence. I think a Bishop ought not to be subject to the pain of trying cases of the last description. They generally turn on simple questions of fact, and not of theology, and they may be tried just as well, and even better, by lay judges than they can by the Bishops. For the Bishop himself to try them,



is to destroy the fatherly relation which ought to exist between himself and his clergy, and to lay him open to charges, either of excessive partiality, or of excessive severity. In many counties of England, where clergymen are sometimes obliged to be magistrates, from the scarcity of resident gentry, no clergyman ever thinks of remaining on the bench when any case of his own parishioners is brought before the court. As a matter of course he withdraws. The same principle, I maintain, in the case of moral offences, should be applied to the Diocesan court of a Bishop.

For another thing, I object most strongly to the recommendation of the Report that a Bishop should have the power of veto over proceedings, and should be able to stop "in limine" the application of any complainant. In this objection, it will be remembered, I am supported by no less than eight of the Commission: that is, by one-third of the whole number, and among these eight you will find the names of Lord Coleridge and Chancellor Epsin. To my eyes, this power of veto strikes a blow at the root of one of the first principles of the English constitution, and deprives a citizen of justice. *Magna Charta*, I am told, says of the King, "*nunquam vendet, nunquam deferet, nunquam negabit justitiam.*" That great principle is nullified by this veto. Furthermore, it places a Bishop in a most odious and invidious position, and imposes on him a most painful amount of responsibility. Above all, it is calculated to throw the whole Church into confusion, as there is not the slightest probability that the power of veto would be always exercised in the same way. Bishops are of different temperaments, just like other men. Timid and peace-loving Bishops would veto all suits. Combative and strife-loving Bishops would sanction all. One Prelate would allow no High Churchman to be prosecuted. Another, within a few miles, would not allow a finger to be raised against a Low Churchman. I cannot believe that any House of Commons would ever sanction such a condition of things. For the comfort of the Bishops themselves, I trust the proposed Episcopal veto will never become the law of the land.

Last, but not least, I object most strongly to the recommendation of the Report, that in any case of doctrine or ritual, "only the actual decree of the court in dealing with any particular case shall be of binding authority in the judgments hitherto or hereafter to be delivered, and that the reasoning in support of their judgments shall always be allowed to be reconsidered and disputed." In plain English, no decisions are ever to be regarded as precedents! Each decision is only to settle its own particular case, and the very same disputed question may be tried twenty times over again. No wonder the *Quarterly Review* warns us that this recommendation tends to unsettle and undo everything that has been done for the last thirty-three years. The Gorham case, the Mackonochie case, the Bennett

case, the Ridsdale case, may all be tried over again ; and " not once only," says the Reviewer, " but as often as a High Church Bishop chooses to object to a Low Church clergyman's notions on baptism, or a Low Church congregation takes fright at the Ritual practices of their vicar." I do not wonder that the Reviewer says that this is " a principle entirely foreign to the genius of English law." I do not wonder that he adds, " The practical working of this suggestion would be to produce periodical returns of the anarchy and confusion under which we are now suffering." From such a state of things, I can only say, Good Lord, deliver us ! A surer method of keeping up incessant litigation I cannot conceive. In civil suits the decision of the highest court is held to settle all similar cases. It is taken as a guiding precedent, and is very rarely overruled. In ecclesiastical suits, forsooth, the judgment is to settle nothing ; and in twelve months time the precise questions which were tried in one diocese may be brought up from another diocese and be tried over again ! A more ingenious scheme for keeping ecclesiastical sores continually open could not possibly be devised. Of course I may have mistaken the meaning of the Royal Commissioners ; though, if I have mistaken it, I err in the good company of the *Quarterly Review*. But if there is no mistake, if all the ecclesiastical cases of the last thirty-five years are to be incessantly tried over again, and no decision, however weighty and well reasoned, is to stop all future litigation, I can only say that, in my opinion, there will be no more peace in the Church of England if this Report is sanctioned and becomes law.

I leave the whole subject here. I have stated plainly what I approve, what I doubt, and what I disapprove in the recommendations of the Commission. Whether Mr. Gladstone will adopt them and make them the basis of an Act of Parliament—whether Lay Churchmen will allow them to become law—whether any House of Commons will ever endorse them, even at Mr. Gladstone's bidding—all these are questions of the future, about which I shall venture no prophecy. I only predict that without considerable modification the scheme of the Commission will not and cannot work. If it becomes the law of the land, I shall loyally do all I can to carry it out. I have no sympathy with those who refuse to obey laws if they do not like them. But I repeat my conviction that the scheme will not work.

Any attempt to mend matters, perhaps, is better than to do nothing. To sit still and defer legislation till a more convenient season, as some speakers counselled at the Reading Congress, appears to me most dangerous policy. Our present state is one of utter anarchy and lawlessness. Every one seems to do what is right in his own eyes ; and any Bishop who tries to keep up order and discipline is at once branded as a persecutor and a foe to liberty, and a



man ignorant of the law ! Every sort of diversity in doctrine and ceremonial is to be tolerated, and nothing is ever to be forbidden ! In short, if nothing is to be done, and the only result of the Commission is to blacken and discredit the existing Courts, without providing anything better, the whole result will be increased strife and division. And after all the mother of all Ecclesiastical mischief is the notorious "ornaments rubric," which nobody can explain so as to satisfy all. Until that rubric is swept away, and replaced by a plain intelligible substitute, there will never be peace in the Church of England while the world stands.

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

## THOUGHTS ON THE IRISH LAND ACT AND LAND SYSTEM.

THE Irish Land Act of 1881 has been law for two years only; and it is impossible, as yet, to state all the consequences of the change in the social condition of Ireland of which it has been at once a cause and a symptom. The time, however, has, I think, arrived when it has become advisable to consider the measure, its operation, and its present results, and briefly to note if, in any particulars, it falls short of what it ought to be—a complete and reasonably enduring settlement of landed relations throughout the island. I have long hesitated to express in public an opinion upon a grave question, connected with personal and official duties, and certain to be for years in Ireland the theme of general and embittered controversy. A judge, as a rule, should abstain from comments, even in impartial organs of the press, on matters on which he may have to adjudicate; and, speaking generally, should administer the law, not criticise it in principle or detail, or point out its supposed shortcomings. Nevertheless, judges of the very highest eminence have not scrupled to propound their views in some instances on important measures involving grave national or social interests; and I feel that I cannot greatly err in following the example, on cognate subjects, of the late Lord Justice Christian and of Mr. Justice Stephen. Let me add that I would not take up the pen, were it not that the chances of life have given me opportunities of no ordinary kind to appreciate and understand the Irish Land Question. As an Irish landlord, I have myself managed my ancestral estate for many years, and have witnessed the revolution in Irish land wrought by the great famine of 1846–50, and by the events of 1879–82. As a County Court Judge I have administered the Land Acts of 1870 and of 1881 in a large and extremely disturbed



district, and it has been my fortune to hear and determine a great many claims for judicial rents. I may say, too, that in 1856, I wrote on the Irish Land System, in the "Oxford Essays," and in 1869-70 I examined on the spot, and made reports at considerable length on the Land Question of Ireland, in its various bearings, at the request of the proprietors of the *Times*.

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written, the Irish land system and its distinctive features seem still to be ill understood in England. Lord Grey, a statesman and a real thinker, apparently can see no great difference between landed tenures in the two islands; and yearly tenancy in Ireland, in Mr. Lowther's judgment, is simply an annual occupation at a rent, with no additional rights on the part of the tenant. This point of view is completely deceptive; the relations of landlord and tenant in England and in Ireland are altogether unlike, and it is necessary to understand this, in order to fathom the Irish Land Question. The type of society under which the land has for centuries been possessed in England has grown out of antique feudalism into its still kindly yet commercial form by a gentle and imperceptible process; it perfectly assimilates the new elements continually being added to it, and still knits together the landed classes in strong and fairly harmonious dependence. In this state of things the landlord is the natural head and friend of his tenantry; they are one in religion, in race, and in habits; and they are not kept asunder by unhappy memories, or by lasting causes of envenomed discord. In Ireland on the contrary, the organization of the land is a settlement of conquest and confiscations, which, in three provinces, and largely in the fourth, made a foreign caste the owners of the soil and a subject nation its despised occupants; sectarian proscription of the most ruthless kind prolonging and aggravating these evil relations. A community shaped in such a mould could produce little that was fair or gracious; it is not surprising that the Irish landlord, until the close of the last century was usually a rude and severe superior, and that the peasantry were a people of serfs; and great as has been the improvement since, society in Ireland, as respects the land, still bears traces of the unfortunate past. To this hour in Leinster, in Munster, in Connaught, and even to a considerable extent in Ulster, the owners of the soil as a class are divorced in taste and sympathy from their dependents; they are different in faith, in blood, in the ways of life; a large number are mere absentees; and they are separated from the mass of the occupiers by hard and impassable lines of distinction. Yet even this deep and unhappy division is not, perhaps, the most striking feature of the land system of Ireland, viewed as a whole, or that which most distinguishes it from that of England. The English landlord, as a general rule, as is natural

under the large farm system, makes all the permanent improvements on the land; and transient improvements made by the tenants are everywhere protected by local custom. English law, therefore, especially since it has been amended by recent changes, falls in well with this state of things; the landlord feels that the land is his own; and the tenant has no sense of a lasting property in it. On the other hand, in Ireland, with large exceptions, and as a necessary result of her small farm system, what has been durably added to the soil has been the work, not of the lord, but the tenant; and the sum of improvements thus effected by the long toil of generations of peasants, exaggerated as it may be, has been prodigious. As an inevitable consequence the Irish tenant has always felt that he partly owns the land; and morally certainly, in many instances, he is entitled to a concurrent interest in it. Yet until very recently, except in Ulster, where it had some protection from local usage, this enormous and growing mass of property was not lawworthy under English law; it was liable to confiscation from time to time, and no doubt can exist that, in thousands of cases, it has been confiscated without a passing thought, by summary eviction or the increase of rent.

A land system, therefore, founded in wrong, which maintained harsh differences of race and sect, and in which law set the rights of the tenant at naught—such was the position of the landed classes of Ireland; and it remained but little changed, so to speak, till yesterday. This state of things aroused even Swift to wrath, was denounced by Burke in eloquent language, and was clearly and fully described by Arthur Young; but its character, perhaps, was best indicated by Lord Clare, in his speech on the Union, when he compared the Irish gentry to a garrison hemmed in by enemies brooding over the hope of vengeance. Four main causes concurred, in our time, to condemn this system in general opinion and to prepare the way for the reform through which it has been well-nigh subverted at last. The famine of 1846–50 caused a confiscation, on a gigantic scale, of the rightful property of the Irish peasantry, by driving them from their homes in thousands, and was a pregnant commentary on the memorable Report of the Devon Commission, which revealed their true state. Again, the immense emigration that followed created a new Ireland beyond the Atlantic; and this vast community, in intense sympathy with its kindred at home, has never ceased to denounce the ills of the Irish land system. Education, besides, has had a powerful influence during the last thirty years on the Irish peasantry; and this could not fail to make them feel acutely the evils and the injustice of their lot, and the wrongs to which they were exposed by law. Finally, summary evictions were greatly encouraged by legislation from 1850 to 1860; landlords, too,



conscious of danger in the air, became disinclined to granting leases, and wished to keep their tenants completely in hand; and thus even the few immunities and privileges enjoyed by the Irish occupier, were curtailed during this modern period. A crisis in landed relations in Ireland was imminent in 1869-70; and though complaints of rack-rents were not then frequent, for harvests and prices of late had been good, it was easy to perceive what profound divisions kept the landed classes morally apart, what widespread discontent prevailed, how precarious was the tenant's position, and how his just rights had no legal protection. By this time the land system of Ireland stood generally condemned throughout the Empire, and the first Land Act of Mr. Gladstone was passed to redress its acknowledged evils. This celebrated measure gave the sanction of law to the usage which, to a certain extent, secured the fair claims of the tenant in Ulster; and it sought to attain a like end in the other provinces by provisions that aimed at assuring tenants, in certain events, the concurrent rights they had acquired in the soil. In common with others I hoped that this law—so far as law could remove the ills of centuries—would prove a solution of the problem; but the hope, it must be confessed, was ill-founded. Under the Act of 1870, as a general rule, the rights of the tenant could be only realized on eviction and when he was leaving the land; and experience soon showed that, as the Irish peasant, rather than face eviction and quit his home, was willing to forego the benefits of the law, and to submit almost to any hardship, the statute proved in a great measure useless. While the law in theory gave him large new rights, and seemed fairly to protect his property, the simple process of raising rent placed the tenant, practically, in as bad a position, or nearly so, as had been the case before; and the operation of the Act, besides, could be wholly evaded by other devices. In these circumstances the first Land Act, though in many respects a noble law, especially so for its bold assertion of the recognized ills of the Irish land system, and though not unproductive of good, fell far short of its intended purpose; and, in a few years, it had become apparent to those who really understood the subject, that all that was faulty in Irish landed relations had been only mitigated in a slight degree, and that further reform was still needed.

The years after 1870 were not favourable to the stability of the Irish land system. Ireland shared in the growing wealth of the Empire; and, as in England, rents were largely increased, occasionally no doubt beyond fair limits. Irish tenants, too, like their English fellows, lived better than had been the case formerly, and as the law gave them an interest in the land, they had exceptional facilities for borrowing money, and, as a class, fell much into debt. The two bad

harvests of 1877-78 were followed in 1879 by the most disastrous season known since the famine of 1846-47; the main staples of oats and potatoes failed, and the occupiers of the soil, already suffering, were brought suddenly face to face with distress. A universal run on the peasantry ensued;\* banks and tradesmen generally called in their claims, and a great class, lately comparatively well off, found themselves falling into despair and ruin. It is a mistake to suppose that in these circumstances the landlords acted with peculiar harshness; nothing like the "clearances" of 1847 occurred, and there was little to justify the furious clamour raised purposely against the entire order. But, severed in sympathy from their dependents, and often ignorant of their real wants, the landlords, it may be fairly said, did not meet the crisis in a generous spirit; few gave the large reductions of rent given generally by Scotch and English landlords; and it should be added—for, as a rule, the class is by no means affluent—not many could make concessions of the kind. Under the pressure, however, of distress and misery, the relations between the landed classes, never really cordial, grew bitter and strained; and, as evictions began to increase, a movement, ill-organized and at first weak, was set on foot against the payment of rents, in existing circumstances often excessive. The opportunity was not lost on two or three men of undoubted parts, who, watching passing events in America, saw a chance of striking a blow in Ireland at what they described as the English interest. The Land League was founded by Mr. Davitt; and, within a few months, from its first seat in Mayo, it had spread over the three southern provinces, and even in Ulster possessed much influence. It is not my purpose to sketch the progress and vicissitudes of this vast movement, which history will compare with the *Jacquerie* of France, or with the Peasants' War of the sixteenth century, and which for a time paralyzed every other power in Ireland. Lord Beaconsfield, I believe, was perfectly right in describing it primarily as a conspiracy against England and her rule in Ireland; and this, I doubt not, has from first to last been the real object of its presiding spirits. The movement, too, established a system of terrorism and outrage throughout whole counties unparalleled since the French Revolution, and singularly resembling the *Jacobin régime*; and the appeals of its leaders to mere selfish greed have had a very pernicious effect on the peasantry. Nevertheless, its force was for a time enormous; it gathered into its ranks a host of partisans who had no sympathy with treason or crime, and believed they were doing their country good; and it had the support, more or less earnest, of three-fourths probably of the occupiers of the soil, a class naturally timid and slow to arouse, and

\* In the County Court district of Kerry claims of this kind increased nearly threefold in 1879-80; and this was the case generally in most parts of Ireland.



who since 1798 had scarcely stirred, except during the short war against tithes. No movement could have had such mighty strength without countenance from right and justice; and the peasantry, certainly, would not have joined it had they not been suffering from real distress, and had they not had solid grounds to complain of the state of things under which they lived.

The agitation of 1879-82, reaching a climax in the "No Rent" strike, exposed the false position of the Irish landlords, and the gulf that lay between them and their dependents; and it shook the land-system to its foundations. It would be worse than idle, too, to deny that it produced the Land Act of 1881, which gave the sanction of law to many of its demands; and it has been unfortunate that this immense concession, which has transformed landed relations in Ireland, like Catholic Emancipation and other measures, should practically have been obtained by unlawful violence. It is vain to inquire, after the lapse of two years, whether Government ought not to have suppressed the Land League before even listening to its leader's claims, or whether the measure of 1881 embodies the best principles of land reform for Ireland. The ills of adjusting rents by the State are so great that I, for one, had hoped that it might have been found possible to surmount the crisis in some other way; and I still think that it would have been better had legislation proceeded on the line of discountenancing evictions where rents were too high. The measure, however, having passed into law, it becomes all classes connected with the land to make it the standard of their dealings, and freely to accept it in its true spirit, and this, I must be allowed to say, is the evident interest of Irish landlords, who can scarcely be blind to the drift of opinion. I shall not examine the Act at length, and, indeed, its main provisions must be generally known. So far as it deals with the Irish Land Question, on what I may call its occupation side, it interposes the authority of the State, in the interest wholly of the weaker class, between the disunited landed classes; and in lieu of a precarious yearly tenancy, it offers the great body of the occupiers of the soil a statutable term, with the right of renewal, the same benefit when leases fall in being conferred on tenants holding by lease. The fixed and practically perpetual term, however, is to be subject only to a statutable rent ascertained by a Court provided by the State, and to other incidents by no means onerous; and, in order that the rights of the tenant may in no conceivable way be curtailed, it is specially enacted that, in settling the rent, regard is to be had for the "tenant's interest," and that his "improvements" are not to be charged with rent. Finally, the tenant is, under easy conditions, to possess a title to sell his farm to the best bidder in the open market, and, in this way, is empowered to realize to the fullest extent his property in the land. The law,

in a word, carves out of the freehold a concurrent interest in the land for the tenant; and secures, for this, the most ample protection by rents fixed by the State, and other expedients.

The Act, it is scarcely necessary to say, has wrought a change in the Irish land system, as great as that which, in the Middle Ages, transformed the villein into the copy-holder. The landlord, who under the old law—practically little changed even in 1870—was absolute owner of the land, with power to treat the occupier “at will,” and by eviction and the increase of rent to destroy or to squeeze out his property, has been nearly converted into a rent-charger, with his interest in the land diminished, and with little dominion over the tenant; while the tenant has gained large rights of ownership, under liabilities fixed by the State and not dependent on his former master. It is as yet impossible to forecast with certainty what the effects of this revolution will be, as its operation shall be developed by degrees. Those who ascribe to the Act the comparative rest and freedom from crime now enjoyed by Ireland, are, I think, mistaking the facts of the case; the outrages of the Land League period were rather the work of the men “broken” by the distress of 1879–80, and by the more degraded class of the peasantry, than of the legitimate occupiers of the soil; and, as the Act does scarcely anything for this mass of distress, we may reasonably infer that the change is due to the ascendancy slowly regained by law, and to the resurrection, so to speak, of justice, for months paralyzed throughout whole counties. Some mischiefs, too, I believe, have followed the sudden transformation of the land system. We need not expect landlords to improve their estates under the altered conditions of their tenure; and the country, it is to be feared, will suffer, especially in all that relates to drainage, one of the chief requirements of its rain-drenched soil. The adjustment, also, of rents by the State has a tendency to destroy in the peasantry the sense of independence and self-reliance; it encourages them, too, to “run out” their farms to an extent known only to those who see it, and, as every administrator of the Act is aware, it has increased the demoralization and the disregard of contracts, due in the first instance to Land League teaching. Moreover, in spite of rhetorical figures, political economy will not quit Ireland, and, as the Act only applies in the main to tenants actually in occupation, future tenants and purchasers from present tenants will possibly be, in the course of time,\* under as harsh conditions and in the same dependent state as had been the case with most of the class formerly.

\* I had a remarkable instance of this at the Land Sessions lately held at Tralee. An application was made to me to fix a judicial rent by a tenant who, in 1879, had given more than £500 for the farm. I fixed the judicial rent at £106, the original rent having been £116; but it is obvious that at least £35, the interest on the £500, must be added to the £106, and this, if my decision was correct, is a rack-rent.



Nevertheless, the statute, I feel assured, will ultimately do more good than evil, and will have large and beneficial consequences. Reconciling, for the first time in history, law with the facts of land tenure in Ireland, it is a measure of justice in its main features; and as its influence, will make itself felt over a circle rapidly and widely spreading, in lessening rack-rents, in protecting their rights and in placing them in a secure position, it must diminish the discontent of the occupiers of the soil, and win many to the side of order. And if this consummation shall be attained—though it is unwise in Irish affairs to be sanguine—we may fairly expect that some of the ills now coincident with a revolution in the land will gradually decrease and disappear; that improvements heretofore done by landlords will be made by tenants, and on a larger scale; that, under better conditions of life, the moral deterioration of the Irish peasant will be replaced by self-respect and energy; and, on the whole, that the country will make a real and lasting advance in prosperity.

The Land Commission, as every one knows, is the court charged with the administration of the Act; the duty of settling judicial rents, the main work as yet done under the statute, being devolved on the Sub-Commissions and the County Courts, subject to an appeal to the Land Commission. In common with many, I entertained fears that the courts would be unable to perform the enormous amount of business imposed on them within anything like reasonable time, applications to fix judicial rents having at first come in by several thousands a week; but this apprehension was happily groundless. The number of appeals, indeed—still more than 8,000—to the Land Commission, appears formidable; but there is reason to believe they will be disposed of, one way or another, before many months; and rents are now being adjusted at a rate which ere long will leave no arrears behind. Nearly 79,000 cases of this kind, out of a total of about 105,000, have been settled up to December, 1883, without reckoning more than 55,000 cases of private arrangements made out of court, but registered with the Land Commission; and these figures prove that what at first seemed an almost hopeless task will be soon accomplished. As regards the administration of this part of the Act, I naturally wish to make as few remarks as possible. Some expressions made current although disavowed, undoubtedly led to a vague notion that the object of the law was to lower rents on principles obviously false and unsound; and on one important point, to which I shall refer presently, erroneous views were certainly laid down, which have diffused ideas of a dangerous kind, though the error was very soon rectified. Nevertheless, the proof is, I think, conclusive that the administration of the Act has been as just, rational, and fairly consistent as the great difficulties of the case admit; and if, as was inevitable, mistakes have been made, this has

been only one of the many evils of attempting to measure rents by the State. If, however, as heated partisans assert, rents have been cut down in a reckless fashion, how does it happen that these reductions, whether made contentiously, or out of court, have been very much on the same scale; and how comes it that the County Courts—the judges of which have the same status of independence as the superior judges—have, on the whole, pronounced decisions on rents analogous to those of the Sub-Commissions? These facts should be enough for impartial persons; and I gladly turn to another branch of the subject. The reductions of rent have been certainly large, and there is no doubt that those made through the statute are only a part of those actually made, for many landlords have lowered their rentals, either permanently or for a limited period, by agreements that cannot be publicly known. The general result has been to expose Irish landlords to a great deal of odium; and the party who wish to strike England through them, and trade on promoting hatreds of class, have treated them to much libellous rhetoric. I am far from denying that, in too many instances, unjust rents have been exacted in Ireland; still it is fair to remark that Irish rents have not been more largely reduced by law than English and Scotch have by recent concessions, at least in a very great number of cases; and the reduction of rent that has actually occurred is certainly far more due to the depressing effects of bad seasons and of low prices, coinciding during a series of years, than to the “rack-renting of landlord thieves,” to quote from one of the “Irish Party.” I adhere to the opinion I have always held that over-renting, as a general rule, was not so marked a vice of the Irish land system as the separation of classes and the dependent state of the tenant.

Opinions will probably long differ whether the Land Act ought to have been passed at all, especially under Land League pressure. As I have said, however, it is now law; and it is of great importance that it should make the settlement of the Irish Land Question reasonably complete. Not, indeed, that any amendments whatever could satisfy the extreme Irish Party, who, doubtless, would find “a lower deep,” even in the “lowest deep” of change; but reform ought to be in all respects adequate. The popular demand that the judicial rent should, in all cases, become payable, not as now, after the decision of the Court, but when the suitor first makes his claim, was not without a certain show of justice when the Courts seemed overwhelmed by arrears; and even at present something may be said for it. Now, however, when no doubt can remain that judicial rents can be quickly settled, the main grounds for this concession fail; and there are many reasons against a rule which, if made general, would probably lead to speculative attempts on a great scale to



coerce landlords to reduce rents, and which is open to all the objections to legislation retroactive in effect. Nevertheless, the Courts might, I think, be empowered to antedate the judicial rent in cases of gross and undue extortion; this, I conceive, would be simple justice; it would have an excellent moral effect; and it would certainly facilitate arrangements out of Court. In one important matter, I agree in principle with a reform advocated not only by Mr. Parnell and his followers, but by the Ulster Liberals. The Act, as is well known, applies to yearly tenants only and to leaseholders at the expiration of existing leases; and leasehold tenants, while their terms are current, cannot appeal to the Courts for a revision of rent. This distinction, no doubt, appears well founded; and I have not overlooked the force of the arguments that it is one thing for the State to make a contract where, save loose usage, there was none before, and quite another thing to subvert contracts expressed in writing and presumably fair; and that if you touch leases you may just as well touch mortgages, settlements, and other charges on land. Nevertheless, if we recollect what has occurred in Ireland, the distinction should not, I believe, be maintained;—can you reasonably refuse a peasant on one side of a hedge a probably large reduction of rent obtained by his fellow on the other side, because he holds by a bit of parchment or paper?—and this is so obvious that not a few landlords—though many still cling to the letter of the law—have voluntarily offered to take up their leases and to allow their tenants to appeal to the Courts. As for the above arguments they are now vain; the Land Act has largely affected mortgages and every kind of landed relation and contract; and as the proposed reform is comparatively small, it ought to be made, since it is really just. The method, however, by which it is sought to work out the intended change—namely, that leasehold tenants should be given the right of having their rents judicially fixed, the contract being unaltered in other respects—seems to me contrary to sound principle. Assuredly it would be most unjust that a tenant should have a right to retain his lease, with all its privileges, throughout his term, and that a court of justice should simply endorse upon it what would, perhaps, be a great diminution of the rent; and it is easy to see that this would expose landlords to speculative litigation of the most oppressive kind. To entitle a leasehold tenant to apply to the Court for a readjustment of an existing rent, it ought, I think, to be a *sine quâ non* that the lease should be given up previously; and on this condition only would a landlord stand on equal terms as a suitor with him. This provision, besides, would have this advantage, that it would probably discriminate, by a self-acting process, between leases at just and at unjust rents.

On one point of extreme importance no change I trust, will be

made in the law as it has been declared by the highest Court in Ireland. The Land Act, as I have said, provides that, in determining a judicial rent, no rent shall be charged on tenant's "improvements;" the exact words being\* "no rent shall be allowed or made payable . . . in respect of improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title." The term "improvements," however, had been defined in the original Act of 1870 as—besides "tillages and unexhausted manures"—any "work, which being executed adds to the letting value of the holding, . . . and is suitable to such holding," and as the Act of 1881 is *in pari materia*, "improvements" under it, and under the older Statute, obviously ought to have the same meaning. In fixing, therefore, a judicial rent, it would seem to be sufficiently clear that the deduction contemplated by the Land Act was strictly confined to "works" of this kind, and that rent might be fairly charged on "improvements" of any other description, and on the land as enhanced in value by them. The extreme Irish Party, however, insist, in defiance of the plain words of the law, that any additional value given to the land by the tenant, or those who have gone before him, without reference to mere "works," but even through the ordinary course of husbandry, and apparently without a limitation of time, is an "improvement" within the spirit of the Act; and they maintain that, in the adjustment of rents, the Courts should completely exclude this item. Rent, accordingly, should be assessed only on the value of the land in its rude state, when first let, centuries perhaps ago; and no increased value in any way attributable to the management of the land, so far as the tenant has had to do with it, is to be taken in account in the landlord's interest. This is the celebrated doctrine of "prairie value," which has been held up to the Irish peasantry as the standard by which rent ought to be measured; and were it to prevail, it would, doubtless, accomplish with ease one of its authors' objects, for it would all but annihilate landed property. No court of justice, it is unnecessary to say, has positively sanctioned this monstrous teaching, as iniquitous as it has been pernicious; but the Land Commission, it must be admitted, made a step at least in this false direction, and though the mistake was at once set right, its judgment has had some bad effects. In a celebrated case the two legal Commissioners, their lay colleague expressing dissent,† appear to have held that "improvements" meant not "works" only as above described, but the superadded value produced by the "works," and laid down accordingly that, in determining rent, this value was not to be computed, and that rent was not to be allowed for it. The Court of Appeal, however, rejected at once, and unanimously, a view to some extent

\* I purposely omit some qualifying words not essential to the consideration of the question here under discussion.

† I say "appear," for really it is not easy to catch the exact meaning of the judgments in this particular.



certainly on the side of that of "prairie value;" the law now is that "improvements" have the specific meaning of "works" only, and that in settling a judicial rent, these, and not the value resulting from them, are to be considered as regards the question of what is to be exempted from rent; and a liberal percentage on the cost of the works appear to be, as a general rule, the true measure of what ought to be the deduction to be made in this matter. This decision, I venture to say, is approved by the mass of the legal profession in Ireland, and not only, as it appears to me, is obviously the true interpretation of the Act, but is consonant with common sense and justice, and shows a due regard for the fair rights of property. It repudiates, however, it must be allowed, the doctrine of the "prairie value" and dangerous notions allied to it; and it recognizes, too, what, I should have thought would have been generally deemed a truism, that as a landlord still has an interest in the land and its inherent qualities, he may have a title to claim, in the shape of rent, a share in that augmented value of the land which, in the case of tenants' improvements, must assuredly, in a greater or less degree, be referable to these very agencies. For these reasons I trust Parliament will leave this wholesome decision alone, notwithstanding the clamour of those who feel that it interferes with a cherished object;\* though it must be confessed that, probably owing to the different judgments that have been pronounced, some difference of opinion seems to exist among even moderate men on the subject.

The rental of Ireland has been reduced probably one-fifth since 1879-80, and what is more significant, the selling value of land, judging from the returns of the Landed Estates Court, has fallen considerably more than a third. It is impossible to say how far the Land Act is responsible for this immense change; but, after making all fair allowances for low prices and deficient harvests, and for the destructive effects of the Land League, it certainly has contributed to it. I cannot understand how this does not give Irish landlords a real claim on the State to compensation for what they have lost, so far as the State has been concerned in it; and the arguments from the diminution of English and Scotch rents, or from the supposed necessity of a reform in the law, seem to me altogether beside the question. Law, before the Act of 1881, had given the landlord a certain status; that Act has transformed it to his detriment; and the difference surely ought to be made good, especially as it can be proved that the very wrongs often laid to the charge of Irish landlords have been caused in the main by statutes and other acts of the Imperial Legislature. Full compensation, however, is not to be hoped for; all that can be expected is a fair compromise. This is possible, I think, in many

\* A notion, too, seems to have prevailed in the House of Commons that the Court of Appeal was divided in its view on the point. That is not so; it was divided on other points, but on this it was completely of one mind.

ways, and Parliament in justice ought to recollect that even the National Assembly at Versailles considered the claims of the French *seigneurie* after the sacrifices of the 4th of August. In the case of encumbered landlords in Ireland—three-fourths probably of the entire class—the loss they have sustained might in part be made up where the charges are simply family charges, by reducing these in a certain proportion; this would be general average in a common shipwreck, a principle of the very strictest equity. It would no doubt be impossible to extend this rule to *bond fide* advances of money; but, in these instances, the State might pay off encumbrances of this kind at a lower rate of interest than that which they at present command, of course taking the place of the mortgagees, and seeing that there was good security, and by this process it would give large relief. Direct compensation to unencumbered landlords is more, perhaps, than can be expected; but the whole class, whether encumbered or not, may indirectly receive much benefit from a change in the law of landlord and tenant. Existing remedies for the recovery of rent or regaining possession of land in Ireland, are more costly and tedious than they ought to be, and especially since the Land League period they have formed an oppressive tax on estates. The mere substitution of a simple proceeding, analogous to that before bankruptcy, for the present system of action and ejectment, through which defaulting tenants should be summarily sold out, would in itself be a great boon to landlords, and would in some measure be a compensation to them by reducing law charges and making rents more secure. As, too, upon every sale of the kind, the land should be transferred to a purchaser subject to the landlord's right of pre-emption, the measure would be in true accordance with the principles of the Act of 1881, and would be of great advantage to the tenant himself. It would, in fact, be only extending the right of free sale to a new class of cases; and as it would in most instances\* abolish evictions, with their odious scenes and their frequent wrongs, and in many instances it would assure the tenant a surplus after the payment of debts, it would be a reform essentially in the general interest.

These suggestions, I think, comprise what is needed to reform thoroughly the Irish land system, regarded upon the side of occupation. The Acts of 1870 and of 1881, however, deal with that system on the side of ownership; and contain provisions by which it was hoped that a considerable part of the soil of Ireland would be transferred to tenants and become their property. But the Bright Clauses, as they are called, have failed; and men who agree in nothing else concur in demanding that they shall be so extended as to convert rapidly, and under strange conditions, the Irish peasant into

\* This could be effected by empowering the Court to attach the defaulting tenant and those abetting him, if upon a sale of the land it was not given up.



an owner of land. The extreme Irish Party insist that the State should create a proprietary out of the occupiers of the soil, by advancing to them the whole purchase-money of their holdings to buy the landlords out, the loans to be repaid by terminable yearly sums not equal to the judicial rent; and the proposition has from different reasons found favour with not a few Irish landlords. Now it would be, I believe, in the general interest, on economic and historical grounds, that in a country, like Ireland, of few landowners, estates should be considerably broken up, and that a large number of the tenant class should acquire the status of proprietors; and I am willing to admit for the sake of argument—though the admission will seem to many extravagant—that some of the objections to the above scheme are ill-founded, or may be overcome; that the funds required for the proposed advances need not necessarily be supplied by the State; that, notwithstanding the “no rent” precedent, the peasantry would pay the interest on the loans; and that local authorities could be found in Ireland who would punctually collect these yearly charges. But, allowing all this, will the scheme stand the test of sober and fair inquiry, and is it not a mischievous and disastrous policy? What would lead to such social confusion in Ireland, what would so completely weaken the sense of moral duty and independence, already feeble, among the peasantry, as to offer the land, wholesale, to the existing occupiers, without requiring a single farthing paid down, and actually accepting the price of the freehold in instalments less than the rent of its tenancy, and confined to a limited period only? The result, too, of this gigantic bribe, inexpedient and foolish as well as immoral, would be practically to expropriate all Irish landlords, and to make tenant ownership the universal tenure; for rent, as such, would, of course, not be paid when the land could be bought out and out by terminable payments of less amount; and will any one assert that a revolution like this would be commonly just to good landlords—and many good landlords are to be found in Ireland—or would promote the national welfare? The scheme, in short, may commend itself, to those who wish to destroy “landlordism,” as a means to an ulterior end, and even to landlords of a certain class eager to quit a ship they imagine sinking; but I cannot believe it will obtain the support of a single responsible statesman in power, of Parliament, or of the British taxpayer, who will certainly have a voice in the matter. Subject, however, to the conditions required to prevent any general plan of the kind from having very disastrous effects—that is, that tenants seeking to buy their farms, through the intervention and with the aid of the State, should be prepared to pay down a large part of the price,\* and that the yearly instalments they would have to pay to make up the rest of the purchase money should be at least

\* Or, what is nearly the same thing, to mortgage the land for it.

not less than a reasonable rent—I should rejoice to see a real effort made to amend the Bright Clauses of the two Land Acts, and to create a tenant proprietary largely in Ireland. And I fully agree with all that has been urged as to the expediency, in order to attain this object, of facilitating and cheapening the transfer of land, of apportioning head rents and kindred charges, and of encouraging limited owners to sell.

The fruits of the Land Act will, I believe, be as I have said on the side of good. Too much, however, is not to be expected; and it is vain to imagine, as optimists dream, that the measure will virtually transform Ireland, and as if by magic cement the Union. In the first place, a change in land tenure can only make itself felt by degrees, even among the class that can be called tenants, and it can scarcely have any effect at all on the masses of discontented poverty which form the social peril of Munster and Connaught. Again, it is simply foolish to think that ills which have been the growth of centuries can be removed by an Act of Parliament; the land system of Ireland is a constitution profoundly afflicted by chronic disease, and it is quackery to suppose that it can be suddenly restored to vigour and soundness by any remedy. Yet even these are not the chief reasons why we need not imagine that a simple change in her land system will make Ireland at once contented, prosperous, and one with Great Britain. The land agitation and the Land Act are in a great measure but partial symptoms of a revolution which for many years has been shaking the frame of Irish society; and this will not be checked by any class reform, for it has moved to its depths the heart of a nation. New forces and influences are asserting themselves in Ireland with remarkable power, and are threatening and sapping her old institutions; and they will not be set at rest by an improvement only of the structure of part of the Irish community. That this movement will ever attain the objects of those who at present profess to guide it, is, I think, impossible in the nature of things; to separation, and to any scheme even indirectly allied to it, the Empire, I hope, will say "Never," for the sake of the general good of the commonwealth, and will quietly put down attempts at resistance. But not the less I believe that this impulse will produce lasting and great effects within all classes and orders in Ireland; and it will be a task of the highest statesmanship to reconcile the old order of things with the new, and so to change, modify, and reform what exists as to retain Imperial control over Ireland, and yet to satisfy her true aspirations, and to win a long-estranged people to a real union. This, however, is not a part of my subject, and I purposely avoid further comments on it.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.



## POTTERY, OLD AND NEW.

"Turn, turn, my wheel! all things must change,  
To something new, to something strange."

IT was thus Longfellow's moralizing potter sang, and the words of his suggestive song find no better illustration than in the history and practice of his own art. The wheel fitly symbolizes the art of which the history for two thousand years may be summed up in two words—stationary movement. The change wrought by the importation of so-called new, and unquestionably strange, things into the circle of ceramic art has been that of revolution, not of ascension. The ancients, dwellers in the Flowery Land, are, and, judging from present appearances, must ever remain, the master-potters of the world. They have supplied imitators with models, and honest workers with inspiration. The influx of Oriental ideas, whereof the wellspring was in China, led to the European Renaissance. From a very early period there appears to have been an interchange of ideas between China, India, and Persia. Upon no other supposition can some of the historical problems connected with ceramics be solved. When it began or how it was maintained we cannot tell. The wheels of the pioneer caravans have left no track. Meanwhile Greece had perfected the arts of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria. In her they culminated, and the scholar became, in turn, the teacher. As we look to the farther Orient for beauty of colour, we look to Greece for beauty of form. At a later date, when Greek art had died, and when its monuments still slumbered in the tombs of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Magna Græcia, that of Persia awoke to vigour. Kiln-fires mark its westward progress. Persian art, modified by Saracen and Moor, led to those of Spain, Sicily, Italy, France. Japanese porcelain is the basis of the Medicean, the earliest made in

Europe. Chinese porcelain instigated the experiments and researches which led to the invention of the soft or artificial pastes of France and England, to the discovery of Kaolin, and so to the rise of Meissen and Sèvres. It supplied styles to decorators all over Europe, from the "Lambrequin" pattern of Rouen, and the porcelain imitations of Delft, to the "willow-ware" of England. In the United States, within the last few years, porcelain has actually been decorated with the honorific marks found upon Chinese porcelain. All this inspiration and unintelligent imitation betoken a well-nigh universal influence, and, as a mere matter of fact, no product of later times equals either the finer porcelains of the Far East, the inimitable "jade" and rose-back eggshell, or its jewel-like *grès*. After the Renaissance the knowledge of processes, such as it was, became diffused, and interest centres in individuals rather than in nations. They have come at intervals so rare that their advents mark eras in the history of their art. Now and again has arisen a Robbia, a Palissy, a Cherpentier, or a Wedgwood, to lend lustre to his art, his age, and country; and round each one, like satellites round a star, revolve countless pupils and imitators. Their names rise like lighthouse towers above the indistinguishable billows of the tumbling tide. Mark the difference of conditions. We speak of Chinese porcelain generally, and hardly remember the names even of the comparatively recent Tcheou and Thang-kong, whose works, in any case, are beyond identification. On the other hand, we speak of Robbia-ware, Palissy-ware, Wedgwood-ware, and more lately of Doulton-ware and Haviland-ware. The nation of eminence has given place to the man of eminence, a whole people to an occasional individual, and in that one fact is implied a full commentary upon the Old and the New. It explains how to-day the eyes of multitudinous professors of the ceramic art are fixed upon the East, now glowing with hope, now glazed with despair. To rival its brilliant colours, its perfection of material, the marvels of its technical skill, are achievements attainable by the modern ceramist only in his dreams.

Turning now from history to influence: every great work, every great artist is a power, beneficial or pernicious, according to circumstances. The styles indicated, those of China, Japan, Persia, Greece, those known as Saracenic and Moresque, and those emanating from Florence, Oiron, Saintes, and the English "Etruria," have all gone to the moulding of taste and the pointing of endeavour. Besides them, there are three agencies directly affecting modern ceramic art: firstly, the public taste with all its whims and vagaries; secondly, the manufacturer with all his conflicting interests and motives; thirdly, the artist with all his longings to create and lead, and his behests to follow. It is not easy to trace the workings of each. They are



modified by contact with each other. The ceramic art of our time is a medley, the result of contending forces. Thus the studies of the artist may end in creation or in imitation. The old masters may inspire him to create, but he may be compelled to imitate in order to live. So he in turn influences public taste. He may by originality create a new taste, or he may by copying feed an old one. Public taste regulates the demands of trade, and the demand regulates the supply. Thus we reach the manufacturer, and through him return to the artist. We find that the *bottega* is subject to the mart. There are exceptions, instances of an independence as grand as that of Palissy, who saw only his object, and was prepared to sacrifice everything to attain it. But the rule, which will be abundantly illustrated, is that no department of modern production in the branch of industrial art now under discussion, is independent of the others.

The matter will repay investigation. Reform can only issue from a clear comprehension of causes and effects. Let us take the collector first, and assume that his special hobby is the Oriental. He represents a centre from which is spread a taste for Eastern art, and thus fosters the desire to rival it. It is thus invested with a double influence, first upon taste, then upon manufacture, and the ways in which this influence manifests itself are manifold and curious. The taste must be gratified, and the problem of doing so is sent for solution to the workshop. There are, be it noted, manufacturers who wisely take up and strictly retain the position of *media* between their artists and the public, and who create the taste they gratify. But there are others who prefer to dabble in the great problems which popular taste is ever bringing under their notice, and who generally end with perverting a taste originally sound. Their motives are centred in mammon, and whenever trade prevails over art, we can only look for poor imitations, more or less distant from the originals, according to the operator's skill. When, as in this case, the wheel spins round, and the brush is wielded, under the sole impulse of a desire to produce a passable substitute for an unapproachable original, it becomes easy to understand how a perfectly sound taste based upon what is beautiful and true in art, may be perverted as it spreads, until it becomes a false taste directly based upon and fostered by inartistic imitations. Unskilfulness and incompetency in manufacture float upon popular ignorance. The blame does not lie entirely with the manufacturer. When a collector adopts the *rôle* of a connoisseur, and affects admiration of beauty, he does not comprehend, he invites, deception. The unskilful and unscrupulous manufacturer makes no effort to educate his patrons. He lives by their stupidity, and caters to a purely fictitious taste by imitations *a longo intervallo* of the originals upon which the unlucky possessor of such taste flatters himself it is based. So

turer possibly lays the soothing unction to his soul that he is a real benefactor of society. He cannot, in any way, be to blame for the crass ignorance which accepts his poor and meretricious imitations in lieu of originals which his patrons may never have seen. Probably the one gives them as much pleasure as the other would. Supply of this suspicious kind keeps down to its own level, the taste creating the demand. They exert a mutually degrading influence, and they combine to degrade the artist into a mere machine.

The same truth may be represented in another way, by which, in place of the ignorant collector, the manufacturer is brought into the foreground. Producers do not, in one sense fortunately, look at the demands of the public from the same point of view. Leave aside, in the meantime, the rare producers of original work and fosterers of original genius. The average manufacturer is influenced more or less consciously by the traditions and capabilities of his own *bottega*. The problem presented to him by every fresh demand, every turn of fashion, is twofold—viz., How far can the standard out-put of his workshop be made to meet it? and, How far can it be so perverted as to include the said out-put? A very common case is here presented. There is no question of art. It is again a mere matter of business, of supply and demand, of modifying the supply to meet the demand, or, as in the case previously supposed, of perverting the demand to suit the supply. Manufacturers are thus again seen standing midway between artists and purchasers, and exerting a controlling influence over both. Their different views of the trade constitute one of three means of ensuring variety in the works pertaining to ceramic art, the remaining two being the public demand and the individuality of the artist. The apportionment of healthy and elevating, or of unhealthy and degrading, influence among them, will be further illustrated hereafter. Meantime, there is one point upon which, broadly speaking, all manufacturers ostensibly agree. A French maker of faience represents the matter thus:—

“Faites du nouveau!” demande le public. Et, sur cet ordre répété sans cesse, sans cesse la fabrique marche dans la voie du nouveau, et marche encore, et toujours marche.

“Aussi, quel chemin parcouru depuis 1871! Qui reconnaîtrait, en 1878 la céramique d’il y a dix ans?”

“Public exigeant, voilà pourtant du nouveau!”

It is this eternally repeated demand for something new which every modern manufacturer would fain persuade the public he is meeting. Of those who come before the world as professed imitators, the number is small. They may be met with occasionally, but they are far outnumbered by those who claim originality absolute and radical. Apart from the question of the justice of their claim, it may in the meantime be pointed out that *le public* is represented



in the passage quoted as the sole power, which not only keeps in motion, but practically governs, *la fabrique*, and regulates the quantity and quality of its out-put. We have seen that it may be nearer the truth to say that the public and the manufacturer exert a mutual influence. They are the two powers which the art of our time is called upon to conciliate, and with which it has, in the great majority of cases, to contend. We have examined them in succession. And here it may be well to offer a few thoughts which group themselves round the artist—the third agent in the production of variety. They are of some importance to the formation of a true estimate, not only of the actual endeavour of our time, but of what the future is likely to bring.

The artist who works in clay, or who handles the palette as a decorator of porcelain or faience, is in a peculiar manner exposed to external influences. He is, generally speaking, in a position entirely different from that of the painter on canvas or sculptor. Cunningham says of Wilkie that, while other artists contented themselves with studying their art through pictures, and rejoiced to think they had imitated with success the brilliant colouring of Reynolds, or caught a little of the graceful grandeur of Raphael, he, without neglecting the dead, loved rather to seek for something new in the living. In his journal we find the corroboration of his biographer's remark. When painting the cottage sketch begun at Carleton Hall he says: "I took it into the house and compared it with Sir George's Rubens, and made such alterations as the study of that great master suggested." He found a critic in the Rubens, and made use of its suggestions, while working out an independent thought, a "something new" that was his own. When, on the other hand, the order "*faites du nouveau*" reaches the ceramic artist, he is robbed of his right to independent action in meeting it. Art being subservient to commerce, the artist has scant opportunity of working out his own individuality. In olden times the Chinese painter of porcelain was little more than a workman, and, as a consequence, the admiration of connoisseurs is kindled rather by the marvels of Chinese workmanship than by the beauty of Chinese art. We ask for nothing more than a mechanical unity of design when the eye is fascinated by the delicacy of the details and the marvellous brilliancy of the colours. Decorators worked as they were ordered under intelligent supervision, each one of a score contributing to a single vase the feature that specially trained skill enabled him to handle. A similar rule operates in Occidental workshops, although the orders are issued by a different power, and the accumulation of co-operative endeavour is wanting. The public demand is passed in a garbled form from the counting-house on to the studio. The decorator cannot, in point of originality, and under such restrictions, cope with his more inde-

pendent brother of the easel. He descends from the ranks of artists the moment he gives, at the call of trade, form to sentiments not his own; and yet such are the conditions that he is called upon, in nine cases out of ten, to choose between a dishonourable form of self-renunciation on the one hand and professional neglect on the other. He may feel that the only living art is that born of originality, but his feelings, not being marketable commodities, are ignored. The manufacturer knows, or thinks he knows, better. To him, as to the Eastern potentate, whose imperious "Go to; paint!" was backed by the power of passing summary sentence, an artist is merely a machine constructed to work his bidding, and through him that of the all-powerful public. To him the art that possesses most vitality is that which keeps the kilns aglow and the ware-rooms empty. A very strange and equally lamentable result of this is that the history of ceramic art contains many curious tales of ingenious fraud. Art having no admissible claims upon the manufacturer demoralized by the inherent dishonesty of imitation, he also contemns the guidance of commercial principle. He descends to the plane of the adulterator of food. There are, comparatively speaking, few forged pictures, and an abundance of forged porcelain and majolica. The story of the frauds perpetrated in the potteries of the world has not yet been told connectedly, but it begins with the older dynasties of the Chinese Empire, and runs through the greater part of the subsequent history of the art. The supply must be made, somehow or other, scrupulously or unscrupulously, to meet the demand; and forms and decorations have been imitated, and factory marks forged, with a laxity of conscience that would be appalling, did callousness not result from familiarity with a practice which is well-nigh universal. It is too common to elicit a protest. Exceptions, no doubt, exist. There are artists who, like M. Solon, have emancipated themselves by creating a demand for the works bearing their name. There are workshops also where the invention of artists who are allowed the possession of a certain independence, is unaffected by the fluctuations of trade and the whirlings of fashion. But away from such as these are found flat forgery and gross imitations. *Facilis descensus.* Fetter an artist by compelling him to gratify a passing public whim, and he becomes, under compulsion, untrue to himself. As an imitator he is false to art, and forgery is the deeper falsehood of the manufacturer. It is a mere modification of the inherent falsity when a factory identifies itself with a certain style to which all its artists must conform. They become mere workmen. They make without creating, and sink into intellectual torpor. Thus our view is completed. We have endeavoured to unravel, so far as space permits, the tangled web of reactionary influences exerted by trade, public taste, manufacture, and art. The only cure is the spread



of intelligence and sound taste, and the consequent reduction to futility of the attempt to pass the false into currency. The public must be taught to realize the educational value of the great collections at its command, and collectors must be taught to prize only the perennially beautiful.

Even the sympathies of the manufacturers may be enlisted on the side of art. The active wrong, no doubt, begins when commerce trenches upon the domain of art. Imitation may be a moderately remunerative profession, but there is no evidence to show that imitative talent is not merely creative genius perverted, and that creation does not pay better than imitation. The only artists known in history are those who have created something recognizable as an addition to the sum-total of the beauty that is in the world. The only great manufacturers are those who offer a field for the workings of originality. This is a substantial fact, by attending to which many may profit in soul and purse. Let us, by all means, look at the matter practically. Granted that there are many widely differing tastes for manufacturers to meet, it is a mere truism to say that variety is best secured by securing the varied outcome of individual genius. But genius must be free. The artist who is led into slavery under the pretext of meeting the current demands of commerce, is practically extinguished. He cannot assert himself. He is the mouthpiece of other men's thoughts, and is precluded from making any addition either to ceramic art or to ceramic science. Art cannot spring into healthy vigour until the workshop is free, and all cramping conditions are swept away. A shrub may, by assiduous pruning and clipping, and twisting of branches, be trained to assume almost any form, and the gardener's remorseless shears answers the eloquent protest contained in every upshooting twig that breaks the outline of the adopted form; but *cui bono*? The shrub is merely an evidence of human folly, and can never be compared with its fellow that rejoices in the waving beauty of freedom. The gardener corresponds with the manufacturer, to whom it may be said that when room is made for a true artist, he will appear, the small for a narrow place, the great for a place that is limitless. The profession has too many attractions for it to be otherwise. It offers the painter an everlasting medium; it offers the sculptor the means of giving the world the work of his own hands, and not copies cut in marble, or cast in bronze from his model. In the galleries are paintings defaced with cracks, and dulled by the action of time, the forms distorted, and the colour-harmony lost. In the museums are plaques and vases gleaming in undimmed lustre after the flight of a thousand years. The contrast is notable, and may help to explain the presence of so many eminent artists in factory studios, where they are not asked to submit to the degradation of devoting themselves to what is at best

but freely translating the ideas of artists with whom they may possibly not have one feeling in common.

In thus computing the artist's advantages, and the odds against which he has to contend; and in allotting to the manufacturer his full share of discredit for a state of affairs which will hereafter be shown to be anything but satisfactory, yet another matter must not be lost sight of.

Having shown the manufacturer the best means of securing variety, he may now be appealed to through a fair exhibit of one of the results of his policy. The Celestial artist or workman was successful only so long as he was true to the traditions of his country. When he was instigated to adopt Western styles, he made himself ridiculous. When he devoted himself to the gratification of Western demand, his skill deserted him, and with it went his source of gain. Chinese art is, and has long been, dead. The only forms of the art that have securely held the admiration of the world are those that were in inception and thought original. If we ask, why? it is not because they are old, for age confers no value; it is simply because their beauty is matchless. Rarity may no doubt affect price, but it is art that confers value. In the face of this fact, imitation and all kinds of second-hand art, if such a thing be possible, must be classed with the many other wonders of human folly. If all manufacturers allowed their artists to work out their own ideas—to shape, as it were, their own destiny, have we so little faith in the intellectual energy of our time as to think that they would be less successful than their predecessors of a few centuries ago, who worked under these conditions? The probability is that, while the market would be cleared of much that is meretricious and false, connoisseurs would find in the works of their own time much that would be worthy of their cabinets. The turgid flood of trade might shrink into a limpid stream, but it would gain in value and purity what it lost in volume. The evidence of the truth of this is before us. The men who to-day have been, commercially speaking, most successful, are those who have nourished a devotion to art, who have created something the world never saw before. If any one has a doubt as to whether, to speak vulgarly, art pays, let him turn to Minton, or Doulton, or Deck, or Haviland. The manufacturer will find that the best work pays best, and that the best work is done by the artist upon whom the fewest restrictions are laid, whose every work is a thought, and who is never asked to work with his hands while heart and brain are in enforced idleness.

And now to turn to things as they are, and to consider the manner in which the demand for something new is too commonly met. There is, at the outset, a difficulty in finding a collection, public or private, to which reference can be made for illustration. The new, as a whole, has not yet shown itself worthy of companionship with



the old, and contemporary ceramic art is accordingly unrepresented in our great collections. It can best be studied in the miscellaneous room of an Exhibition, where it is not divorced from its intimate association with trade. Seven years ago the potters of America were appalled by the immense army of their Old-World competitors which invaded Philadelphia; and five years ago the commercial cyclone struck Paris. It seems but yesterday that one was contemplating the wonders displayed in the mammoth structure on the Champ de Mars, admiring the *pâte-sur-pâte* of Minton, the stoneware, fine faience, and panels of Doulton, the porcelain of Worcester and Copeland; or wandering in France among the imposing vases of Sèvres, from the faience of Deck to the various wares of Haviland, to the lizards and fishes of Barbizet and Pull, and among the porcelains and faïences that made the French section one of the most attractive quarters in the Great Fair; or looking at the classic forms of Denmark, the gilded porcelain of Vienna, the majolica of Italy, the elaborately decorated stoves of Sweden, the decayed art of China, or the quaint forms and living decorations of Japan. When the time came for crates and packing-boxes to be dragged into light, and for the porcelain and pottery to disappear, the desolation of the scene induced a deep melancholy. Whither now had the vases and plaques, panels and services, that had kindled admiration and spread dismay, gone? and where were they next to see the sun? Where were they next to tell the tale of modern artistic endeavour? How many moons would they outlive? In truth, melancholy was not untempered by the conviction that much of the work hidden in the unsightly cases that blocked the passages was itself ephemeral. It comes, and (*voilà du nouveau!*) it is gone, to make way for something new. The art of the world would have lost nothing if many of those cases had never been re-opened. A few hundred years hence the visitors to the museum of — may read on a piece of porcelain, "Capo di Monte," and on an adjoining specimen, "Imitation Capo di Monte, made after one hundred and fifty years' practice by the Ginori family, of Doccia;" on a third he will read, "Bacchic amphora, Greek;" and near it, "Bacchic amphora, by the Veuve Ipsen, of Copenhagen;" on a fifth he will read, "Old Persian faience;" and close by, "Copy of a Persian plaque, made by Deck, of Paris, in 18—" ; a seventh will bear the legend, "Old Satsuma faience," and it will be paired with a "Copy, by Collinot, of Paris, 18—" ; and the mind of the visitor will probably be troubled. He will wonder why a Danish widow should devote herself to the resuscitation of an art that rose, bloomed, and faded, two thousand years before her day; why a Parisian artist should, with strong but unfeeling hand, attempt to rival Oriental art before mastering Oriental processes; and why a noble Italian family should feebly restrict itself to perpetuating the

works of a factory to which little more than an historical interest attached. Vexed with questions to which no adequate answers ever can be given, the visitor will arraign the artists of the nineteenth century at the bar of critical opinion, and probably condemn them in a body as copyists. There may be none to arrest his judgment with "Voilà du nouveau!"

From the dismantled stalls of the Champ de Mars, it was something of a relief to turn to the dignified quietude of the Trocadero. There, nothing had disappeared but the thronging crowds of people from all the nations of the earth. Its composure was in keeping with the permanence of the objects displayed. A similar feeling is experienced in the Louvre, the South Kensington Museum, or in any of the great art collections of the world. The specimens exhibited have been, there or elsewhere, the delight of generations, and will continue to delight when generations have passed away. Some look at the wealth of art as they would at a collection of curiosities, and scan the tapestries, the arms and armour, the bronzes, the terra cottas and the pottery with equally curious eye. Artists probably go to such places to study, and copyists to copy, but there is nothing directly suggestive either of the public demand, or of the "du nouveau." Age prevails over youth, and is far more beautiful. The only newness is that which is felt, the freshness that real art preserves throughout the ages. In that sense the old is the new, and the new the decayed. The Trocadero Exhibition was at once an artistic success and a commercial mistake. It supplied too harsh a commentary upon a large portion of that in the Champ de Mars, and when viewed in this light uncovered too much, and revealed too many of the weak points of modern endeavour.

Let us take one of the less objectionable examples, as illustrative of the suggestiveness of old pottery. Reared upon its pointed base in a corner of the Trocadero, stood an old amphora, a veteran victim of change and circumstance. It matters little whether it were Roman, Greek, Phœnician, or Egyptian. The facts of its history could make no real addition to knowledge, and if inquired into might only have disturbed, to no purpose, the work of fancy in constructing a history from the hints the amphora itself abundantly supplied. It may have stood in the sandy cellar of an ancient Egyptian. It may have held the wine pressed from the grapes of Cyprus, or played a part at a Grecian feast. The servants of a festive Athenian may have resorted to it to replenish the exhausted *krater* or *oxybaphon*, or, when the cooling vessels were empty, to fill up the *oinochoe* or *prochoos*. There is no record of the earlier years in the existence of the amphora, but this we know that the time came when it was taken into the export trade, and, packed in the hold of a trading vessel, was sent to some distant port of the Mediterranean. The



vessel foundered, and the amphora, after having been tossed hither and thither for centuries by tide and current, was at length flung upon the shore, taken up by the men of another age, and after many vicissitudes, was sent to be gazed at by the tens of thousands who visited the Trocadero, its pointed base covered with clinging shells, and on its neck a huge sponge, mementoes of its long sojourn in the realm of Neptune. Having looked on that picture, let us now go to the National Factory at Sèvres, and look on this—an elongated, pointed, porcelain vase, darkly coloured, brilliantly glazed, decorated with a nude figure in translucent *pâte-sur-pâte*, and fixed in a handsome stand of brass, a veritable aristocrat among amphoræ. The rude unglazed earthenware, held upright by thrusting its pointed base in the soil, gives place to elegant porcelain with circlets of metal, but they are both amphoræ, and the family tie is indissoluble. The ancient potter supplied the model for his modern successor to work upon. The Phœnician learned from the Egyptian, the Greek from the Phœnician, the Roman from the Greek, and the modern from all. The Sèvres potter and artist take a hint, present the new in a modification of the old form, and clothe their work with beauty.

There are many others who are led by the world's admiration of the works of Greek potters to take a different course. In the museums are a hundred Greek forms, the *kylix*, the *lekythos*, the *hydria*, the *rhyton*, modifications of the *amphora*, and many others. They have been pronounced unequalled in elegance of shape, and the judgment has been universally accepted as just. Mark the result. In the Greek section in the building on the Champ de Mars not one specimen was to be found to show that the art of her prime is practised to-day. But a few spaces across the line dividing Greece from Denmark, a pyramid of pottery was reared. Here again were the *kylix*, the *rhyton*, the *hydria*, the *lekythos*, the *kalpis*, and the *amphora*, decorated with scenes from Grecian legend or history. Was there no mistake? Had it not been by some blunder or unaccountable freak that these classic forms and old-world paintings had been taken from Greece and given to Denmark? No, "the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." The groups were labelled "Ipsen, Copenhagen," or "Wendrich, Copenhagen," and closer examination showed that they were in very truth composed of Danish copies of the works of the old Greek potters. *Voilà du Nouveau!* Nor is Denmark alone in the work of reproduction. With her are Sweden and Norway; at a long distance Italy follows; and potters all over the world—in the United States and Brazil—are crowding in their wake. Seeing, says the Sophist, the potter's wheel can give us nothing better than the graceful vessels of Greece, and since they have supplied us with a standard whereby to measure beauty of form, why not multiply such forms? We cannot all have Greek vases to admire;

and as they cannot be excelled, is it not better to have a copy of something good than a poor original? The plea is made on behalf of the public, and the effect upon art is pushed into the background. It will at once be seen that art must needs stagnate when imitation is rampant. The potter with a Greek model is hidden behind it. We catch not the faintest glimpse of his features. We know him only as a man with fingers. We hardly think of him as filled with all kinds of potentiality, as possessing perhaps even a germ of greatness, and endowed with creative power. There must be many such in the vast army depending for its supply of bread upon imitation. The Sophist argues ostensibly on behalf of mankind, but it is worth considering that, while we can measure what we have, we cannot measure what we may have lost. May not mankind be the loser? Is it not, rather, certain that it is the loser to the extent of the works of some thousands of men who have been submerged in the tide of imitation, and have left no trace of themselves, made no mark in the world, opened up no new field of pleasure, shown no new beauty? If these men had merely drank inspiration from the *kylix* as the Greeks drank wine, the world would have gained to the precise extent of their original power. The saddest thought of all is, that the great works of the past, which might have been an unmixed blessing to the present, should have been, even to the smallest extent, perverted into a curse.

Melancholy deepens into something akin to despair, when we turn from Greece to Italy. We can study its ceramics in any art museum; and in many private collections it forms the leading attraction. That collectors like M. P. A. Basilewski, Baron Seilliere, or Baron Rothschild, should admire the majolica of Faenza, Rimini, Caffagiolo, Urbino, Gubbio, and other Italian potteries, whose kiln-fires beaconed a European renaissance, is a comparatively easy thing to understand. The eye requires no special training to find something fascinating in fleeting gleams of lustres of copper, ruby, and gold, or in gracefully involved scroll-work and arabesque; but a doubt *will* present itself if all who affect Italian majolica really admire the drawing and colouring of the majority of authentic specimens. Do all take delight even in the "Three Graces" of Giorgio, or Il Frate's "Saint Cecilia?" Is every eye anything more than curious that lingers over the distorted figures and dead flesh tints? Let, if only for a moment, the historical sense be benumbed into perfect passivity, and let artistic sentiment alone be heard. We praise the potters and artists of the Renaissance. They infused new life into a dying art. They handled the processes they were taught by the Saracens, with judgment and effect. They played their part in the history of art nobly, and in their works left a rich legacy to their successors. And what are their successors doing? These are the answering words authorized



by the Ginori family of Doccia : " L'autre fabrication, celle enfin qui ouvre une nouvelle et brillante période dans l'histoire artistique de la manufacture Ginori, c'est l'imitation des anciennes faïences italiennes, qui ont rendu fameuses, au 16<sup>me</sup> et 17<sup>me</sup> siècles, les fabriques de Faenza, d'Urbino, de Castel Durante et de Gubbio." They make them, moreover, so well, that the observer hesitates between the original and the copy ! Castellani of Rome is amongst the others who are engaged in the same business. Is it necessary to ask again the questions prompted by the originals ? Is it possible that admiration can be kindled by these things ; or that any rational delight can be taken in their faded tints, in drawing and design that set every critical canon at defiance, and that, if they appeared as the original works of artists of this age, would be regarded as simply ridiculous ? There is, to the ordinary intelligence, something pitiful in the sight of a man deliberately sitting down to the task of reproducing the blunders of his predecessors, smothering the wonderful instinct of the human hand that almost unconsciously brings its work nearer and nearer to perfection, and wantonly leaving his sense of the beautiful in colour to perish in disuse.

The works of Luca della Robbia, and the others of his name, have been pretty well distributed over the world. They may be found in Edinburgh, London, and Paris, in European cities and private collections innumerable, and in the United States, in the Fine Art Museum at Boston. Palissy ware, and faïence d'Oiron, the pioneer works of French art, fill places of honour in the best collections of our time. The rarity of the latter has confined specimens within a comparatively limited area ; and whatever opinion may be held of its artistic qualities, or of those of the *rustiques figulines* of the potter of Saintes, both must be held to enrich the cabinets where they appear. Could Luca, or Palissy, or Cherpentier but see all that has been done in their names the grave would for them be no longer a resting-place. To add disgust to our horror, the Ginoris promise to turn out Robbias at Doccia " à l'aide puissant de la vapeur," to increase the wretched multitude of " Holy Families" and " Virgins" that throng the warerooms of Italy. One shudders before the impending flood, and asks if the world has taken leave of its senses. England alone seems willing to let the immortal Luca and Palissy rest in peace, and may be happy if the rising tide does not inundate its island shores. Barbizet, Pull of Paris, and Avisseau of Tours, are severally engaged in copying the great Italian, and equally great Frenchman, and they rival Minton in imitating the long mysterious Henri Deux ware. Sergeant, of France, and several of the potters of Sweden, Portugal, and Russia, try to perpetuate the style of Palissy. At least one Austrian follows Robbia, and a Rorstrand potter has so far fallen in with the fashion as to copy a

few pieces of *Henri Deux*. Why enumerate further? If collections like those of the Louvre, South Kensington, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, or like that which graced the Trocadero, are displayed for any practical end whatever, it is that they may help and inspire the artist-followers of those whose works they contain. They were never formed, never shown in public or in private, that they might facilitate the labours of the copyist. There is, let it be repeated until it is practically believed, no secondhand art. It must be original, or it is not art, but mere manufacture, and the sooner the market is glutted "*à l'aide puissant de la vapeur*," the better.

Oriental art has received its due amount of attention of the questionable kind alluded to. Hints have been freely taken from the disposition of Oriental ornament, and wholesale imitation is by no means rare, even though a passable imitation of Chinese porcelain is far beyond the reach of Occidental skill. It has been analyzed, and the constituent parts of its wonderful beauty have been set forth with more or less clearness in the laboratory, but artists have never been able to utilize the knowledge thus acquired. The remnants of energies absorbed in imitation have not proved equal to coping with the deeper problems of ceramic science. There is no tradition in which are handed down the methods of handling the processes of ancient China or Corea, of Japan or Persia. There is no royal road to the consummate skill of the almond-eyed Celestial. Though his deft hand is now palsied, its best work is the despair of imitators. Every one is supposed to know how crackle is made, but how many can make a duplicate of this or that jar of celadon? One finds occasionally a vase, whereof the glaze has crazed, offered with calm effrontery as a specimen of European crackle, and the fact tells all that need be told of the progress of Western skill. Yet there is a demand for the Oriental, and a dozen manufacturers of greater or less eminence busy themselves in trying to meet it. They choose the path where the obstructions do not seem absolutely insurmountable, but of an acquaintance, even the most distant, with the higher art in which the Chinese were adepts they make no sign. Without Oriental skill they cannot arrive at Oriental effects, and that skill they are as far from mastering as Bottcher was. The key was lost by the immediate successors of those who held it, and there are very few who trouble themselves by searching for it. Of these latter it may be said that, in so far as their efforts are directed to unlocking the secrets of the Eastern workshop, they are deserving of all honour, even if they have reaped only a small measure of success. The latter can be easily computed. In the Bischoffsheim collection is a memorable vase in the shape of two fishes in violet porcelain, one of them inverted, and set in a turquoise flower twined spirally round its body.



The colours are superb, and are so admirably managed that at no point do they run into each other. The effect is so beautiful that were the specimen mentioned the only one in the world it might well have incited the artists of our time to emulation. Reference need be made to no other attempts than those of MM. Haviland of Auteuil and Limoges, and Deck of Paris, who have surpassed all their contemporaries in the restoration of the brilliant colours of the East. Before instituting a comparison let the conditions be carefully noted. Deck works solely in faience, or turns to porcelain for the sake of experiment only. All that he gives to the world, and that makes his *magasin* in the Rue Halévy one of the attractions of Paris, is faience. Haviland made an effort, a few years ago, to revive the manufacture of *pâte tendre* porcelain, and in that material has achieved his most remarkable success in colour. In a question of rivalling Chinese porcelain neither can, under the circumstances, be said to have failed, but neither in faience nor *pâte tendre* has any work been issued which will satisfy the eye familiar with the deep brilliancy of the old turquoise and violet of China. There seems, moreover, to be a difficulty, as yet practically insuperable, in bringing the two colours into contact without mingling them, and thus marring their joint beauty. This is one example; and for others where failure is utter and lamentable, we have only to look over the wide field of Oriental art, as it is represented in any collection of approximate completeness, and there gather the materials for contrast.

Keeping in mind as clearly as possible the kaleidoscopic colours, the quaint and often graceful forms, and the peculiar arrangement of the decoration distinctive of Mussulman art, let us now look again amongst modern manufacturers. We find Collinot almost entirely given up to the imitation of Japanese and Persian faience. Deck unwisely throws away his victories, employing colours that are in themselves excellent in styles that at once provoke an irritating comparison. The Faïencerie de Gien follows Japan and Persia. Sèvres, Pillivuyt & Co., and many more produce "grains of rice" work; and Copeland is by no means singular in his modifications of Eastern reticulated ware. Pillivuyt and Haviland borrow for their porcelain hints from the workshops of Japan. From every quarter comes a faint echo of the colour-harmony of the East. Artists copy the old, and they copy each other. Part of Collinot's inspiration comes from the contemporary faïences of Satsuma and Kioto. Chaplet and Laurin brought out a new process a few years ago, that has since been made familiar to the people of two continents by the faience of Haviland, and had hardly time to utter "Public exigeant, voilà, du nouveau!" before they were seized by copyists. The manufacturer, whose response to the public demand we have quoted, is himself an imitator of the Haviland faience, and he is kept in

countenance by the manufacturers of Gien, by Jules Houry, Charles Houry, Lefront and others. A free translation of the passage quoted, that would give a correct view of the state of art, not in France alone, but in many other countries, would read as follows: " ' Make something new,' demands the public; and without ceasing the order is repeated: and without ceasing, great factories copy the old and call it new—copy again, and for ever copy."

Where shall we look for originality? The answer must be, to France and England. Doulton made a mistake that has misled not a few, when he described his stoneware as a revival of the famous *grès de Flandre*, although he qualified the statement by adding that the revival was made upon independent principles. His stoneware, coloured with a variety of washes prepared from oxides, is so far removed from its nominal type as to be entitled to credit for more originality than he claimed for it. His incised designs, most of his body tints, and the majority of his shapes, are all his own. His faience—although a lively imagination might occasionally find something savouring of the Mussulman in the triangular arrangement of its decoration—his terra-cotta panels, such works as the fountain exhibited at Paris or the terra-cotta pulpit in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, may all be accepted as evidences that the art of England has lost none of its spontaneity or vigour. In the latter, stoneware and terra-cotta are combined in a style productive of effects both pleasing and unique. The terra-cotta reliefs of George Tinworth stand by themselves amongst the art-works of the nineteenth century, and being devoted chiefly, if not exclusively, to religious subjects, are happily finding for themselves places of honour in the most notable ecclesiastical edifices of the United Kingdom. In the Doulton bottega the spirit of inquiry knows no rest, and experiment no cessation. The limited palette of the artist in stoneware has been gradually enriched with colours hitherto found only upon porcelain or ordinary faience, and processes undreamed of by the potters of the Rhine have been borrowed from the porcelain painter and the decorator of faience, and so far modified as to be capable of successful application to the wares emerging from the intense heat of the Lambeth kilns. Hence there are a thousand jars delicately painted in the *pâte-sur-pâte* style, and a thousand others beautified by the impasto process of the worker in faience. The already secured variety of bodies, colours, and modes of treatment are sufficient to ensure combinations as manifold in their beauty as they are practically limitless in their number. The secret of these successes is not hard to find. It lies simply in this, that the artists—chiefly drawn from the Lambeth School of Art—are left free. The line between the counting-house and the studios is never crossed from either side. The manufacturer has said to his



artists, "Do what you please, as you please. Follow your own lines of thought, the bent of your own genius. Send out your creations, and I will place them before the world and take its verdict upon them." His artists, working without repression, have risen to fame, and lent lustre to his workshop; and he, conscious of their power, has so associated their names with his own that Sparkes, Tinworth, and Barlow are not less widely known than Doulton and Lambeth. In this way the Doultons have not only attained a gigantic commercial success, but they have given the ceramic art of England the greatest impulse it has received in the present generation. It is strange to add, that they have their imitators at places so far apart as America and India. Minton has transplanted to Stoke the French (and old Chinese) art of painting porcelain with designs in *pâte-sur-pâte*. Mr. Solon leads in this style the decorators of Limoges, of Sèvres, and of Paris. The Minton majolica has no resemblance to any other ware of the same name, with the possible exception of that of his contemporaries the Wedgwoods. In several other factories—notably those of Copeland and the Royal Porcelain Works at Worcester—originality is encouraged. In France might be mentioned Sèvres, Deck, and, to bring to a short close a list that might easily be lengthened, Haviland, of Limoges and Auteuil. Sèvres still retains its pre-eminence as the chief depository of ceramic art. It is not compelled to listen to the public demand. Its artists can work out their ideas in peace. Under the directorate of M. Robert, it has adopted a line far removed from that on which it won its early fame. To those whom a rumour of its decay had reached, its show-room must be a revelation. In grave simplicity and chaste purity, many of the works now emanating from the National Factory will bear comparison with any of those which long ago made Sèvres porcelain the standard of excellence. At the Royal Works of Berlin, to speak comparatively, the sense of harmony is wanting. Grandeur of form is associated with prettiness of decoration. At Sèvres there is a more marked truthfulness of feeling, a deeper sense of propriety; and, if the evident influence of the Neo-Greek school has not been wholly good, it has at least led to dignity and consistency. Where brilliance is sought the colours are handled with judgment, and harmony is seldom or never sacrificed for richness of effect.

In reverting to Deck, what has been said of his obligations to Eastern art must not be allowed to give rise to a prejudice against his original work. The latter is characterized by a prevailing warmth of tone always agreeable and satisfying. A preference for living forms in decoration has led him to a close communion with Nature, the great source of originality, and the colours of his palette are never seen to such advantage as in the brilliant plumage of a bird, or the rich tints of a flower.

The discoverers of the process perfected by the Havilands, and a few of their imitators, have already been mentioned. The Haviland faience is the most remarkable addition made to French art in our time. The process and style are of a character which might be called revolutionary, so widely different are they from those that uncreative artists are especially prone to follow. His designs, though taken from Nature, are less imitative than suggestive, and are none the less suggestive when most faithfully imitative. The colours are not always bright, but are blended with a harmony that makes every piece a pleasing and unwearying study in colour. The decorations consist of paintings on the flat, of birds, flowers, animals, portraits, and landscapes laid upon grounds of cloudy blue, deep green, and reddish brown, varying according to the subject of the painting. To these are sometimes added unglazed figures attached to the vessels, or unglazed bas-reliefs of a lighter paste than the body. A third variety consists of glazed reliefs, such as flower-wreaths or vines twined round the vases, or attached to them as handles, and always naturally and gracefully disposed. The charm of such art is that it never savours of the mechanical. Every piece represents imaginative thought, and is invested with artistic feeling. A later variety of faience, with a rich cream-coloured paste brought out by the same house, although employed as the exponent of the same process as the older ware, represents a different order of ideas. The pale but warm ground permits of more delicate painting and a finer gradation of tints; but the decoration, beautiful as it undoubtedly is, lacks the strength of that seen in Haviland's first essays in the manufacture of faience. Both have, however, that merit of originality which distinguishes the porcelain—both *pâte tendre* and *pâte dure*—of Limoges. In the workshops mentioned we, therefore, find ancient art studied for the inspiration it gives, wielding the influence of a conservator, not a destroyer, of originality; inciting to greater endeavour artists whose individuality is too strong to be easily obscured, and among whom is never heard either the complaint or boast of the cultivator of art at second hand, "Public exigeant, voilà, du nouveau!"

Of late years Europe has learned to turn with expectant eyes to the giant republic beyond the Atlantic, wondering what shall be the next outcome of the lusty life nourished within its ample bosom. Has it, with every incentive to originality, no contribution to make to the New that shall be worthy of its youthful vigour? The fact is, that with a family of something like 50,000,000 to provide with household crockery, America has had comparatively little time to think of ceramic art. Its attention was first turned to competing with the manufacturers—chiefly French and English—who kindly volunteered to supply the household needs aforesaid. A high tariff kept down the average quality



of the imported goods, and a high rate of wages led the American manufacturer to content himself with equalling the cheap foreign goods he found in the market. After the Civil War the industry rose with the rapidity characteristic of the country, and Trenton and Cincinnati contended for the proud title of the "Staffordshire of the West." Cream-coloured and granite wares, thick, heavy, and clumsy, found their way into every house and restaurant, and manufacturers flourished. But with peace came wealth, and the wealthy would have none of the native earthenware. It was plebeian, unpleasant, and positively fatiguing to handle. In course of time, its place was taken by French or English porcelain; and so much was imported that the vacancy in the native ranks, occasioned by the lack of an American competitor, could no longer be overlooked. It was filled. Kaolin was imported from Cornwall, and undecorated china of excellent quality began to be sent out from the factory at Greenpoint. Still art slumbered. There was such a glorious field for manufacture pure and simple, *manufacture à l'aide puissant de la vapeur*, under the protecting wing of a towering tariff, that it would have been madness, commercial suicide, to turn to art. But wealth longs for the companionship of beauty. Stores filled with European and Oriental vases and plaques, gave evidence that there was money in artistic work. The first really American responses to the demand were made at Greenpoint and Trenton, in view of the Exhibition of 1876, and that event called into activity so sudden and energetic the latent admiration of the great body of the American people for ceramic art, properly so called, that manufacturers found that they must mingle commerce with art if they would retain their places in the trade. At present, accordingly, artists are hard at work. Some very beautiful vases are turned out at the Ceramic Art Works, Chelsea, Massachusetts, decorated with flowers carved in relief. Mr. Thomas C. Smith, of Greenpoint, is the first who has established firmly the manufacture of porcelain upon the soil of America. His career is a record of obstacles, by others deemed insurmountable, manfully met, and successfully overcome. There was little either of the skilled labour or of the art training necessary to his purpose within his immediate reach; but by personal observation in Europe, and by dint of patience in the conduct of continuous experiment, he ultimately passed the goal of success. Using both Cornwall and native kaolin, his porcelain is, in the first place, excellent in quality. The Greenpoint decorative designs, in the second place, are generally chaste and simple. It is next to impossible, however, to convey any adequate idea of the impediments to the progress and cultivation of art-industry, in a country where the very rapidity of the strides of manufacture is apt to absorb the attention alike of the onlooker and the worker. It is, at the same time, only

by thoroughly comprehending the difficulties attending its attainment, that the credit of success can be measured. The ceramic art of the United States is still in its infancy, a mere thing of yesterday, but the bud promises to burst into a lovely flower. At Greenpoint it is nurtured with feeling delicacy and tender care. The results of many of its efforts are characterized no less by present beauty than by promise. A striking originality in many of the forms is found in combination with a marked preference for the suggestions of nature in the decorative designs. The manufacture of porcelain from native material is already an accomplished fact. The chief obstacle in the way of a more general success appears to be a lack of skill in the preparation of the palette. Conceptions of undoubted merit are seldom carried out with effect, and designs the most pleasing and graceful are often marred by the crudity of the colouring. The germ, the feeling, is there; and with an abundance of all kinds of material required in making everything within the range of the art, from porcelain vases to terra cotta garden ornaments, the time cannot be far distant when the voice of the American will be heard abroad, "Voila du nouveau!"

JENNIE J. YOUNG.



## PARLIAMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE Indian Mutiny had the effect of at last concentrating the serious attention of Parliament and the country upon the government of their great Eastern dependency. But a singular hallucination in regard to the practice of the Government went far to vitiate the reforms which grew out of that attention. This hallucination consisted in supposing that, down even to the Mutiny, the Court of Directors contributed, in some occult but quite indispensable manner, to the good government of India, and that consequently in any change that might be effected, a body similar in character and constitution to the Court must be constituted for the assistance of Parliament. Actually, however, after the creation of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors had no power in the government of India. The President of the Board exercised supreme and irresponsible authority. He could, at his pleasure, communicate directly with the Governor-General and other authorities in India. When he sent his orders through the Court, the Court, as a whole, were not even cognizant of them; they were known only to the Secret Committee of the Court, consisting of three members, and this had no power to delay or alter them. It was merely a channel of transmission. From 1833 to 1857 the solitary office discharged by the Court of Directors, so far as the government of India was concerned, was to act as a kind of whipping boy, who received the national chastisement provoked by the blunders and misdoings of the Board of Control. When this system of dual government was first proposed by William Pitt, its consequences were predicted by Edmund Burke—

“This scheme,” he said, “of reconciling a direction, really and truly deliberative, with an office really and substantially controlling, is a sort of machi-

nery that can be kept in order only a short time; either the Directors will dwindle into clerks, or the Secretary of State, as has hitherto been the case, will leave everything to them. If both should affect activity, collision, procrastination, and delay, and in the end, utter confusion must ensue."

Burke's prediction was exactly fulfilled. In the early days of the dual government, both parties "affected activity," and came into constant "collision," but the Court soon learned the superior power of the Board of Control, and so far as the Government of India was concerned, "dwindled into clerks," although they continued to dispose of a great deal of private patronage, and to derive other benefits from their position. None the less the name of the Court had figured so prominently in the history of our Indian Empire, and at one period of its history it had been so formidable a power that neither Parliament nor the country appreciated the fact that in 1857 it was a name and nothing more. And this delusion was strengthened by the hard struggle which in its last moments the Company made for existence. It petitioned, prayed, agitated, and memorialized. It tried to show that all the virtues and successes were due to them, and that all the vices and failures lay at the door of Parliament and the Crown. It even foretold the disruption and downfall of our rule, if we ventured to take the government out of the hands of men so able and experienced in Indian affairs as they had proved themselves to be. These final struggles were not altogether unavailing. The Court of Directors indeed perished, but it rose, so to speak, from the grave in the slightly disguised form of an Indian Council. And thus the golden opportunity was lost for establishing direct Parliamentary control over the Government of India. The story of this revival is briefly as follows.

On the 12th of February, 1858, Lord Palmerston introduced his India Bill, the object of which was to place the possessions of the East India Company under the direct authority of the Crown, and in his address he made the following declaration of principle. He said:—

"The principle of our political system is that all administrative functions shall be accompanied by Ministerial responsibility. Responsibility to Parliament, responsibility to public opinion, responsibility to the Crown."

After a general survey of the history and government of the East India Company, in which, obviously for tactical reasons, he inflicts but mild censure on that body, Lord Palmerston points out what he considers are the vital defects of the old administration. He condemns its absurd elective basis, its cumbersome routine, and above all its divided responsibility. He attributed nearly all the improvement that had taken place in India of late years to the influence of the debates in both Houses of Parliament, and he expressed the



opinion that things have never gone on as fast as they might have done because Parliament has never had, face to face, in this or the other House, men "*personally and entirely responsible*" for the administration of affairs in India. In this view he was supported by Mr. Gladstone, who said :—

"If any great improvements were introduced into the very corrupt and very rapacious government which that Company exercised previous to the year 1784, it was in consequence of factious debates in this House. It was in consequence of the vigilant examination of committees of this House—it was in consequence of the impeachment of high-handed delinquents who had plundered the provinces of India, that this amelioration was brought about. I wish," he said, "to see the responsibility for Indian Administration under the clear control of this House."

After claiming as a leading virtue of his measure that the change is confined solely to an alteration in the administration and organization at home, without any interference with the (presumably perfect) arrangements in India, Lord Palmerston proceeds to unfold the simple details of the plan by which the evils and horrors of the old system are to be replaced by a form of government which shall have the much desired effect of placing Indian affairs under the "clear control" of Parliament.

The plan was not very complicated. Besides the transfer of the country to the Crown, it provided for the appointment, by the Crown, of a council of eight gentlemen, experienced in Indian affairs, who were to assist and advise a President, or Chief Secretary, who in his turn, should sit in and be responsible to Parliament for the legislation of India, so far as it was conducted in England. On the details of this scheme and the debate which accompanied its introduction it is needless to dwell, for the fall of the Government, which took place a short time afterwards on the Conspiracy Bill, demolished both the India Bill and the Administration of its authors. The proposal had, at least, the merit of comparative simplicity, and it was certainly intended to give substantial, if not supreme, power in the Council to the Secretary or President. Its main and, to me, vital defect was in the creation of any Council at all. Experience was indeed thrown away if it had not proved that the breakdown of the old system was chiefly, if not entirely, attributable to that "double government," consisting of the Parliamentary Minister, and the independent and unparliamentary Council outside, for ever conflicting with, thwarting and paralyzing, one another. Yet, in spite of the teachings of the past, and notwithstanding the declarations of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston, to the effect that in Parliament and in Parliament alone ought the responsibility and initiative in Indian affairs to be centred, this old fetish of a Council seemed to cling to the House like an unwholesome dream—an unhappy ghost indeed of the old Company, its ways and works.

On the 26th of March, 1858, the new Government of Lord Derby introduced its India Bill, the measure of course being based on the precious "Council" principle. Indeed, the majority of members in the House of Commons seemed unable to rid themselves of the notion that in a Council, and especially in one composed of "Old Indians," resided the true, the only solution of the question of Indian Government. The only argument advanced in support of that method appears to have been of this nature; that as the old Government of the Company had a Council, so the new Government must also possess one, and that the larger the number of "Old Indians" from the Company's Board that could be placed on it, the better it would be for the country, which had been utterly wrecked by their former exploits of statesmanship. The hold which this delusion gained on the mind of the House, strongly pressed as it was by the friends of the old East India Board, is absolutely marvellous, and it was in vain that clearer-sighted men proclaimed the present a golden opportunity of shaking off the old tradition and of inaugurating a form of government influenced by and responsible only to Parliament: a government free from the red tape swathings of these "Councillors" whose councils having wrought such little benefit in the past, gave but small promise of success in the future. But it seemed that, though all else might perish, there must not only be a Council, but it must consist mainly of "Old Indians," and in order that poor India might have a fair start at last, and a chance of making up for lost time, the new Council must be composed, as far as possible, of "Old Indians" drawn from the Board of Directors of the East India Company, the representatives and instruments of a system on which both the House and the nation at large had passed a solemn verdict of unmodified condemnation.

But this was not all, the holders of East India stock, who had failed so conspicuously in the past to elect capable administrators, were again to be intrusted with the selection of a portion of the new Council, and thus the destinies of India were still to be partly controlled by the votes of persons who, as Lord Palmerston said, "know nothing about Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, except what they learn from the candidates for the Directorships as to the Presidency to which the cadetship belongs which is promised in return for their votes."

Of this Council of eighteen which the Government proposed to establish for the assistance of the Secretary of State, it was further provided in the Bill that five of its members should be chosen by the constituencies of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Belfast; a boon, however, which was not appreciated, for the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in a trenchant memorial denounced the



whole scheme, and prayed for the appointment simply of a Secretary of State with an efficient staff of officials. Many other commercial bodies took this view, and it was supported in the House of Commons by Mr. John Bright, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Roebuck and others, and in the House of Lords by Lords Granville, Albemarle, Wodehouse and Broughton.

The Bill as originally drawn could not long stand debate in the House or the fire of criticism and ridicule which was applied to it throughout the country. Lord Palmerston declared that it had convulsed the country with laughter; at any rate it was withdrawn, and a list of resolutions substituted, by which the Government sought to gauge the feelings of the House as to the lines on which future legislation should proceed. These resolutions retained most of the defects of the original Bill and were long and fiercely debated. The method of electing a certain number of the new Council by vote was perhaps the chief point of objection. In vain did Mr. Disraeli plead that, as the cry for Indian reform came chiefly from the Lancashire people who were interested in the Indian trade, it was fair that such towns as Liverpool and Manchester should have a voice in electing the members of the Council. The commercial bodies regarded the arrangement as absurd, and were clearly anxious to put an end to every characteristic of the new Government, by which it could be associated either in semblance or fact with the discredited appliances of the old system.

In presenting a petition from the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Birmingham in favour of the appointment of a Secretary without any Council, Lord Albemarle pointed out to the House of Lords that this simple system was supported by the *Times*, *Examiner*, *Economist*, and many other influential journals, and in his personal advocacy of it he said:—

“The Council is only another form of double Government. What advantage can there be in a Council, which could not be gained by a Secretary of State with Under Secretaries. The vision of the Government has been obfuscated by the idea of a traditional policy, and they are unable to see how utterly irreconcilable an irresponsible executive is with a constitutional Government.

“It was under that very system that the whole fabric of Indian administration had broken down; heavy debt, mutiny, and insurrection had ensued. The idea only found a loophole for the Secretary of State to escape responsibility.”

These were wise words, and equally sagacious was the determined opposition which Mr. Bright gave to the Council scheme. He declared that it would not be long before they wished to abolish it, either because it had become obstructive, or because it had fallen into contempt; that the project was a servile copy of the form of

government they were getting rid of, and that if there had never been an East India Company such a plan would never have been proposed.

Mr. Lowe said that, "in two or three years the Council would fall into contempt, and the House would wonder that it had ever been appointed." The sarcastic powers of Mr. Roebuck were brought to bear with full force on this proposal, and he discerned special dangers in the idea that the Council was to be composed as far as possible of men who had served or resided for a lengthened period in India. He declared himself in favour of the concentration of responsibility on the Secretary of State and he prophesied the greatest mischief from the divided responsibility of the Council:—

"The Council," he said, "would not have seats in the House and would not be under their control. The Secretary of State might be, but he would exculpate himself by the opinion of his Council, and the House would be bound to believe, that, being composed of 'old Indians,' they knew something about India. John Stuart Mill," he added, "who had never been in India, could govern India better than all the 'old Indians' put together. The best home government for India would be a Secretary of State who would choose his own advisers, and in whom all responsibility would centre. Such a man would be responsible to the House, and would, in the most effective manner, bring to bear on the Government of India the feelings and wishes of the Indian people. The Court of Directors was at least responsible to some one, but not so the Council, and the Council would shroud the Minister when he is wrong, and hamper him when he is right."

Even Lord Ellenborough, who thought a Council of some sort necessary for the government of India, was by no means enamoured of the idea that it should be composed of the old materials. "The best Director," he said, "that I ever knew was the captain of a ship who had never seen India except from the deck of his vessel; but, being an honest and able man, he made the best Director."

But not the eloquence of Mr. Bright, the logic of Mr. Lowe, nor the sarcasm of Mr. Roebuck, could move the Government from their pet idea. It had been introduced with the view of imitating the old Directorate, and catching every breath of support that such a connection might gain for it in the House. But neither the Government nor the House found it very easy to arrive at a just constitution for this ideal body. Every one agreed that, above all things, it should be "independent," but how, and of whom? If the Secretary of State was bound to follow the advice of his Council, how could he be personally responsible to Parliament, and if he was not to be so bound, what sort of a guarantee would the advice of the experienced Council of "Old Indians" afford to Parliament and the country for the better government of India? Some said that the Council should be independent of the Minister, others that the Minister should be independent of the Council, others again that the Minister should have entire responsibility before Parliament.



It did not appear to the House that, unless the Council were mere dummies, Parliament could have no control over them, and very little over the Government of India, and that in any case the tendency of the Minister would be to shelter himself behind them. We all know that "advice" is plentiful enough, even the advice of "old Indians," without forming a Council for the purpose, and if they were to do anything more than advise, surely Lord Palmerston was right in saying—

"If you mean that you are to have associated with the President, who is charged with the Administration of India, a Council who are to thwart him, who are to be antagonistic, who are to override his decisions, and who are not to be responsible to Parliament or the country, then I say that is a sort of Council not likely to conduce to harmonious action or beneficial results."

With these prophetic words I dismiss the subject of the debate on the Council. It must have been a weary affair. The House, held fast in the thralldom of old East India traditions, struggling to make a new lamp out of old worn-out materials, hopelessly endeavouring to reconcile responsibility with irresponsibility, and to make it appear that a Minister whose chief glory was to be his "independence" of all but Parliament, could be the better for the "independent" advice of councillors whose opinions he was not bound to follow. "For," said Lord Stanley, in regard to this somewhat knotty point, "The Minister is bound to *hear*, but not bound to *take* advice!"

Both in the Resolutions, and in the Bill which was finally based upon them, the composition, functions, and status of this singular Council formed the chief topic of debate, and the impartial reader of "Hansard" might well conclude that the solicitude entertained by our legislators as to the pay, patronage, pensions, promotions, and "old Indian" qualities of this new body was only exceeded by their zeal in endeavouring to fashion their Council in the image and likeness of the predecessor which a cruel experience had so recently discredited and condemned.

Now, far be it from me to endeavour to follow Mr. Roebuck and others who in the House of Commons exercised their wit and sarcasm on the merits and legislative qualifications of those gentlemen whose long service in India was supposed to fit them for the administration of her affairs in England. I gladly admit all that can be claimed for the high qualities and experience of such men, but I take my stand firmly against the assumption that a Council, composed of them, and practically controlling the issues of Indian Government in India, is in the least necessary or desirable. I express the opinion of much more weighty authorities than my own in pointing out that the mere fact of a man having lived in India gives him no more power of governing that country than he could acquire by study and reflection at home. In a country which contains twenty different nations, speaking as

many different languages, only a limited number of which an ordinary Indian official ever enjoys even a slight contact with, is it to be supposed that, hedged in as he is by official exclusiveness and European isolation, he is in a favourable position to gain that general grasp of affairs so necessary in governmental training. At the best he can only become familiar with a portion of the country, and possibly a portion as unlike the rest as one corner of Europe may be unlike another. To declare that because a man has been some years in India he is fit to govern the whole country, is, to quote Mr. Roebuck, "about as reasonable as to say that because a man has spent his life in Naples he is fit to govern Denmark." Again, India is, or should be, in a state of rapid development and transition, and experience, to be of any value, should be experience of the day, and such experience is surely readily obtainable from men whom it is not necessary to place permanently in office for the purpose.

What, then, are the objections to the ordinary departmental form of home government as applied to India? A Minister can obtain on his staff, or get at any time from the outside, full and fresh information from an infinite variety of Indian sources, without parting with one jot of his own independence or responsibility. A Council will not be and is not content to give "advice." Its members, if they are good for anything, want power, and they take it to such an extent that the Minister, whoever he may be, is practically in their hands, and Parliament and the Viceroy in India are much in the same position. According to Lord Palmerston the object of installing the India Council was to bring Indian affairs directly under Parliamentary control; but to what extent has it done this, or has it done so at all? The Council dislikes Parliament, and seeks on all occasions to stifle or ignore its influence, and Parliament may well return the sentiment. But the despotic power of the Council reaches far beyond Parliament: it can control every act of Government in India. How otherwise could the plan for the reorganization of the Indian army, drawn up at Simla, have been totally suppressed, or by what other power could Lord Ripon's schemes for local self-government have been successfully obstructed. The task of reform in India is difficult enough in any case, but it becomes hopeless when encumbered by the obstructions prepared for at the Council table of the India Office.

It is not unfrequently argued by Indian officials that the less Parliament interferes in the government of India, the better will it be for that country. The reasons given in support of this contention are that the administration of India is at present in the hands of "experts" who know thoroughly what they are about, whereas it is impossible that Parliament can have any special knowledge, and that



if it interferes—as it must—ignorantly, it can hardly fail to interfere mischievously. The strongest argument against this line of reasoning is the argument drawn from experience. Parliament has repeatedly interfered in the management of Indian affairs, and never without admirable results. These occasions of interference were the memorable one, when Warren Hastings was placed upon his trial before the Peers of England, and the recurring seasons at intervals of twenty years, when the Charter of the East India Company had to be renewed—namely, 1773, 1793, 1813, 1853, and lastly when the East India Company was dissolved and India taken under the government of the Queen. On every one of these occasions, the voices of the “experts” were unanimously against the interference of Parliament. Then, as now, they were firmly convinced that the government of India, as conducted by themselves, was a government in which improvement was hardly possible, and that, at any rate, improvement was not to be expected from the action of a Parliament which knew and could know nothing of India. Yet if any one will be at the trouble of devoting a few days to turning over the volumes which contain the evidence of witnesses, and the reports of the Select Committee with their copious appendices, he will be utterly appalled at the gross—almost incredible—misgovernment, violence, and oppression which they reveal; and on no occasion will a thoughtful man be more struck by this than in the evidence recorded in 1853. The witnesses consisted of all the military and civil “experts” who could be brought into the committee-room: their evidence is little better than one long laudation of their own achievements, and the loyalty and attachment which they had kindled throughout India. And yet three years later, the English power in India was all but annihilated—so little did these “experts” understand the veritable character of their work, or its effects upon the people. The Mutiny and rebellion of 1857 were the natural results of gross misgovernment, which had been going on year after year under the eyes of these “experts,” and were wholly hid from them. In 1853, and upon all previous occasions, the mistake made by Parliament was not in interfering, but in not interfering with sufficient vigour and peremptoriness. The necessity for intervention was always abundantly proved; Parliament ought to have struck and spared not. All, however, which it ventured to do, was to crop away an abuse here and there, to introduce some trifling mitigation of the prevalent misrule, but to leave the root of the evil untouched. The consequence was that from 1793 to 1857 the course of British rule in India is little more than a series of growing abuses, unjust wars, and broken pledges. The Mutiny was, as we have already said, but the legitimate and inevitable result of what we ourselves had been

doing in India during the whole of the preceding century. It was nothing but the intervention of Parliament with its partial removal of glaring abuses which had postponed the catastrophe so long. The Indian "experts," if they had been altogether unchecked, would have greatly accelerated its advent. They had been experimenting upon the people of India for the better part of a century; and this terrible outbreak of popular hatred and revenge was the thing which they had succeeded in producing. A more complete demonstration of political ignorance and incapacity it would be impossible to imagine. Great was the wrath of the British people, and it fell upon the Court of Directors, who were, perhaps, not the most guilty party. Those who were responsible for the Indian insurrection were primarily and chiefly the Indian bureaucracy, and secondly, the Board of Control. The Court of Directors at the time of the Mutiny was little better than a channel of communication between the Board in London and a Governor-General in India; but the indignant British public, resolved to hang some one, hanged the Court of Directors, and there can be no question that the Court richly deserved to be hanged, if not exactly for its complicity in the Indian Mutiny, for its multitudinous malpractices in times past. But having exterminated the Court of Directors, Parliament proceeded, in its wisdom, to fill the gap thus created, in a truly remarkable manner. What events in India had proved was the necessity of having, here in England, some authority to control and supervise the action of the bureaucracy in India—some authority capable of criticizing it in a fearless and independent spirit—and which should, above all things, have its ears and eyes open to discern what the natives thought of those whom we allowed to rule over them. Parliament, in one word, wished to create a constitutional check upon the despotic and irresponsible power lodged in the hands of the Indian bureaucracy—the Court of Directors having egregiously failed to act as such. With this object in view they deliberately choose fifteen leading specimens of the very bureaucracy which had to be checked. These they formed into a sort of *vehmgericht* or Secret Council here in London, and placed Parliament in dependence upon this body, so far as its knowledge of Indian affairs was concerned. True it is that the Secretary of State for India has nominally and legally the supremacy over the Council. He may ask their advice and then act in defiance of it; but practically this power goes for nothing, for he depends upon the Council for his information, and in matters which affect the people of India only, he must always be either the Parliamentary mouthpiece of the Council or nothing. The result is that though the supreme importance of the intervention of Parliament has been demonstrated again and again—although nothing but this would have sufficed to



check the hideous corruption which disgraced the English rule in India—although whatever improvements have been effected in our government of the country can, almost without exception, be traced to the action of Parliament—yet now this authority is probably of less account than at any previous period of our history. The members of the Indian Council are masters of the situation. They control the action of the Secretary of State for India, and through him that of the Government, and consequently of the majority of the House of Commons also. It becomes then a matter of national importance to understand what manner of men these same Indian councillors are. They are Indian officials of long standing, and therefore, it was assumed, knowing more than ordinary men of native habits of thought and feeling, and the working of our administrative system in its effects upon the people. But the conclusions do not necessarily follow the premise. In an earlier day Indian officials of the stamp of Munro, Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and others possessed that intimate knowledge of native life, which has been too hastily predicated of all Indian officials of considerable standing. Their chief work was to organize a British administration in provinces which had been newly annexed, and this work brought them of necessity into direct and constant communication with all classes of the people. But there are no provinces for us to conquer now-a-days, and in British India the administrative machinery works according to a fixed and unchangeable routine. The Governor of a Province, or a Member of Council, does not, except ceremonially, come into contact with the people at all. His business is to keep the administrative machinery going, and to dispense a great amount of patronage. The officials who really come in contact with the people are the junior civilians; and most civilians, when they have been a short time in the country, seem to have a very lively sense of the glaring shortcomings of the rule that we have set up in India: were it possible to preserve this freshness and independence of feeling the lot of the people of India would be very different from what it is. But Englishmen do not go to India in order to benefit the people of India, but to secure a living for themselves—this is the first object of ninety-nine out of every hundred Englishmen, whether they be officials or outsiders, and your junior civilian speedily gets to perceive that if he is to rise in the service, he will do wisely to repress all tendencies to criticize the system of which he is a part. The kind of man who is certain to get on in India is he who will execute *all* orders with equal alacrity, careless whether or not they coincide with his own convictions.

There is a well known passage in Mill's "*Essay on Liberty*" which exposes in forcible language the inevitable consequences of such a training:—

"Under this *régime*, not only is the public ill qualified, for want of practical experience, to criticize or check the mode of operation of the bureaucracy, but even if the accidents of despotic, or the natural workings of popular institutions occasionally raise to the summit a ruler or rulers of reforming inclinations, no reform can be effected which is contrary to the interest of the bureaucracy. Such is the melancholy condition of the Russian Empire, as shown in the accounts of those who have had sufficient opportunity of observation. The Czar himself is powerless against the bureaucratic body; he can send any one of them to Siberia, but he cannot govern without them or against their will. On every decree of his they have a tacit veto, by merely refraining from carrying it into effect. . . . Banded together as they are—working a system which, like all systems, necessarily proceeds in a great measure by fixed rules—the official body are under the constant temptation of sinking into indolent routine, or if they now and then abandon this mill-horse round, of rushing into some half-examined crudity which has struck the fancy of some leading member of the corps; and the sole check on these closely allied though seemingly opposite tendencies, the only situation which can keep the ability of the body itself up to a high standard, is liability outside the body."

The creation, therefore, of the Indian Council for the purposes which Parliament had in view, was an act opposed alike to reason and experience. The Indian Rebellion had demonstrated in the clearest and most appalling manner, the incapacity of the Indian bureaucracy to govern India, and also their utter ignorance of that incapacity. It had shown that they knew literally nothing about the people whom they pretended to know so thoroughly. It showed that a whole continent might be seething with discontent and the fiercest hatred, while the Indian bureaucracy fondly believed itself to be the admired of all beholders. It proved beyond reach of dispute, the imperative urgent necessity of establishing an effectual control upon the action of this bureaucracy—of subjecting our Indian administration to the light of vigilant public criticism, and, above all things, of opening out sources of information other than official. Having these objects in view, could anything have been more absurd and irrational than to organize a Council consisting of men irretrievably wedded to that very system which had failed amid such incalculable disaster and misery. These fifteen Indian councillors had nothing to propose or suggest for the better government of India. They already stood committed to the belief that the existing bureaucracy was the only way in which India could be governed. All this, which might have been anticipated by past experience, has been fully verified by the result. The Indian Council, as at present constituted, is not the assistant, but the hardly concealed enemy of Parliament. Members who presume to ask questions in the House of Commons on Indian matters have a very discouraging experience. There may be no particular harm in the question, but the suppression of all questioners seems to be regarded as a matter of principle. The India Office resents the very thought of



Parliamentary control with all the bitterness of men who have been trained and nurtured in the atmosphere of a despotic system, and they naturally discourage all inquirers, lest the success of even one should breed a host of imitators. There is a further reason why the existing constitution of the Indian Council is peculiarly indefensible. Why is a Viceroy sent to India at intervals of five years? For this reason, that we believe a supreme official to be needed in that country, who, not being himself a member of the ruling bureaucracy, will be able to deal with the greater questions of Indian policy from a higher and more independent standpoint. In doing so, the Viceroy has often a hard battle to fight with the bureaucracy, and the Government of Lord Ripon is a case in point. But, as if this was not difficulty enough, we have by the creation of the Indian Council raised another and even more formidable one in the path of a reforming Viceroy. We have given to the bureaucracy in India a power of appeal against the ruling of the Viceroy to a still closer bureaucracy in London. If Lord Ripon were in a position to speak out the whole truth, he would, I am tolerably confident, assert that his chiefest difficulty has been, not in India, but in London. In short, the Indian Council, as at present constituted, has the power, with complete impunity to itself, to suppress an obnoxious Governor-General, to set at defiance the action of Parliament, and to convert Secretaries of State into speaking automata, the machinery of which is worked by themselves.

It is a suggestive fact that in the "Act for the better Government of India" not a single allusion is made to the Native interests of India, and yet, if as Mr. Halliday says, "our mission in India is to qualify the Natives for governing themselves," it is high time we made a start in that direction.

The present system, I fear, affords absolutely no hope of obtaining so wise a consummation of our Indian policy. What, then, is the remedy? In my opinion it is neither heroic in dimensions nor complicated in detail, and its application should not be attended by extreme difficulties.

The Secretary in the House of Commons should be made a *really* responsible Minister, assisted by a sufficient staff of Under-Secretaries and officials. Further, in the House of Commons there should be a Standing Committee on Indian affairs, similar to the Foreign Affairs Committee in the United States Senate, with power to call for the production of all Indian papers *without exception*, and to raise debates upon any questions of Indian policy. No member of this Standing Committee should have any post under Government. It is vain to hope that members of the House of Commons will ever get control over Indian affairs until they have power to initiate discussions with full information of the subject discussed placed in their hands independently of the Government.

Under such a system there would be much hope for the early application of those measures of development and reform which our great dependency so sorely needs, and the adoption of which would react so favourably on the commerce and general welfare of our own country.

It is not my desire here to raise controversy as to the condition and development of India. Every one will admit that there is still a great work before us there—work whose importance is becoming daily more manifest. Mr. Disraeli used cynically to remark that the English people would not take any interest in Indian Government, because they were not called upon to pay for its results. But if this was ever true, it is certainly not true now. Putting aside our vast and solemn responsibilities to the Native races, are not Indian affairs becoming more and more great factors in regard to both our political and commercial interests? At least one vast branch of our national industry is absolutely dependent on India, and on the prosperity and well-being of her people hang the welfare of millions of our own countrymen.

Surely then it behoves us to see well that the foundations of government are so based as to endow us with the greatest power of legislating wisely in issues of such moment and gravity.

JOHN SLAGG.



## THE HOUSING OF THE LONDON POOR.

### I.—WHERE TO HOUSE THEM.

WHATEVER reforms be introduced into the dwellings of the London poor, it will still remain true that the whole area of London is insufficient to supply its population with fresh air and the free space that is wanted for wholesome recreation. A remedy for overcrowding of London will still be wanted. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that there are large classes of the population of London whose removal into the country would be in the long run economically advantageous—that it would benefit alike those who moved and those who remained behind.

The first effect of the mechanical inventions of the last century was to scatter the manufacturing industries over the country in search of water power: the development of steam power made it possible for them to come back to the towns. Early in this century the advantages of a town life were very great for the manufacturers; for communication of all kinds was slow and dear, and every branch of industry was changing its form and methods rapidly. Those who lived out in the country had great difficulty in keeping themselves acquainted with all that was going on in their trades. Even if they knew what ought to be done, they could not easily keep their machinery abreast of the age; employers were at a disadvantage in buying and selling, and in getting any particular kind of skilled labour they might suddenly need; and employes found themselves too much in the hands of individual employers. So the tide set strongly towards the towns.

But as the century wore on, and communication was opened up, the special advantages which residence in large towns offered to producers, gradually diminished. Railways, the cheap post, the telegraph, general newspapers and trade newspapers, and organized associ-

ations among employers and employed, all had a share in the change. Meanwhile space in the towns was becoming more and more valuable for trading and for administrative and other purposes : and manufacturers began to doubt whether the special advantages of the town were worth the high ground rents that they had to pay there. Sir Titus Salt, a pioneer in this as in other ways, saw that he would gain himself and benefit those who worked for him by moving out of Bradford. So he founded Saltaire out in the country ; and thus realized at once one of the most wholesome and substantial ambitions that the socialists have set before themselves—that of combining the advantages of the town and the country. Saltaire, itself a considerable town, and within a few minutes' ride of large towns, offers all the quickening influences that man gets from close and varied contact with his fellows. At the same time, it has cheap rents, fresh air, wholesome outdoor amusements for young and old ; the nerves are not overwrought, and the physique does not degenerate. Saltaire is exceptional in many ways ; and it is apt to suffer from too close a dependence on one trade. But this evil is in some measure avoided, while nearly all the advantages of Saltaire are secured, by the semi-rural manufacturing districts that are growing up in many parts of the country, and drawing the manufacturers away from the great towns. Manchester, Leeds, and Lyons, are no longer the great homes of the cotton, the woollen, and the silk industries. They are the trading centres of manufacturing districts, over which these industries have now scattered themselves. The mere carmen, railwaymen, warehousemen, and messengers in Manchester are far more in number than all the men engaged in the textile industries, and not very much less than those engaged in the textile and iron industries put together.

But there are other producing industries, which are carried on not so much in factories as in workshops and at home, which are not so ready to seek the fresh air. The causes of this are chiefly morbid, and their action is most conspicuous and most calamitous in London.

The industrial condition of London has several peculiarities. It has grown round many villages which were at one time remote from its boundaries, and which, if its growth had not been so vast, would have become industrial districts interspersed with green fields.

Next, it has special attractions that draw to it from far and wide many different classes of people. Large as its population is, its demand for the best products of the most highly skilled work is very much larger in proportion. And a legitimate ambition brings, and always will bring, many of the finest workers in the country to it. For different reasons it is an attractive field for many at the opposite end of the industrial scale. Crowds of people go there because they are impatient and reckless, or miserable and purposeless ; and because



they hope to prey on the charities, the follies, and the vices that are nowhere so richly gilded as there.

No doubt those who go to London, taken all together, are above the average in strength. But residence for many generations amid smoke, and with scarcely any of the pure gladness of bright sunshine and green fields, gradually lowers the physical constitution. It is said that this deterioration is seen even in families where high wages are earned and well spent; that the thoroughbred Londoner is seldom a perfect workman, and that the reputation of London work is maintained chiefly by those who were born, or whose parents were born, elsewhere. Even if this statement be somewhat exaggerated, it is certain that when, through any cause, the income of a family falls off, or when its income is not well spent, the family deteriorates rapidly in London. Doubtless many of the poor things that crouch for hire at the doors of London workshops are descended from vigorous ancestors, and owe their degradation partly to misfortune and partly to the taste for drink that misfortune at once begets under the joyless London sky. But a great many more of them have a taint of vice in their history. The descendants of the dissolute are naturally weak, and especially those of the dissolute in large towns. It is appalling to think how many of the poor of London are descendants of the dissolute.

Thus there are large numbers of people with poor physique and a feeble will, with no enterprise, no courage, no hope, and scarcely any self-respect, whom misery drives to work for lower wages than the same work gets in the country. The employer pays his high rent out of his saving in wages; and they have to pay their high rents out of their diminished wages. This is the fundamental evil.

It is reasonable that those who can earn high wages should work in London, if they happen to like London; because they can afford to live a fairly healthy life there. They can house themselves comfortably in London, or they can in many cases live in the suburbs, and come in to their work. Not nearly all the watchmakers, engineers, &c., who work in London, are really bound to work there; but no great harm is done by their being there.

Again, those large numbers of workmen of lower grades who are really wanted to supply the needs of London must of course live there. If their numbers were not excessive, the ordinary law of competition would keep up their wages as much above those of similar work elsewhere, as the rents they have to pay exceed the rents for similar accommodation elsewhere.

But there are other kinds of labour which are everywhere lowly paid, and which make goods, not to meet the wants of individual consumers, but for the general market: it is unreasonable and a sign of social disease that these should be housed in London. The indus-

tries that thus linger on are chiefly those in which the workers are scattered, not able easily to organize themselves, and most at the mercy of the unscrupulous employer; those industries, in short, which are shunned by the hearty and strong, and are the refuge of the weak and broken-spirited.

The distribution of the industries of London is indeed just what would naturally follow from the causes that, as we have just seen, determine the character of its population. First come those whose work is necessary in London. Those engaged in domestic service are nearly 400,000, if we count the 50,000 washerwomen in this class. There are about 150,000 engaged in carrying and storage, and 120,000 in building. There is a large but not easily ascertained number of assistants in shops; and some of the 78,000 general labourers are no doubt bound to be in London. In all these industries the supply of labour conforms itself to the demand, and is not affected by the special character of the population of London.

But in those industries the work of which could, in great part at least, be done out of London, the supply of labour is determined by the character of the population, and the demand follows the supply. In these industries the chief groups are 45,000 in the printing and allied trades, 40,000 in the furniture and decorative trades, 35,000 in the engineering and other branches of the ordinary metal trades, 20,000 workers in gold and makers of watches and other delicate instruments, and 15,000 makers of carriages, ships, and boats. In all these groups, especially in the second, there are some low-waged workers; but in the main they are high-waged, and can afford to live comfortably in London. There are further a great many minor industries, mostly very small; some of them are skilled industries, but the greater part are very poorly paid. They have a prominent place in some recent descriptions of London life. The total number of those engaged in them, though much less than is often thought, is yet very considerable. And lastly, there is the great characteristic group of London industries—that of the clothes-making trades. Of the 150,000 or more hired workers in these trades, by far the greater part are very poorly paid, and do work which it is against all economic reason to have done where ground rent is high. There are, including employers, 70,000 milliners, &c., there are 18,000 female tailors, and 26,000 shirtmakers and seamstresses.

It is clear, then, that of the industries in which the supply of labour is determined, not by the demand, but by the character of the population, the great majority are either very highly paid or very poorly paid. The intermediate class, those who cannot afford to live comfortably in London, but yet have not had their spirit crushed out of them, are comparatively few in number; most of them have left London. But the very weak and poorly paid want help. If they



weak horses they would get it fast enough; a weak horse is sent off into the country, where stable-room is cheap; people cannot afford to have any but strong horses in London. Surely time and money devoted to helping the feeble and timid to move and carry their work with them, are better spent than in diminishing some of the evils of their lives in London. In London, even when their houses are whitewashed, the sky will be dark; devoid of joy, they will still tend to drink for excitement; they will go on deteriorating; and, as to their children, the more of them grow up to manhood the lower will be the average physique and the average morality of the coming English generation. Meanwhile they take up space which, if they were gone, would give room for those who must remain to breathe more freely, and for their children to play.

Before considering what direct steps may be taken for this purpose, it will be well to look at the effect of the enforcement of sanitary laws. They have been considered chiefly in their bearing on those who have lived and will go on living in London; but account must also be taken of their bearing on the movements of the population.

The population of London is already migratory in a great measure. One out of five of those now living who were born in London has already gone elsewhere. Of those who are now in London more than a third were born elsewhere, and a great many more are the young children of those who have recently come there. There are about 800,000 females living in London who were born elsewhere. Only a small part of them can be domestic servants, for the total number of these is only 240,000. Of these immigrants a great part do no good to themselves or to others by coming to London; and there would be no hardship in deterring the worst of them from coming by insisting on strict regulations as to their manner of living there.

It would be possible to do this, by a just discrimination, without pressing too severely on the old inhabitants, if Mr. Llewellyn Davies' proposal as to inspection were acted on. According to this, the most important perhaps of all the suggestions that have been made on the subject, specially bad districts would be "proclaimed;" they would be inspected by a large staff of officers in a rigorous, uncompromising way, that could not be applied universally without involving needless expense and needless vexation. If it got to be known that these officers would enforce the letter of the law rigidly and without mercy on all new-comers, a good many shiftless people who now come to London would stay where they are, or be induced to go straight to the New World, where the shiftless become shiftful. The settlement laws were wrong, because they were selfish rules for preventing people from going to legitimate employment; but to prevent people from going where their presence helps to lower the

average standard of human life, is no more contrary to economic principle than the rule that when a steamer is full, admission should be refused to any more, even though they themselves are willing to take the risk of being drowned.

The analogy of the passenger steamer will help us further. It is a hardship to take away the license of a short-sighted captain for running his vessel ashore ; it is a greater hardship not to do it. It is a question whether every house-owner in "proclaimed" districts should not require a license. Anyhow, those who cannot manage their houses properly, and exercise a due control over the sanitary habits of their tenants, should be fined till they sell them to others who can. But all changes must be gradual ; it is a mistake to propound regulations that cannot be enforced. The house-room insisted on for each person, and the free space insisted on between the houses, should start from a workable level, and increase steadily and surely till a high standard is attained.

The thorough carrying out of such rules, left to itself, would before long rid London of its superfluous population ; those only would live there who were really wanted there ; and competition for their labour would compel rich London to pay, as it can well afford to do, high enough wages to cover the cost of good accommodation. The suffering caused on the way would be as nothing compared with the ultimate gain ; and if the suffering could not be prevented, it should not be shirked. But there is no more urgent duty, no more truly beneficent work, than to deprive progress of its partial cruelty by helping away those who lie in the route of its chariot wheels.

Even among the landlords there are a few, probably a very few, whose cases afford a plea, not for relaxing the law, but for charitable aid to them. But the chief field for charity will be in helping the poor to live better in London, and to live better out of London.

Nearly all the schemes for enabling the poor to live better in London tend to raise their self-respect as well as to make them more comfortable, and by so doing help them indirectly to live out of London. But such schemes, admirable as they are, require to be worked in conjunction with other schemes for directly helping the poor to move out.

The task gives special facilities for attack in detail, chiefly because there is so little fixed capital in the industries to be attacked ; no one experiment need involve great outlay or great risk. There might be great variety in method ; but the general plan would probably be for a committee, whether formed specially for the purpose or not, to interest themselves in the formation of a colony in some place well beyond the range of London smoke. After seeing their way to building or buying suitable cottages there, they would enter into communication with some of the employers of low-waged labour.



They would select at first industries that use very little fixed capital; and, as we have seen, it fortunately happens that most of the industries which it is important to move are of this kind. They would find an employer—and there must be many such—who really cares for the misery of his employés. Acting with him and by his advice, they would make themselves the friends of people employed, or fit to be employed, in his trade; they would show them the advantages of moving, and help them to move both with counsel and money. They would organize the sending of work backwards and forwards, the employer perhaps opening an agency in the colony. The committee might well keep up permanently a friendly connection with the colony. But after being once started it ought to be self-supporting; for the cost of carriage, even if the employés went in sometimes to get instructions, would be less than the saving made in rent—at all events, if allowance be made for the value of the garden produce. And more than as much again would probably be saved by removing the temptation to drink that is caused by the sadness of London. They would meet with much passive resistance at first. The unknown has terrors to all, but especially to those who have lost their natural spring. Those who have lived always in the obscurity of a London court might shrink away from the free light; poor as are their acquaintanceships at home, they might fear to go where they knew no one. But with gentle insistence the committee would urge their way, trying to get those who knew one another to move together, by warm patient sympathy taking off the chill of the first change.

It is only the first step that costs: every succeeding step would be easier. The work of several firms, not always in the same business, might in some cases be sent together. Gradually a prosperous industrial district would grow up; and then mere self-interest would induce employers to bring down their main workshops, and even to start factories in the colony. Ultimately all would gain, but most the landowners and the railroads connected with the colony.

Railway shareholders belong to the class of people, most of whom wish to do something practical for the London poor, and do not know how to do it. There is a thing that wants doing, and that they alone can do; it is to put pressure on their directors to act generously in the matter of carrying the poor. The beneficent Act just passed as to workmen's trains will much depend for its efficiency on whether the railway authorities meet it in a liberal or a higgling spirit. The actual cost of running an extra train is generally not very great; and there is scarcely any other direction in which a very little unselfishness will purchase so much good for others; will cause so much happiness unalloyed by any harm; will do so much to raise the quality of human life.

If railways and some at least of the employers will co-operate, the committees will soon be able to provide all whom the gradual improvements need drive out of London with healthy homes without separating them from their employment. Some members might give only time, and others only money. Some committees might be small, and go shares in a colony with others; but some parts of the work could be done only by large and strong committees. A municipality or other public body could not safely do the work—there would be too much room for jobbery and imposture; but whenever the dwelling-houses of the poor were cleared away for any purpose, public or private, the requirements of conscience or of the law might in many cases be satisfied by handing over to a properly-chosen committee money enough to move the displaced poor out into the country. If such plans as these be carried out, the car of progress may roll on till every one in London is properly housed, and every house has adequate free space around it; and yet its wheels may crush under them none of the industrious poor.

Other provision must be made for those who cannot or will not work. Probably this will never be done satisfactorily till we have braced ourselves to say that being without the means of livelihood must be treated, not as a crime, but as a cause for uncompromising inspection and inquiry. So long as we shrink from the little pain that this would give, we are forced to be too kind to the undeserving, and too unkind to the unfortunate. This inspection would be facilitated by the adoption of Mr. Llewellyn Davies' proposal. It would be a part of the great movement towards bringing public and private charity into system and into harmony. Till this is done our treatment of the poor cannot cease to be tender where tenderness is the parent of crime, and hard where hardness involves needless and bitter degradation and woe.

ALFRED MARSHALL.

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## II.—WAYS AND MEANS.

THERE is a growing impression that the present agitation will lead to nothing, because the movement has taken no tangible shape. Everyone admits that the dens inhabited by the poorer section of the working-classes are a disgrace to humanity and a dishonour to this enlightened and opulent city, but nobody seems inclined to formulate a sweeping remedy. We want a Marquis de Pombal to rid us of this horrid nightmare, and until we find a magistrate of that



stamp, it is to no purpose that Mr. Sims harrows our feelings or the newspapers fill their columns with such dismal repetitions. Nevertheless, it may be interesting to suppose for a moment that we could evoke the shade of Pombal and consult him with regard to a task so peculiarly suited to his genius. We should lay before him the principal features of the case, as follows :—

1. In London we have 250,000 inhabitants living in what are called "slums," in a condition which Professor Huxley declares to be inferior to that of West African savages.

2. This city is by far the richest in the world, the annual accumulation averaging twenty-two millions sterling, as shown by insurances.

3. The total cost of sites and buildings for accommodating the 250,000 poor would not exceed, according to Mr. Hoole and other competent authorities, a sum of eight millions sterling.

In view of the above statement the Marquis de Pombal would doubtless reply after this fashion :—"The task before you is much less than I had to undertake after the earthquake of Lisbon. It is even small in comparison with what Haussmann had to do in Paris ; and for a city of such wealth as London, it is as easy as it was to make the Thames Embankment."

#### I.—THE WORK TO BE DONE.

All estimates, up to the present, agree in fixing the population of the slums at something between 200,000 and 250,000 souls ; hence we must adopt 240,000 as the actual minimum with which we have to deal. The number, therefore, requiring to be housed is just twenty times the population of the Peabody Buildings, who occupy 6,160 rooms. It is, however, admitted that the Peabody artisans constitute the aristocracy of the working classes, and that the accommodation now sought for need not be on so elaborate or extensive a scale. Instead of an average of two persons per room, we may take three as our basis, which would require a total of 80,000 rooms to be built. The cost of the Peabody Buildings (including site) has been £120 per room, the expenditure throughout being in a manner sumptuous, but other blocks, such as Miss Octavia Hill's, have cost less than £100 ; it is, therefore, supposed that £90 per room would be amply sufficient, say in round numbers, seven millions sterling.

The principal difficulty is in procuring sites. In fact this is the *crux* of the question, for we learn that there is plenty of money available if the municipal authorities could dispose of sites not exceeding in value ten shillings per square foot, or a rental on long lease at sixpence per foot per annum. Such sites are of course to be obtained in the suburbs, but it is absolutely necessary for most of the working-classes to be housed near their work—that is, more or

less on the spot which they at present inhabit. Even if metropolitan trains were provided to carry them gratis, it would be of little avail. So long as factories, breweries, &c., are permitted in London, the operatives which they employ cannot be deported to the outskirts. In any other country except England we should be able to cure the slums within ninety days, by notifying glass-blowers, brewers, potters, &c., to remove ten miles from Charing Cross on or before a given date, under penalty of £1,000 a day in case of delay. But antiquity makes even abuses respectable in the eyes of Englishmen, and as it is useless to expect vigorous reforms where so many vested and vestry interests are at stake, we must seek the only practicable remedy, by rebuilding and remodelling the homes of the poor.

It is well to bear in mind that the rapid increase of wealth in our city, by enhancing the value of house-property, has accentuated the misery of dwellers in the slums. The average rent per house and per inhabitant of London has more than doubled since 1831, while the wages of seamstresses are no higher than when Hood wrote the *Song of the Shirt*. The table on the following page throws some light on the congestion of our population.

Here we find that in fifty-two years the rent per house has risen 107 per cent., and per inhabitant 133 per cent., this enormous

*Houses, Rental, and Population of London.*

Year.	Houses.	Population.	Rental. £	Rent per House.			Rent per Inhabitant.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1831 . .	197,000	1,655,000	6,170,000	31	6	0	3	15	0
1841 . .	256,000	1,948,000	9,150,000	35	10	0	4	14	0
1851 . .	301,000	2,362,000	12,100,000	40	1	0	5	2	0
1861 . .	369,000	2,804,000	16,200,000	43	0	0	5	15	0
1871 . .	445,000	3,254,000	22,800,000	51	0	0	7	1	0
1883 . .	541,000	3,955,000	35,060,000	64	12	0	8	15	0

pressure falling much more heavily on the middle and working-classes than on persons in higher walks of life. England is not the only country in which the hewers of wood and drawers of water pay more than their fair share of rent. Our own estimates, compared with those of the best economists in Germany and France, show that the percentage of expenditure for rent increases as we descend in the social scale—viz.,

Class.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Average.
Rich . . . .	10	10	15	12 per cent.
Middle . . . .	20	18	23	20 "
Working . . . .	25	23	30	26 "

Thus, one-fourth of the working-man's income goes to keep a roof over his head, however squalid the habitation which he calls his "home." On this account, if on no other, we are bound to do what we can in his behalf. There can be no greater mockery than to tell the sufferers that they must have more self-reliance, that the blame



is altogether their own, and that the laws of supply and demand must be respected in house-accommodation as in all other things.

Our system of workhouses, public schools, hospitals and asylums teaches the principle that under certain circumstances society must come to the relief of the indigent, the unprotected or the infirm. We have no more right to permit 240,000 of our citizens to drag out an existence worse than that of African savages, than we should have to empty our workhouses and hospitals to-morrow, and leave the present occupants to perish of want. There was a time when the various Guilds of this great city looked after the poor of the various trades, and perhaps it would be well if the system were revived. But, in the meantime, the public are bound to do what the Guilds have forgotten, and, after all, the proposed expenditure is comparatively small, not exceeding £30 a head.\* We have already spent large sums without hesitation. The new Chelsea barracks cost £245 per soldier; the Board Schools £12 per child. Hence it is clear that an outlay of £30 per head to house the poor is moderate, especially when it is borne in mind that the very privilege of breathing the air of London is more costly than happens in any other city of Europe—viz.:

	Rental.		Population.		Rental per Inhabitant.
	£				£ s. d.
London . . . . .	35,060,000	...	3,955,000	...	8 15 0
Paris . . . . .	14,300,000	...	2,200,000	...	6 10 0
Liverpool . . . . .	3,600,000	...	555,000	...	6 6 0
Manchester . . . . .	3,400,000	...	549,000	...	6 4 0
Glasgow . . . . .	2,900,000	...	512,000	...	5 15 0
Birmingham . . . . .	1,550,000	...	402,000	...	3 18 0
Leeds . . . . .	1,200,000	...	310,000	...	3 17 0
Munich . . . . .	700,000	...	230,000	...	3 1 0
Pesth-Buda . . . . .	1,860,000	...	370,000	...	5 1 0
Milan . . . . .	600,000	...	321,000	...	1 17 0

The rental of London increases one million sterling per annum, sufficient proof of the rapid growth of wealth, but the appalling growth of misery is said to be incurable, unless some tremendous public calamity come to our aid. It needed the great fire of 1667 to do away with the wooden houses, just as in later times it needed the Irish Famine to repeal the iniquitous Corn Laws. In like manner if (which Heaven forbid) a raging pestilence or destructive fire consumed the slum neighbourhoods, or an earthquake swallowed up part of our city, the remedy would come ready-made. But there is no necessity to wait for a cataclysm. We have seen the half of Paris rebuilt at a cost of eighty-five millions sterling, by Baron Haussmann, when the slums of the Quartier Latin had become a public reproach. The task before us is of much smaller dimensions,

\* Sir J. Bazalgette states that twenty-eight associations have already housed 32,435 persons at a cost of £1,200,000, say £37 each, but these are tenements of a better class, with rents up to 6s. a week and earning in some cases over 6 per cent. on capital.

the cost being estimated at less than one-tenth of Baron Haussmann's expenditure.

## II.—HOW IT IS TO BE DONE.

We may choose any one of four ways by which to carry out the work, without imposing any perceptible burthen on the public.

1. *By the State.*—The “unclaimed dividends” of National Debt, which amount to £3,100,000, and the moneys belonging to unknown owners in the Post Office Savings' Bank, said to exceed already £1,000,000, could be devoted by Act of Parliament to this work. Having thus a sum of four millions to begin with, the Government could commence blocks of industrial tenements in various parts of the city, and Parliament could further authorize that, instead of continuing to reduce the National Debt, any surplus moneys of the State be devoted to the same end, until the whole sum of seven millions be expended. The administration of the various blocks could be annexed to the Post Office Department, as already done with the Telegraphs and Parcel Post. The net proceeds of rental would go towards the national revenue, and would suffice to meet the remote contingency of any owners of unclaimed dividends hereafter presenting themselves. If it be asked, why Parliament should do this for London and not for Liverpool, it may be answered, that many public offices belonging to the nation are built on London sites for which the nation pays no ground rent.

2. *By Municipal Authorities.*—If it be really intended to endow London with a proper Municipality, the simplest way to carry out the work before us would be as follows :—

(1.) The Municipality to contract a loan for seven millions at 3 per cent.

(2.) Sites and houses to be expropriated, as in making railways, and if the price exceed 10s. per square foot, the Guilds to pay the difference.

(3.) It shall be lawful for the Municipality to let the street-fronts for shops, in any of the blocks.

(4.) Each block to have water supply and baths at municipal cost, as well as gas or electric-lights in the passages.

(5.) Rent of rooms to be graduated so as to average 1s. 6d. weekly, representing a nominal annual rental of £312,000.

(6.) In case the net rental does not reach £210,000, the sum necessary for payment of interest on loan, the deficit to be made good out of municipal revenues.

The great difficulty in this way is the delay that is likely to occur before London gets a Municipality, which may be so long that the slums will perhaps cure themselves, by cataclysm or otherwise, in the interval.

3. *By Trust Committee.*—This course is the one most likely to



meet with public favour, as it would save the Imperial Government the trouble of looking after interests purely municipal, and provide a speedy and effectual remedy without waiting for the promised local government for London. It is, moreover, a form of administration to which we are accustomed, and which, on the whole, works fairly well. The following outlines are probably susceptible of much improvement :—

(1.) Let Parliament create a Trust Committee for the construction and management of industrial tenements.

(2.) The Committee shall borrow seven millions from the Post Office Savings' Banks at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum.

(3.) In expropriating sites, if the aggregate cost exceed ten shillings per square foot, the deficit shall be covered by the Poor Law Board.

(4.) The various blocks shall have a total of 80,000 rooms, with sheds for costermongers' carts and donkeys, and workshops for trades.

(5.) The rents to be graduated to an average of 1s. 6d. per room weekly, or a gross nominal rental of £312,000 per annum.

(6.) A body of 800 commissionaires to be employed in the management of the several blocks, at a salary of £40 each.

(7.) The municipal or vestry authorities to provide water-supply, baths and light for the courts and passages.

(8.) Tenants out of work, and of good character, to be allowed grace up to a maximum of thirty shillings.

(9.) The annual budget to comprise three items :—

Interest to Post Office . . . . .	£175,000
Salaries of Commissionaires . . . . .	32,000
Repairs, rooms unlet, &c. . . . .	105,000

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Nominal rental . . . . . £312,000

The only objection to the Trust-committee method is, that it would interfere with private enterprise; but this is more or less true of postal service, railways, water-supply and other branches of business, either performed at present by Government, or for which powerful companies in a manner hold a monopoly. The Trust-committee would certainly interfere with the market of rents, but we cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs; and, after all, does not the Peabody Trust at present undersell the market?

4. *By Joint-Stock Companies.*—If either the State or the parochial authorities would expropriate all the sites at present occupied by slums and offer them to Building Companies rent-free for ninety years, reserving the ground-floor fronts for shops, and limiting the companies to a maximum charge of 2s. (or an average of 1s. 6d.) per room, there would be available, within eight days, ten times the

capital required for constructing the proposed tenements. The cost of the sites would be, at 20*s.* per square foot, about five millions sterling, say three times the cost of the Thames Embankment. But it would not be a dead loss to the Municipality, as the rent of the shops on the ground-floor of each block would go to the municipal revenue. The scheme might be formulated in this manner:—

(1.) The Board of Works is authorized to expend five millions in expropriating the most suitable sites for workmen's tenements.

(2.) The Board shall charge London 2½ per cent., say £125,000 annual interest.

(3.) Tenders to be called for, to construct blocks of tenements, the Board giving leases for ninety years free.

(4.) Shop-fronts to be reserved in all the blocks, the rents of the same to be applied to interest account, as above-mentioned.

(5.) The Guilds to contribute say £100,000\* per annum towards the interest on the above capital sum of five millions.

(6.) In case the Guilds cannot be compelled to do so, a special house-tax of one penny in the £ to be levied in London, producing £125,000.

(7.) The Building Companies not to charge over 1*s.* 6*d.* average rent per room, or 2*s.* maximum weekly.

(8.) All the blocks to become municipal property at the end of ninety years.

The only objection likely to offer to this plan arises from the unwillingness to deal in a high-handed manner with the Guilds, or to impose a tax of £125,000 on London. If we are to improve the condition of 240,000 people at a cost of only 10*s.* each per annum, the boon would seem cheaply purchased. If we drive them into the workhouse, they will cost over £10 a year each. Apart from the mere question of cost, we should look at the subject from higher points of view. The tenements' system would level up the lower sections of the working-classes; it would diminish their death-rate, and also the ratios of disease and crime; it would, in a word, be as much benefit to the struggling poor as hospitals are to the sick, and show them that if we have compassion for sufferers in Hungary, or in Greenland, we have it also for our own countrymen, and that, however liberal we may be in lending money to Costa Rica or Peru, it does not prevent us from nobler investments in the cause of humanity.

M. G. MULHALL.

\* The actual income of the Guilds (after deducting £200,000 subject to Charity Commissioners) is stated at £550,000 per annum.



## III.—COST OF TENEMENTS.

FAMILY life with one room to a family—a sole chamber in which to be born, to eat, to drink, to sleep, to work, to live, to be ill, to die, and to be laid out in after death, is not the ideal dwelling either of the sanitary or of the social reformer. We give our felons a room each, but our lower working class must live, a family in a room, until rent and wages vary vastly from their present rate. If there were any statistics of the numbers of our London population living thus in single rooms, the figures would startle us. Yet, strangely enough, the efforts, which have been made by dwellings' companies to house the poor, have not provided for this class, but for the artisans earning good wages; for a class, that is to say, which differs almost as much from the class referred to as a nobleman differs from a middle-class commoner. There are, however, exceptions, and to some of these references will be made and figures quoted, which will show by the practical experience of some years, that there is no financial difficulty in providing new dwellings for the very poor on the sites of their old rookeries, and even on sites of much greater value. In other words, handsome buildings can be erected in wide thoroughfares to house the class inhabiting single-room tenements, and to yield a fair interest upon the outlay.

The first buildings, to which reference will be made, are those which now stand on the site of the house and garden formerly occupied by the Clerks of the Peace for Surrey, situated at the crossing of the Kennington and Lambeth Roads, and known as Surrey Lodge, a name still retained by the new Industrial Dwellings. The freehold of this site (about half an acre in extent) was purchased for £10,117 by a limited company, of which Mr. H. Brand, M.P. was chairman, and the Hon. A. Grosvenor, Mr. Ernest Hart, Miss Cons, and others were directors. Upon the land thus acquired, new buildings were erected which brought up the total outlay of the company to £30,886. On this outlay, we find from last year's balance sheet that £1,525 net profit has been made, amounting to almost exactly five per cent. This is the profit for the third year since the erection of the buildings. The new buildings form a quadrangle with a garden in the centre. Two blocks of tenement dwellings facing the Kennington and Lambeth Roads respectively, enclose two sides of the garden, while the two remaining sides are bounded by two groups of separate six-roomed cottages—fifteen in all. At the principal angle is a large octagonal tower, containing a coffee tavern on the ground floor, with kitchen, store-rooms, &c., in the basement, a club-room on the first floor, twenty-four separate bedrooms for single men above; and in the roof, divided by a fireproof floor from all beneath

it, a laundry extending over the flat roof of the Kennington block and accessible to all its tenants. On the ground floor of both blocks are shops let to tradesmen of superior class, and above them are 158 tenement dwellings, of which 128 are single rooms. The single rooms can be combined to suit the requirements of the tenants when they learn the advantage of more rooms than one.

This instance is one in which a freehold site in a commanding position and not previously covered with dwellings for the poor, has been successfully devoted to this purpose. Let us now refer to a case in which old leasehold tenement dwellings have been pulled down and rebuilt so as to suit the tenants' convenience. A short distance further west than Stratford Place there is a narrow opening in Oxford Street, about three feet wide, called Gee's Court. Expanding somewhat, this reaches Barrett's Court, which is in a line with it. This latter was formerly a court of tenement houses, that is to say, of houses built for one family and occupied by eight or more. Thanks to Miss Octavia Hill, the greater part of this court has been rebuilt to suit tenants who only need one or two rooms to a family. On examining one of these blocks it will be found that the ground floor consists partly of a large club-room in which the tenants are periodically entertained, and partly of shops with living-rooms behind them. The first and upper floors are composed of tenements of one, two, and three rooms each as previously described. The cost of this block, which contains seventy-one tenements (of which fifty-three are single rooms), a club-room, and six shops, was £4,850. It returns five per cent. on this outlay, after providing for the depreciation of the lease, but deducting the cost of the club-room, which was a gift to the tenants.

Other examples could be quoted in which the same results have been achieved on freehold sites of old tenement houses in White-chapel, near Edgware Road, and elsewhere. New dwellings have been built which have stood the test of some years' occupation, and in which the difficult problem of housing the lowest stratum of the working population has been successfully solved. Perhaps enough has been advanced to show that there is no insurmountable financial difficulty barring the way to improvement. When need is so pressing and misery so heartrending, it is something to be able to remove one difficulty. It must, however, be added that the successful working of all the buildings referred to depends upon careful and experienced management by properly trained workers, and without such management not only would there be no financial return, but the state of the tenants would be quite as squalid as it is now in the old tenement houses where the inhabitants are left to themselves.

From the examples above quoted, it appears that the cost of a single-room tenement, including its share of staircase, balcony, yard,



laundry, drying-ground, water fittings, and sanitary appliances, is £59; and if built on land at 10*s.* per foot (*i.e.* £20,000 per acre, or a ground rent of £800 per acre), the annual receipts and expenditure would be as follow :—

## ANNUAL RECEIPTS.

Rent at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per week	. . . .	£ 6 10 0
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## ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

Five per cent. dividend on first outlay	£ s. d.
(£59) . . . . .	2 19 0
Rates, taxes, water and insurance . .	1 6 0
Collection . . . . .	0 6 6
Ground rents . . . . .	0 18 0
Balance for cost of repairs, and loss by unlets . . . . .	1 0 6
	<hr/>
	6 10 0

Two and sixpence per week is a low average for single-room tenements; 2*s.* 9*d.* nearer the market price in proper localities. Higher prices for land would yield the following results :—

15*s.* per foot, or £30,000 per acre, 4 per cent. dividend.

20*s.* per foot, or £40,000 per acre, 3 per cent. dividend.

ELIJAH HOOLE.

## THE CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION.

### I.

IT is a significant fact that the Western World still regulates its chronology by "the year of our Lord," thereby offering testimony, not the less emphatic because it is largely unconscious, to the supreme importance of Christianity in the annals of mankind. The birth of Jesus Christ in an obscure hamlet of Judæa nearly nineteen centuries ago, is the event with which modern history opens; and this event, as a matter of fact, and apart from all theories about Him, was the source of a movement which must be confessed to be the greatest of Revolutions. It is perfectly true that it has long been the fashion to overrate the extent of that Revolution, both geographically and spiritually. Christianity has been popularly said to have subdued the world; whereas it is only a small part of the human race that has received it in any form. It has been said to have revealed to men the knowledge of God, and to have "brought life and immortality to light":\* whereas it is indubitable that the existence of a Power external to man and divine, the sacredness of duty, and the possibility or certainty of life and retribution beyond the grave, were realized and proclaimed by many earlier systems of philosophy and religion. Still, admitting this, and much else which might be justly urged to the same effect, we may yet safely agree with a distinguished writer of our own day, not likely to exaggerate the claims of the religion of Jesus Christ, when he speaks of it as "*ce fait fécond, unique, grandiose qui s'appelle Christianisme.*" Christianity, for more than a thousand years, has fashioned the thoughts, the beliefs, the aspirations, of the foremost races of mankind. It has done more than anything else to shape the current of European history, and of

\* A mistranslation of the Authorized Version; the rendering of the Vulgate, "*illuminavit autem vitam et incorruptionem per Evangelium,*" is more accurate.



the history of the world. Thus much, no competent authority of any school will deny, whatever may be his own individual views or feelings about it. In the present paper I propose to inquire how, as a matter of fact, Christianity has done this; to consider what the chief notes of the Christian Revolution are; and so to endeavour to seize and exhibit its inner meaning, as a movement of thought and a determining factor in the career of humanity.

## II.

It will, as I apprehend, be admitted by well-nigh all who read these words of mine, that Jesus Christ, whatever may be our private thoughts about Him and His work, and whether or no we find a sufficient explanation of Him in any "aggregate of conditions," is the greatest figure in the world's history: a Teacher quite unique among those who have placed human life and human aspirations upon a higher level. Hence it is, that a well-marked class of minds, confined to no one school, have ever delighted to regard Him as the supreme expression of Divine Thought. Thus the author of the fourth Gospel: "And the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us." And so Spinoza: "*Eterna sapientia sese in omnibus rebus, maxime in humana mente, omnium maxime in Christo Jesu manifestavit.*"\* Putting aside, then, for the moment all theological theories about the Person and teachings of the Prophet of Nazareth, let us inquire, what was the ideal which He set before the world? He himself spake of the fire which He had come to bring upon earth. What was the divine spark which kindled it? Whatever view we may take as to the date, authorship, or authority of the documents that make up the New Testament, it is incontestable that eighteen hundred years ago a Teacher lived among the green hills and clear streams of Galilee, and gathered around Him a little band of disciples, for the most part humble and unlettered men, who gained their bread by daily toil: that His life of poverty, humility, and detachment from family ties was spent in inculcating religious and ethical doctrine, and was crowned by an ignominious death; that His influence did not die with Him: nay, that it was vastly enhanced after His departure from the scene of His ministry: so that, according to His own word, His followers did greater works than Himself; works which are not bygone but are with us, fruitfully operant unto this day. Now what was His teaching? About its essential character there can be no question at all.† Thus

\* Cf. xxi. 4. So in the Ethic he speaks of "*Spiritus Christi, hoc est Dei idea.*"

† The question being, "What did Christ teach?" there are three sources of evidence, differing in value, according to their acknowledged nearness to the time of His teaching.

it is clear that the fatherhood of God—not the God merely of the Hebrews, but of all the families of the earth, unto whom all live—was the first and dominant thought that breathed through His discourses. This doctrine, I say, of the filial relationship of man to God, of the affinity of the better side of human nature with the Divine, was the fount from which His moral and religious teaching flowed. Injuries are to be forgiven. Why? Because, “if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive your trespasses.” Enemies are to be loved; those who curse are to be blessed; those who hate, to be benefited; those who persecute, to be prayed for. Why? That ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven, for He maketh His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. Perfection is to be aimed at. Why? Because your Father which is in Heaven is perfect. Solitude about the necessities of life is condemned. Why? Because your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. He feedeth the fowls of the air; are ye not much better than they? He arrayeth the lilies of the field, as Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed; shall He not much more clothe you? Continuance in prayer is enjoined. Why? Because if ye being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father, which is in Heaven, give good things unto them that ask Him? Purity of intention is prescribed. Why? Because your Father seeth in secret. This is the

These are the Church, the Gospels, the Epistles; and all three agree in the points of His teaching upon which I am now insisting. Next, as to their relative worth. The Church represented by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and in some degree by Origen and Clement of Alexandria, gives us the view of Christ's doctrine which was accepted by the great body of His followers about the year A.D. 200. The Gospels, even if we take our stand with the most extreme criticism, show what was held between A.D. 150 and A.D. 100. But the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians, the First Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. James, and the Apocalypse—all authentic beyond controversy—enable us to get back within a short generation from our Lord's death; certainly as far back as A.D. 60. As much must be said of the Acts of the Apostles, so far as they are contemporary with St. Paul. Again, it cannot be doubted that not only the *λόγια*, but the main incidents of the Divine Life, were at the earliest date embodied in fixed oral traditions or catecheses with which our present Gospels stand in the closest connection, so that we are not reduced to the study of such fragmentary documents as are left when criticism has done its worse upon the Gospels. We are still in possession of St. Paul's unquestioned writings; we still have the Apocalypse, the First Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. James. Out of these, and even out of the two Epistles last mentioned, it is easy to construct a doctrine which the Gospels only enlarge, and do not in any degree modify. St. Paul is not, indeed, a direct witness for Christ, nor must we forget that he remained a Jewish theologian, even when he was commenting on the Sermon on the Mount; nevertheless, we can trace in him the Christian teaching, though dealt with in a subtle spirit, and from an axiomatic mysticism become a theology. Thus we may view the *Gospel* at a distance of twenty years, instead of a hundred or a hundred and fifty, from the events which it relates. This has been completely forgotten by modern critics. It follows, of course, that when we have gained such a near standpoint, we can argue not only for the *Gospel*, but the *Gospels*; since their incomparable freshness and fulness are strong evidence that what they incorporate is not a somewhat worn tradition, but the very speech of Christ upon the lips of His first disciples.



first great note of the teaching of Jesus Christ. The ethical precepts delivered by Him contain little or nothing that was novel in the world, or to which the unassisted reason of mankind might not attain. It has been said, and I believe truly, that there is not one of them which might not be paralleled from the maxims of earlier Rabbis. But what is new in the Evangelical teaching is the sanction on which it rests those precepts, the supernatural motive which it imparts for right action. I do not, of course, mean that the conception of the Fatherhood of God was new. What I mean is, that it was presented by Jesus Christ in, if I may so speak, a new light, and from a mere abstract doctrine was changed into a living and life-giving principle of conduct.

Such, then, was the first great note of the teaching of Christ: the exhibition of the Divine Paternity as a vital reality and the first of realities. The second, no less clear and unmistakable, is His proclamation of Himself as a Teacher come from God in a very special and unique sense; as the way to God, by virtue of a Divine Sonship and the indwelling in Himself of the Divinity;\* as the Deliverer of men from the tyranny of that lower self, whereby they were held back from the Supreme Good: as the Healer of human nature lying wounded and half dead, and unable to take one step forward towards its true country, which is God. The claims which He made for Himself not only transcend in degree those of any other prophet, of any other founder of a religion, but are different in kind. And unquestionably those claims were both the grounds of His condemnation and execution, and the cause of the marvellous triumphs of His faith. Here we are in the region, not of conjecture, but of fact. What was it which, so to speak, *made* the Christian Church? It was assuredly no system or theory, most assuredly no exhibition of thaumaturgic power, which attracted men to Jesus Christ, but the irresistible influence of soul upon soul. And to those who forsook all, and took up their cross and followed Him—such renunciation, such self-devotion, He warned them, were the very conditions of His discipleship—He exhibited no set of doctrines, no code of laws, but Himself, as being, in very deed, that Truth which is the supreme desire of the soul. Daily to converse with the Master, ever to ponder His words and His deeds, gradually to drink into His mind, to wean the heart from all earthly affection, even the tenderest and the purest,

\* M. Renan has pointed out, truly enough, that the popular mind in Judaea was prepared for such a declaration, and was not likely to be shocked by it. "La croyance que certains hommes sont des incarnations de facultés ou de puissances divines était répandue; les Samaritains possédaient vers le même temps un thaumaturge nommé Simon qu'on identifiait avec la grande vertu de Dieu. Depuis près de deux siècles les esprits spéculatifs du judaïsme se laissaient aller au penchant de faire des personnes distinctes avec les attributs divins ou avec certaines expressions qu'on rapportait à la divinité."—*Vie de Jésus*, p. 248.

until it could be said: "I live, and yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me"—this was the spiritual discipline undergone by His scholars in the desert, or on the mountain, or by the lake. And when the Cross had taught the supreme lesson of sacrifice, of humiliation, of self-consuming charity, and the disciples went everywhere preaching the Word, the lesson which they taught was precisely that which they had learnt. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord," is the testimony of one of them: and it is applicable to all. The Gospel which, as St. Paul reminds the Corinthians, he delivered to them, which they also received, and wherein they stood, and by which they were saved, was no catalogue of dogmas, but the manifestation of a Person in whom the eternally ideal had become the historically real, and who claimed for Himself the heart of man, to reign there as in His proper throne.\* And every record of the Apostolic age bears witness that this was the message which was everywhere proclaimed. Do not let us shut our eyes to a plain fact of history. It was no doctrine of sweetness and light, no enthusiasm of humanity, but the Person of Jesus Christ, at once human and divine, which, as they gazed upon it, uplifted on the cross, smote down in masterful contrition the orthodox Pharisee and the Sadducean materialist of decadent Judæa, the agnostic philosopher of captive Greece, the stately magistrate and the rude soldier of Imperial Rome. He it was, His head crowned with thorns, His eyes full of tears, His visage marred more than any man's, His limbs dislocated and rent, in whom tender virgins discerned the fairest among ten thousand, the altogether lovely, and would have no other spouse for time or for eternity. Women whose whole lives were a pollution did but look on Him, in His ineffable sorrow, and the passion of desire was expelled by the stronger passion of compunction. Old men and little children, by the vision of Him, were inspired with a love stronger than death. The aged bishop, journeying to the place where the lions awaited him, "still alive, but longing to die," writes to his flock, "Now do I begin to be Christ's disciple." The sweet Syracusan maiden looks calmly upon her bleeding bosom, mutilated by the persecutor's knife, as she reflects: "I shall not be less beautiful in the eyes of my heavenly bridegroom." Sanctus the deacon, his limbs covered with plates of burning brass, so that his body was one entire wound and deprived of the form of man, would but say to all the questions of his tormentors, "I am a Christian:" and as those who stood by testified, remained upright and unshrinking, "bathed and strengthened in the heavenly well of living water which flowed from the Heart of Christ." They endured, that noble army

\* "Dilectus tuus talis est nature, ut alienum non velit admittere, sed solus vult cor tuum habere, et tanquam rex in proprio throno sedere."—*De Imitatione Christi*, l. ii. c. 7.



of martyrs, in the strength of Him whom, not having seen, they loved. The one feeling which dominated them and their brethren who gazed with envy upon their passion, and who reared their humble shrines, was that they were not their own, but were bought with a price: that their life—their true life—was hid with Christ in God. I know of no more conspicuous instance of overmastering, blinding prejudice, than that which is afforded by those who can read the early history of the Christian Church, the Acts of the Martyrs, the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius—that sublime monument of primitive faith and worship—and not discern this most patent fact. The Person of Christ, in whom, as they believed, dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, was all-in-all to these early disciples of Him, and was the direct source whence they derived their rule of life, in its highest and lowest details. It was as though men had acquired a new spiritual sense. Why did they cease from sin? Because Christ bore our sins in His own body on the tree, that we being dead from sin should live unto righteousness. Why did they practise self-denial? Because Christ also pleased not Himself. Why did they exhibit patience when for conscience sake towards God they endured grief, suffering wrongfully? Because Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example. Why did they abstain from fleshly lusts? Because their members were the members of Christ. Why did they count as joy torments most hateful to flesh and blood? Because they thereby became partakers of Christ's sufferings. The whole matter is summed up in the precept of the Epistle to the Philippians: "Let that mind be in you which was in Christ." Christianity changed men's lives by changing their ideal of life. To put before men the ideal, the supernatural ideal of the Lord from Heaven, and to incite them to copy it—that is the whole secret of the Christian Revolution. Whether or no we are to believe the legend which represents the dying Emperor to have said: "Galilean—Thou hast conquered!"\* the words express the literal and exact truth. The victory of Christianity was the personal victory of its Founder. It was no body of doctrine, no code of ethics, but the Prophet of Nazareth Himself, whom men slew and hanged upon a tree, that triumphed over the majesty of the Cæsars, and founded upon the ruins of the ancient Roman polity a mightier and more enduring empire.

\* I suppose the *Νενίκηκας Γαλιλαίης* of Theodoret—auctor mihi valde suspectus—must be relegated to the domain of the fabulous. But it is one of those fables that are truer than most facts.

## III.

This, then, was the great idea which underlay the Christian Revolution; the idea of God, the Universal Father, revealed "in the face of Jesus Christ." This was the seed which, to use the Evangelical similitude, the great Sower cast into the religious conscience of mankind, and which in due season was to spring up into such a mighty harvest. As the oak is potentially in the acorn, so in this one idea is the whole doctrine and discipline of the Christian Church, which is but "the expanded Gospel." "He must reign," the Apostle says, "until He hath put all His enemies under His feet." But that regimen implies a code of laws and a polity. Accordingly, the work of the Church in the first four centuries was the organization, upon definite bases, of the Christian society. To systematize her teaching about God was the primary task to which she addressed herself. The essence of her doctrine is summed up in the Pauline proposition that "Christ was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of Holiness by the resurrection from the dead." Hence she formulates the most philosophical of her dogmas; and in the word Trinity, first used by Theophilus, towards the end of the second century, sums up this, the greatest of the mysteries of her creed. It was in the same century that Tertullian insisted upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Almighty Father. In the next Origen maintained His eternal generation. Early in the fourth century Athanasius arises to contend for "the proportion of faith," and the Council of Nicæa embodies it in the well-known symbol, enlarged some fifty years afterwards at Constantinople by more precise statements about the Holy Ghost;\* and so cast into the form which it has since maintained. Thus, after a succession of triumphs over the fantasies and phantoms of Jewish and Pagan speculation did the Church build herself up in her own field of thought, as the Christian mind worked from dogma to dogma, while at the same time she was slowly but surely winning her victory over the Imperial power which rightly recognized in her an irreconcilable foe. The very fundamental principle upon which the Empire rested was that no organization distinct from its own could exist side by side with it. The Church, upon the other hand, claimed to be a kingdom, spiritual it is true, but visible, with a right to rule, direct, condemn or absolve her subjects, in complete independence of other authority. Internal, organic unity was one of her main notes, marking her off from the other two great religions of Buddhism and Islām, which,

\* This term was used very vaguely in the Early Church. Cardinal Newman remarks: "The word Spirit, if the Fathers are to be our expositors, sometimes means Almighty God without distinction of Persons, sometimes the Son, and more commonly the Holy Ghost."—See his "Athanasius," vol. ii. p. 304.



like her, claim universality. It was the most striking difference between her and the cults and philosophies which surrounded her in the Roman Empire; the difference, I mean, which would most forcibly strike the Imperial authorities, and which, as a matter of fact, was the very gist of their accusations of her. True was the instinct which prompted the unbelieving Jews of Thessalonica to raise against St. Paul and St. Silas the cry of contravening the decrees of Cæsar by saying, "there is another king, one Jesus." It was a charge of *lesa majestas*; the charge that, of all others, would appeal strongly to the rulers of the Roman State, and most strongly to the best among them: to men like Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Hadrian, who believed the cause of civilization to be bound up with the Empire, which, as the Greek rhetorician said, with the picturesque exaggeration of his profession, had made of the world one city; for which the great geographer of antiquity claimed that "it had taught humanity to man." Well might those politic princes, as they surveyed from their high place their œcumenical domain, and considered the splendour of the literary and philosophical achievements, the sagacity of the jurisprudence, the magnificence of the organization, guarded by "the immense majesty of the Roman peace"—well might they have determined to put down by the severest measures a revolutionary sect that counted all this greatness as dross in comparison of a visionary life to come, preached by One who was dead, and whom His fanatical followers affirmed to be alive, and shortly to return to judge the world by fire. If ever *Kulturkampf* was set on foot with a clear show of justification it was this; and we know how vigorously it was carried on for well-nigh three centuries—with wide intervals of peace, indeed—from the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, in A.D. 29, to the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration in A.D. 313. It failed. The victory remained with the spiritual order. Paganism may be said to have been conquered with its own weapon. It recognized no law but the right of the strongest; and love is stronger than death. Of what avail to slay men who counted not their lives dear in the service of their invisible King—nay, who judged that, by losing their lives for Him, they, in the truest sense, found them? Such power had the religion of Jesus Christ, when, to use the bold phrase of St. Jerome, "the blood of our Lord was yet warm, and faith in Him was still glowing among believers."

The Council of Nicæa, in A.D. 325, is the outward symbol of the victory of Christianity. The prolonged endeavour of the Empire to suppress it had failed. The sagacious mind of Constantine conceived the idea of using it as the bond to hold the Empire together. He himself attributes his resolve to convoke the assembly to "a kind

of Divine inspiration." Unquestionably its meeting was a most momentous event, as well as a deeply significant sign of the times. In response to the Imperial letter, three hundred and sixteen bishops repaired to that little town of Asia Minor from every quarter of the Roman Empire; ἡ οἰκουμένη, the inhabited world, as it was wont to be called, in ignorant disdain of the vast regions lying beyond its borders. The geographical limits of the Empire and the Church were indeed practically the same.\* Only two prelates who owned no allegiance to Caesar attended the synod—John, a Persian bishop, and Theophilus, a Scythian. It does not fall within my plan to dwell upon the proceedings of this august assembly, the special function of which was to put before the world the clear image of Christ and His kingdom. I merely point to it as the outward visible sign of the progress made by the Christian Revolution in three centuries. The words of the Thessalonian Jews had been strangely verified by the course of events. The faith preached by St. Paul and St. Silas had indeed turned the world upside down. Caesar had acknowledged the supremacy of that other king, "one Jesus," whom they had proclaimed.

And now let us go on to consider that Revolution a little more closely, and inquire what was its effect upon the individual men on whom it wrought, and upon the civil society which is man's normal state. We shall see this best and most clearly by surveying one man, in whose writings we have not only the most complete revelation of the workings of an individual mind which human literature offers, and the most vivid image of the society in which he lived, but also the adumbration, as in high dream and solemn vision, of the age which was to come, and which he, more than any one else, was to mould and shape. I speak of St. Augustine, "l'homme le plus étonnant de l'église Latine," as M. Villemain well terms him, who sums up in himself the results of four centuries of moral and spiritual transition, and who cast Christian thought into the form in which it was to rule the western world for a thousand years; whose mind was as some vast lake, into which flowed the many streams of primitive Christian speculation, theological and metaphysical, and whence issued the two great rivers of mediæval philosophy, the dogmatic and the mystical, which were to make glad the city of God.

The life of St. Augustine extends from A.D. 354 to A.D. 430. Its external incidents are so well known that it will not be necessary

\* There is extremely little evidence regarding the spread of Christianity without the limits of the Empire in the first three centuries, and I very much doubt whether, with the exception, perhaps, of Persia, it was carried much beyond the Roman frontier. The passages usually cited for the contrary view from Justin Martyr ("Dial. cum Tryp." § 117), Tertullian ("Adv. Judeos," c. 7), and Origen ("Contra Celsum," I. 27 ii. 14), are evidently rhetorical exaggerations; and, as evidently, Irenæus ("Adv. Hær." I. x. 5) is speaking of German provinces of the empire.



here to dwell upon them. What renders him of peculiar importance to us, and especially for my present purpose, is that he has laid bare for us his inner life. There is not one of his writings which does not do for us in its measure, and as it were by the way and unpremeditatedly, what is done more fully, and of set purpose, in the "Confessions:" that wonderful history of a soul, written as if in "starlight and immortal tears," which is, perhaps, the greatest treatise of mystical philosophy which the world possesses: great, not only in the high intellectual power which breathes throughout it, but in its purity, its sanity, its self-repression. Here he shows us how it was that the faith of Christ subdued him, and brought him into that captivity which is true liberty, and what the change was which it wrought in him. Let us listen to the tale which he unfolds.

## IV.

But first we will glance at the conditions of his age. It would be as unphilosophical to leave them out as it would be to consider nothing else but them. It was the age, then, when the great fabric of imperial power which had been raised upon the ruins of Roman liberty was hastening to its fall. Seventeen years before St. Augustine was born the first division of the Empire took place between the sons of Constantine. The year before his birth witnessed the soldering together of the fragments under Constantius; the year afterwards there is a new partition, and Valens and Valentinian fix their capitals, the one at Constantinople, the other at Milan. In A.D. 392 the great Theodosius again brings East and West into one polity. But in A.D. 395 his reign of sixteen years comes to an end, and with it the united Empire. This is the great event which marks the close of the fourth century.

A great event, indeed; the token of swiftly-advancing political dissolution. But it was an age of intellectual and moral dissolution too. The old popular creeds of the countries which had passed under the civilizing yoke of conquering Rome had long been discredited for higher minds. Their spiritual guides were the philosophers, and the air resounded with the din of systems, in which every variety of opinion known to our own times seems to have been, more or less closely, anticipated. Augustine,\* quoting Varro, tells us of no less than two hundred and eighty-eight doctrines which prevailed as to the primary question of the true end of human action. But in one respect all the teachers of decadent Paganism were alike. They were all lacking in any "consciousness of the sanctity of God, and of the need of sanctification in man."† This

\* "De Civitate," l. xix. c. 1.

† Döllinger's "Heidenthum und Judenthum," p. 633.

must be said even of the noblest of them, such as the Stoics, and even the Neo-Platonists. The evil in the world they recognized clearly enough, and as time went on with ever increasing clearness. But between physical and moral evil they drew only the slightest distinction. Fatalism is at the bottom of all their metaphysical ideas, and is the last word of their arguments. I by no means underrate the loftiness of thought, the purity of motive and integrity of life which distinguished many of these seekers after truth, of whom Marcus Aurelius is the noblest type. But the philosophy to which, with whatever measure of success, they turned as the guide of conduct, was the prerogative of a few favoured souls. The multitudes were left to a gross naturalism at once voluptuous and cruel: and to the outworn cults, which, if they outraged the reason, at all events ministered to the passions, and found their sanction in the lower self—the self of the ape and tiger—when they pressed bloodshed and impurity into the service of religion. Throughout the Roman Coliseum, the temple of the Sun, there ran “the transports of a fierce and monstrous gladness,” as eighty thousand spectators looked down upon hecatombs of human victims in their dying agonies. The theatre, reared under the invocation of Venus, was devoted to obscenities as revolting as those wherewith the worship of “Reason” was celebrated in the churches of Paris by the founders of the first French Republic. However highly we may rate the philanthropy, the universal sympathy, the great jurisprudential ideas which we find in the literature of the decadent Empire, it is impossible to doubt that the popular mind was informed by no conception of the dignity and value of human personality; as indeed how should it have been in a society based upon slavery? This is the capital fact which marks off that antique civilization from our own. In it, not only was the place filled among us by what we call “the masses” held by slaves, not inferior in race to their owners, but the physicians, the artists, the singers, the pedagogues were to a large extent persons of servile condition: the mere goods and chattels of their masters: helpless victims of cruelty or avarice or lust.

Such was the age into which Augustine was born. And early in life his keen, restless intellect asked the old question: What is the end of life? It was a book of Cicero’s, now lost, a treatise containing an exhortation to philosophy, and called “Hortensius,” which inflamed him with the love of wisdom: which made all things seem vile to him in comparison of Truth, and kindled in his soul the desire to attain to it. He sought it on all sides: among the Manichees, whose claim that their doctrine was the religion of science was proved vain by his happy scepticism; among the philosophies of Paganism, but none contented him, great and



precious as were the verities which they enshrined. In Plato especially, as presented to him in the writings of the Neo-Platonists, he found lofty theistic conceptions, and noble thoughts as to man's true end in the vision of the Absolute and Eternal, and in union with It. This was the last word of Hellenic philosophy, and in some respects the best: and Augustine,\* writing in after years, records his great obligations to it. He learned from Plotinus—*magnus ille Platonius*, as he calls him—that the rational soul has above it no nature save that of God, the Creator of the world, and its Creator and Illuminator, in participation of whose Divine light is our beatitude. But this God was a mere soul of Nature—*universitatis anima*—and the Neo-Platonic doctrine as to the way of union with the divine (τὸ Θεῖον) was "as vague as all unsweet." Ascending, as he says in a memorable chapter† of his "Confessions," from corporeal forms to the sentient soul (*sentientem per corpus animam*), and thence to its inner faculty (*vis*), to which the bodily senses make their reports, and thence again to the reasoning power which passes judgment upon the things thus signified to it, and from thence to the intellectual brightness by which the mind is illumined to discern truly, he attained to That Which Is, in *ictu trepidantis aspectus*,

"as when the light of sense  
Goes out, but with a flash that has revealed  
The invisible world."

The Unchanging, the Self-existing, the Absolute and the Eternal stood revealed to him. But how to get to it, how to attain union with it, he found not. "I was drawn irresistibly up to Thee by Thy beauty, and presently I was dragged down, down, by the weight of my burden: and this burden was fleshly habit": *et pondus hoc consuetudo carnalis*."‡

What, then, was the *consuetudo carnalis* which thus weighed to the earth this soul of fire, striving to ascend to its true home: even to Him who is *igneus fons animarum*?§ It was that love of the world and of the things of the world which, according to the Apostolic doctrine, is incompatible with the love of the Father: the fascination exercised upon him by the visible, sensible frame of things, appealing to the concupiscence of the flesh and the concupiscence of the eye and the pride of life. "I longed for honours, for riches, for wedlock,"|| he says. And this longing held him back. And then he turned to St. Paul's Epistles, and there he read what the books of the Neo-Platonists told him not: of the law

\* "De Civ." l. x. c. 2.

† "Confess." l. vii. c. 17.

‡ l. iii. c. 1.

§ I need hardly refer to the opening line of the Burial Hymn of Prudentius:—

"Deus, ignee fons animarum."

|| "Confess." l. vi. c. 6.

of sin reigning in his members and warring against the law of his mind and leading him captive: and "of the grace of God by Jesus Christ," powerful to deliver him from the body of this death. And these things sank marvellously into his inmost being, and he considered the Divine Works and was afraid.\* For him it was a question of entire self-surrender or of none: of the religion of Jesus Christ in its highest form of the life of detachment and asceticism, or not at all. The easier state (*mollior locus*),† conceded to those who could not receive the hard saying counselling perfection, was not for him. "I had found the pearl of great price," he says, "and what I had to do was to sell all that I had and buy it: and I hesitated." What decided him? The example of others. One Pontitianus, a Christian, holding a high place in the Imperial Court, came to see him, on some trivial business, as he was sitting with his friend Alypius, reading St. Paul's Epistles; and finding him deeply interested in matters pertaining to the Christian faith, discoursed with him of such topics, and among other things spoke of the holy and ascetic lives of St. Anthony and the solitaries of the Thebaid, and of two friends of his own, who, while in attendance with him upon the Emperor at Trèves, had been smitten with the charm of the religious life, and in order to embrace it had abandoned their secular career and their affianced wives.‡ This story inflamed Augustine, and made him seem utterly vile in his own eyes.§ But fetters, once deemed silken, now strong as iron, held him fast. "Those ancient mistresses of mine," he says, "trifles of trifles, and vanities of vanities, as they were, kept me back, and plucked me by the garment of the flesh, and murmured in my ear, 'Are you then, in very truth, going to send us away? And, from this moment, will you not see us again—for ever? And will you never, never, again do this and that?' And what a this and that was it which they suggested to me, O my God! What vileness, what disgrace!" The interior conflict moved him to tears, and he went apart to be alone. Then as he kept saying to himself: "How long, how long? to-morrow and to-morrow; and why not now?" the famous words fell upon his ears: *Tolle et lege, tolle et lege*: "Take it up and read it, take it up and read it." And remembering what he had just heard about St. Anthony—how the Saint from lighting, by chance, as it seemed, upon the verse of the Gospel: "Go, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow

\* "*Hæc mihi inviscerabantur miris modis et consideraveram opera tua et expaveram.*"—*Confess.* l. vii. c. 2.

† "*Confess.*" l. viii. c. 1.

‡ "*Et habebantambo sponsas: quæ posteaquam hæc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsæ virginitatem Tibi.*"—*Confess.* l. vii. c. 21.

§ "*Constituabas me ante faciem, meam ut viderem quam turpis essem, quam distortus et sordidus, maculosus et ulcerosus.*"—*Ibid.* c. 7.



Me," had been led to embrace the eremite life—he went back to the place where he had left the book of St. Paul's epistles, beside his friend Alypius. "I took it up," he tells us; "I opened it and perused in silence the words upon which my eyes first fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' I had no wish to read more: nor was there need. No sooner had I finished the sentence than light and peace seemed to be infused into my heart, and doubt and darkness fled away."

"Indumini Dominum Jesum Christum." Here was the ideal which he had at last found. Henceforth his rule of action was not his former perverse will, but "the good and acceptable and perfect Will" to which he sought to be conformed by the renewing of his mind: "*nolle quod volebam et velle quod volebas.*"\* The objects of concupiscence which had so fascinated him, the love of wealth, of honour, of woman, now seemed to him vain and unsubstantial as phantoms of the night. He was as a blind man whose eyes had been opened. In his own phrase, the sweetness of eternal things had expelled the desire of temporal. What he had most feared to lose it was now a joy to him to put away. He had attained freedom from "the biting cares" of worldly pursuits: the freedom of which the condition is entire detachment—"renonciation douce et totale," in the words of the writer who, of all others, in modern times, seems to have drunk most deeply into his spirit:

"Love took up the harp of life and smote on all the chords with might:  
Smote the chord of self, that trembling passed in music out of sight."

I know of nothing in literature that breathes a deeper spirit of solemn jubilation than the pages of the "Confessions"† in which Augustine recounts these things; pages which are like Beethoven's Funeral March of a Hero done into words. They are indeed the burial psalm of his old self and the prelude to his new life. Then another theme is introduced, and in chapters in which deep human tenderness, and ecstatic aspiration, and sorrow, but not as of those who have no hope, contend for the mastery, he tells us of his mother, Monica, and of the closing scenes of her earthly pilgrimage. After that he goes on to speak of himself as he had become since he had bowed his head to the yoke and laid upon himself the burden of Christ, and had taken up His cross and followed Him. Many, he says, whether they themselves knew me in former days or knew me not, or have heard

\* Compare Fénelon: "Tout passe devant mes yeux, mais rien ne m'importe; rien n'est mon affaire sinon l'affaire unique de faire la volonté de Dieu."

† In the earlier portion of the ninth book of his "Confessions," which all who can should read in the original. No translation can present more than a dim admiration of its splendour and pathos.

from me or of me, would fain know what manner of man I am now: what my inner self is. To such will I unfold myself, as far as I may: for what man knows himself wholly: knows, as he is known to, Him who made him? One thing, indeed, he knows and is assured of: that the Divine Word, quick and piercing, and sharper than any two-edged sword, has wounded his heart and has inflamed it with the love of God: "*non dubia sed certa conscientia, Domine, amo Te: percussisti enim cor meum Verbo Tuo, et amavi Te.*" But what is it that he loves when he loves God? and where does he find God? The whole universe of order and beauty proclaims the Supreme Intelligence that made it; reveals Him, while it veils Him; confesses, I am not He, but He made me. Nothing material can be He. The mind must be more excellent than the matter which it vivifies. But God is the life of our life. And so Augustine turns to his own mind, and considers its faculties and powers, and in pages of marvellous subtlety and sweetness explores "the plains and spacious halls of memory." Surely God dwells there: but how? Not among the images of corporeal things, not among the affections of the mind, not in that very seat of the mind itself which is fixed in the memory. "But whyspeak of place," he asks, "as though in very truth place existed there? In my memory dost Thou certainly dwell, for I remember Thee since I learnt Thee: and there do I find Thee when I remember Thee." And then he bursts forth: "Too late have I loved Thee, O Beauty, so old and so new; too late have I loved Thee! And behold! Thou wast within and I without: and there did I seek Thee, greedily rushing in my deformity after those fair forms which Thou hast made. Thou wast with me when I was far from Thee. And those things which exist but because Thou art in them, they held me back from Thee. Thou calledst me, Thou criedst after me, Thou overcamest my deafness: Thou sentest forth Thy lightnings, Thou shinedst in Thy splendour, and didst put to flight my blindness. Thy sweet fragrance encompassed me, and I drew in my breath and panted after Thee. I have tasted of Thee, and I hunger and thirst still. Thou didst lay Thy hand upon me and I burned for Thy peace." Thus much, as to his inner self, the Saint is sure of. Sure, too, is he of the daily conflict which is waged in him between the higher law and that other law that is in his members. What is the life of man but a warfare upon earth? Every one of his senses is a possible avenue for sin. Every action of life is a possible occasion of falling. "Many and great," he confesses, "are the sicknesses of my soul: but Thy medicine is more than sufficient to heal them. Well might we have thought Thy Word far removed from union with men, but that He was made flesh and dwelt among us." Here is his hope of instruction for his ignorance: of healing for his infirmity.



But for this he should despair. And hence his rule of life, according to the Apostolic dictum: "Therefore Christ died for all, that they who live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them." This is that aboriginal law of self-sacrifice which links the Supreme to His creatures: a law of which the practical outcome is duty, founded upon the constraining influence of Divine charity.

Here, then, is a type of the work wrought in the individual by the Christian Revolution; the story of countless millions, "writ large." The highest ideal of ancient Paganism was to live out one's impulses without restraint: to warm "both hands before the fire of life," in the words of a modern writer who drank deeply into its spirit: but with prudence—which Landor, indeed, cannot be said to have exhibited—so as not to burn one's fingers. Or—to change the metaphor, and to use the words of Cicero, and, as I think, of Socrates too—so to go through human existence that when the inevitable hour of departure arrives we may quit it like a guest satisfied with the banquet of which he has partaken. I suppose we are warranted in saying that Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος* is the loftiest conception of man known to the ancient philosophy; and I am far from denying the greatness of the magnanimous or high-minded character, as he has depicted it in a well-known chapter of the Nicomachean ethics. High-mindedness, he says, is the crown of all virtue, and the high-minded man occupies himself with honour, and lays claim to it, and takes pleasure in it, but not excessive pleasure, for he has obtained only what he merits, and perhaps less than he merits: he loves to confer a favour, but feels shame at the reception of one, for that implies in him a certain inferiority: he is generally esteemed arrogant, and no wonder, for he justly despises his neighbour: he is open in his enmities and his loves, and bears himself to ordinary men with moderation, for haughtiness towards the lowly is a sign of bad breeding. Now turn to the Christian ideal, as you find it in the Sermon on the Mount, with its glorification of poverty, mourning, meekness, hunger and thirst after righteousness, mercy, peaceableness and purity—that distinctively Christian virtue which has been accounted by some "a new disease brought into the world by Christ." As I have said, Christianity changed the lives of men by changing their ideal of life. The magnitude of the revolution which it wrought upon the individual may be judged of by comparing the Stagirite's high-minded man with the humble and holy man of heart of the Beatitudes. The one deifies and worships human nature and its passions: the other crucifies the flesh with the affections and lusts. Enlightened selfishness is the highest word of Aristotle. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself:" "whoever will save his life shall lose

it"—such is the very substance of the doctrine of Christ. And it was precisely this ideal of self-renunciation, it was precisely this asceticism, this "dédain transcendant,"\* as M. Renan happily phrases it—the true doctrine of liberty of souls, as he judges—which is of the essence of Christianity, that appealed to and overcame Augustine. But this self-renunciation was not irrational. Although not the result of calculation, it justified itself by an appeal to the infinitely greater value of one soul over the whole universe of matter. It founded itself upon the vanity and nothingness of what was given up. It was the lower self that was abolished, mortified, done to death; or, in St. Paul's phrase, kept under and brought into subjection. The life which was lost was that phantasmal life of the senses which St. Augustine has described in a memorable passage of his treatise "On True Religion."† One of the leading thoughts in Augustine's writings is the impermanence, the illusoriness of the visible frame of things. He has summed it up in two pregnant words, "internum æternum." The parallel between his doctrine and Gautama's in this respect is singularly close. The main difference is that the place which in the Buddhist system is held by Nirvāna, is filled in his by what he calls *Idipsum*, the Self Same, or, as we may perhaps say, the Thing in Itself: the only true reality, for he does not allow that the phenomenal universe is, in the highest sense, real. The reality beneath it, without which it would crumble into nothingness, is the will of Him who alone can say "Ego Sum Qui Sum:" I am the Self Existent. He alone is the One Who Is: dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto: and Jesus Christ is the Mediator by whom man is strengthened for the knowledge and fruition of Him—"the image of the Invisible God;" the realization of the last wish of the religious instinct: the Eternal made flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone and blood of our blood; proving all sorrows in His sacred humanity; one with us in the great sacrament of suffering, and able to call us in the truest sense His brethren. Christ is a visible, personal, living law, realizing the conception of Pagan antiquity; virtue incarnate, and drawing all hearts by its beauty. But the life of Christ was a long battle against the world. He is the supreme example of detachment from its pleasant things—the objects of concupiscence.‡ It is the

\* "Vie de Jésus," p. 119.

† "Quorum vita est spectare, contendere, manducare, bibere, concumbere, dormire, et in cogitatione sua nihil aliud quam phantasmata quæ de tali vita colliguntur amplexari." —*De Vera Religione*, c. 54.

‡ It may not be superfluous to point out that I use the word in its technical sense; that habitual inclination to desire finite things inordinately, which, according to the Council of Trent, is not strictly speaking sin, but "ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatur" (Sess. v. c. 5), and that for two reasons; first, because it turns man away from his true final end, which is God; and, secondly, because it cannot be gratified save at the expense of others.



God exhibited in the Crucifix in an unfathomable mystery of love and sorrow who at once raises morality to the height of sanctity : a conception unknown to the ancient world, which never went beyond the "honestum." St. Augustine dwells upon this in a striking passage of his short, but quite invaluable, treatise "On True Religion." "The nations," he writes, "were thirsting, to their own destruction after riches as the ministers of pleasure : He willed to be poor. They longed for honour and power : He refused to be a king. They esteemed children, after the flesh, a great good : He despised such wedlock and such offspring. In the plenitude of their pride they abhorred insults : He suffered them in every form. They deemed injuries intolerable : what greater injury could there be than the condemnation of the Just, the Innocent ? They loathed corporal suffering : He was scourged and tormented. They feared to die : He suffered death. They thought the Cross the most shameful kind of death : He was crucified. Everything for love of which we lived amiss, He did without and stamped as worthless. Everything to avoid which we have shrunk from the Truth, He endured and made easy to us. For it is impossible to commit any sin, save by seeking after the things which He despised, or by flying from the things which He endured. And so His whole life on earth, in the human nature which He deigned to assume, was a system of moral discipline."\*

## v.

So much as to the effect of the Christian Revolution upon the individual. I am, of course, far from saying that it wrought in this supreme degree upon the mass. It had its perfect work in few. Those few best exhibit its working. What it was to them it was in some degree—in a degree almost infinitely varying—to all who received the faith of Christ, even though their lives were led upon the lower levels of humanity. To all it proposed Him as the one Type—"our life," in the emphatic words of the sacred writer—the perfect ideal. And the furthest removed from that type, the least like that ideal, knew well that the all-important fact about himself was his citizenship of a spiritual kingdom, of which conformity to the mind of Christ was the first law. There can be no question at all that Christianity presented itself to the decadent and moribund civilization of the Roman Empire as an ascetic doctrine ;† a doctrine of abstinence, not only from the things which it branded as posi-

\* "De Vera Religione," c. xvi.

† "Cette abnégation de soi-même et de tout ce qu'il y a de terrestre de sensible ou d'humain en nous et hors de nous, est le caractère propre et éminent de la philosophie chrétienne à laquelle, sous ce rapport, nulle autre ne peut être comparée et qui surpasse tout ce que la philosophie des anciens a de plus élevé."—Maine de Biran : *Pensées*, p. 282.

tively sinful, but from things in themselves licit. The world, which St. John exhorts his disciples not to love, because the love of it is incompatible with the love of the Father, which he describes as lying in the wicked one, which, over and over again, in the New Testament the disciples of Christ are bidden to forsake and overcome, and which—such is the vitality of phrases—stands, even in our own day, for the complete antithesis of the Church, is the present visible frame of things, doomed, as those early preachers believed, soon to pass away with the lust thereof: the flesh in which St. Paul declared no good thing to dwell, which it was his daily endeavour to keep under and bring into subjection, is the whole of man's lower or animal nature. Whatever is doubtful, this is clear. And to those who do not admit it we may say, without discourtesy, that, whether through ignorance or prejudice, they are so hopelessly in the dark on this matter, as to render any argument with them regarding it mere waste of time.

The principle, then, which transformed the individual by the renewing of his mind, was the principle of self-sacrifice. And this was the principle which transformed society. Christianity was primarily a message to the individual soul. It was a calling addressed to each, without distinction of race or rank, or sex or secular condition. But it was a calling into a polity. The words *ἐκκλησία* and *ἐκλεκτοί* speak for themselves. The disciples of Christ were called out of the world and into the Church, which was truly a society, with its own king, its own laws, its own magistrates. Most interesting would it be to trace the growth of this society; to note its marvellous hierarchical development, as it overlaps the secular state\* and the ecclesiastical organization grown up on the lines of the civil, the Diocese, the unit, then the Province (the ecclesiastical use inverted the civil dignity of the two terms): and lastly, the Patriarchate, corresponding more or less closely with the Prefecture: while the ruler of the Roman Church imperceptibly takes the place of the Pontiff of Jupiter Capitolinus—the Flamen Dialis, who, as Festus says, was “the Priest of the world rather than of the City.” But I must not linger upon this topic. Nor is it necessary that I should do so, for it has been well dealt with by many writers, the latest among them, and assuredly not the least erudite and accomplished, being M. Renan.† I am rather concerned to indicate how this spiritual empire affected civil society: to point out the main lines of the Revolution which it wrought in the public order.

And here, too, I shall follow St. Augustine. As in his “Confessions”

\* Origen speaks of the Word of God as having founded everywhere a hierarchy parallel to that of the state.—*Contra Celsum*, l. viii. c. 75.

† See his “Conférences d'Angleterre” pp. 167-9.



he has revealed to us the operation of the Christian Revolution upon the individual, so in his "City of God" he has traced its operation upon society. His keenly attuned ear caught the sound of "the spirit of the years to come striving to mix itself with life;" his piercing eye discerned the "new majesties of mighty forms" which were slowly evolving themselves in his own time to supplant the old order of the Roman world. Even when he wrote civilization was becoming ecclesiastical. It was his gift to seize, and set down, and creatively to shape, its main lines.

It has been well observed by Ozanam, that no event of supreme importance to the world has ever occurred without producing an imperishable poem, although it may be a different sort of poem from what we should have expected. Thus, to the battle of Actium, which marks the rise of the Empire, he refers the inspiration to which we owe the "*Æneid*:" while the entry of Alaric into Rome, in A.D. 410—the signal of its fall—unquestionably produced the magnificent prose poem of Augustine. A great and exceeding bitter cry went up that this supreme catastrophe was the work of the new religion. And Augustine undertook to "vindicate the ways of God to men." His "City of God" is the first systematic attempt to exhibit in their close relations and interdependence, philosophy, history and theology.

Two commonwealths (*civitates*), he declares, exist among men: the City of the Earth, built by the love of self, carried to the degree of contempt of God: the Heavenly City, reared by the love of God, carried to the degree of contempt of self. Of the one he sees the type and founder in Cain, of the other in Seth; but for the origin of both he goes back to the separation of "the angels who kept not their first estate," from their compeers loyal to the Divine Majesty. He traces the history of the two cities throughout the ages, using with great skill the comparatively slender materials available to him: for, of course, the philosophies and theologies and annals of the East were no more known to him than were the revelations whereby physical science in these latter days has so vastly enlarged and so largely transformed our conceptions of the material universe. He goes on to point out—it is the first time that we meet with the thought—how the Roman Empire, by bringing the nations into one polity, and subjecting them to the same jurisprudence—which he elsewhere recognizes as a Divine creation\*—prepared the way for the spread of the Christian faith. Then he dwells upon the diverse ends of the two commonwealths; the one resting upon the doctrine of the Greek sophist that man is the measure of all things, making life its one object, and the seen and

\* He somewhere says: "*Leges Romanorum divinitus per ora principum emanarunt.*"

temporal the bound of human aspirations: the other measuring all things by the ideal of Christ, and reaching forward to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and reserved in heaven. Here the two commonwealths are intermingled, for they exist side by side. But the City of the Earth is doomed to perish. The City of God has her foundations upon "the holy hills:" it is the Jerusalem, the Vision of Peace, which is from above, whose King is Truth, whose Law is Charity, whose mode (*modus*) is Eternity. In it alone is true liberty; the liberty of those whom Christ has made free from sin. The City of Man, governed by the lust of power, is the slave of concupiscence, even when it boasts itself the conqueror of the world.

Such is a bird's-eye view of the main argument of this famous treatise—I am not concerned with the merely apologetic part of it—the great and lasting value of which seems to me to lie in its emphatic proclamation of the spiritual nature of man as a domain over which the civil order has no power—a principle by the assertion of which the Church had been revealed to the world. The ancient jurist had declared, like the modern demagogue, that all is Cæsar's. St. Augustine sketches a spiritual society based upon a higher law even than the jurisprudence of Imperial Rome, and bearing allegiance to a greater potentate than the Emperor. It was a new conception in the world, and was destined most potently to influence the structure of society. It gave rise to what was called Christendom—a word which, by itself, if we rightly understand it, is sufficient to indicate the vastness of the Revolution wrought by the faith of Christ in the public order. The first fact about a man for a thousand years after the "City of God" was written was not his race but his religion. That, I say, was held to be the prime fact of life, and upon it the public order was professedly based. In pre-Christian Europe religions had been viewed in a very different light. They occupied, indeed, a highly important place in the State, as being the bonds of nations and society. They were deemed necessary to corporate existence; and thus we find Plato, in the "Republic," describing "the erection of temples and the appointment of sacrifices and other ceremonies in honour of the gods," and "all the observances we must adopt in order to propitiate the inhabitants of the unseen world," as "the most momentous, the most august, and the highest acts of legislation."\* And they were regarded strictly as matters of public concern; they

\* Book iv. c. 5. Τί οὖν ἐφη ἐτι ἂν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῆς νομοθεσίας εἴη; καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον ὅτι Ἡμῖν οὐδὲν, τῷ μέντοι Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὰ τε μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων. Τὰ ποῖα; ἢ δ' ὅς. Ἱερῶν τε ἰδρύσεις καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἄλλαι θεῶν τε καὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ ἡρώων θεραπεῖαι τελευτησάντων τε αὐτῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐκεῖ δεῖ ὑπηρετοῦντας δαῖται αὐτοῖς εἶχειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τοιαῦτα οὗτ' ἐπιστάμεθα ἡμεῖς οἰκίζοντές τε πόλιν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ πεισόμεθα, ἐὰν νοῦν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲ χρῆσόμεθα ἐξηγητῇ ἄλλ' ἢ τῷ πατρίῳ. οὗτος γὰρ δῆπον ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται. Καὶ καλῶς γ' ἐφη λέγεις καὶ ποιητέον οὕτως.



were the religions of nations, not of individuals; they were tribal, not personal; for the nation was originally a tribe. But the tribe, again, was merely an enlarged family. It was the family, natural or artificial,\* not the individual, that was the unit of archaic society; and this comes out very distinctly in the sphere of religion. Thus Cato says, in his instructions to his Bailliff: "It is the paterfamilias who offers worship for the whole family:"† in a religious, as in a civil point of view, the personality of its members was merged in him. But Christianity did in the religious sphere what Roman jurisprudence was doing in the civil: it substituted the individual for the family as the unit of which it took account, ranking him higher than the State, and the law of conscience before the law of public interest. Thus, by proclaiming the ineffable worth of human personality, did it re-create the individual. And similar was the transformation which it wrought upon the family. In the ancient world, as one of the first of living historians has pithily expressed it, woman "was degraded in her social position, because she was deemed unworthy of moral consideration; and her moral consideration again fell lower and lower precisely because her social position was so degraded."‡ This—Horace bears emphatic testimony to the fact—was the very fount of the corruption which overflowed human life in the decadent Roman society. By proclaiming the spiritual equality of woman with man, Christianity raised her to her true position, while by setting upon monogamy the seals of sanctity and indissolubility, it made her preservation of that place an essential part of its system, gradually sublimating into an ideal sentiment what in the ancient world had been little more than an animal appetite. Its effect upon the public order was, for long, indirect, but was not, upon that account, the less potent. Starting with the assertion of man's moral liberty and responsibility, the very postulates of her doctrine, the Church poured into the nations crushed and degraded by imperialism, a new virility, freeing and invigorating the human faculties; while by her self-made constitution, her elected rulers, her deliberative councils, she kept alive the free democratic traditions, which Caesarism had almost strangled, and trained the barbarian tribes who entered her fold in the principles and exercise of true liberty. As the subjects of the City of the Earth became the subjects of the City of God, the civil polity was informed by new principles. In the quaint language of Jeremy Taylor: the "Christians, growing up from conventicles to assemblies, from assemblies to societies, introduced no change into the governmen

\* "Groups of men united by the reality or the fiction of blood relationship," as Henry Maine puts it.—*Ancient Law*, p. 126.

† "Seito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere."—*De Re Rust.*, c. 143.

‡ Merivale's "Conversion of the Northern Nations," p. 144.

but by little and little turned the commonwealth into a Church."\* It was felt that a society of Christians ought to be a Christian society, and gradually the civil order was guided and governed by the principles of religion. An eminent English judge once laid it down—the dictum is now somewhat musty—that Christianity is part of the law of England. Of Christendom, while Christendom was, it might truly be said that the law was part of the religion. Everywhere the cross of Christ was confessed to be the interpretation of life and the measure of the world, and a supernatural end was kept in view. Thus, St. Thomas Aquinas declares that the chief object which the civil ruler ought to have before him is the eternal beatitude of himself and his subjects,† and what may seem almost incredible in these days, even in guilds of the most distinctively industrial character the making of money was not the first thing sought after. "They set up something higher than personal gain or mere materialism;" Mr. Toulmin Smith well observes: "their main characteristic was to make the teaching of love to one's neighbour be not coldly accepted as a hollow dogma of morality, but known and felt as a habit of life"‡ "In the accounts of the Company of Grocers," writes Dr. Brentano, "it is mentioned that at their very first meeting they fixed the stipend of the priest who had to conduct their religious services and to pray for their dead. In this respect," he adds, "the craft guilds of all countries are alike, and in reading their statutes we might fancy sometimes that these old craftsmen cared only for the well-being of their souls."§ I take these instances almost at random. Every department of life, in the Ages of Faith tells the same tale. The dominant idea everywhere is the Fatherhood of God revealed in Him who pleased not Himself, but humbled Himself unto death, making the great law of sacrifice the first law of His religion. And it is precisely this idea which marks off those ages from the times preceding them, and which is the source of their true greatness. Let no one suppose that I have the least sympathy with that religious romanticism which paints for us a mediæval period full of seraphic sweetness. I know well the dark side of the history of the Middle Ages, recorded in terrible distinctness alike by saints and sinners, by doctors and heresiarchs:

"Face loved of little children long ago!  
Head hated of the priests and rulers then!  
Say, was not this thy passion—to foreknow  
In Thy death's hour, the works of Christian men!"

True it is that mediæval iniquities were upon the same scale with

\* "Life of Christ." Preface.

† "Finis ad quem principaliter rex intendere debet in seipso et in subditis est æterna beatitudo."—*De Regim. Princ.*, l. 2 c. 3. Observe the force of the word "principaliter."

‡ "Traditions of the Old Crown House," p. 23.

§ "The Original Ordinances of more than One Hundred Gilds." *Intr.* p. 13.



mediæval virtues. But, on the other hand, it seems to me unquestionable that, as M. Littré says, the mediæval period "est plus d'un coté supérieur aux temps qui l'ont précédé," and that as he goes on to add, "il est particulièrement dans l'état social." \* For myself I would claim for it, that resting, as it did, upon the morality of self-renunciation, it is superior to the times that preceded it in all that makes up civilization in the higher sense of the word: that it is "further advanced in the road to perfection; happier, wiser, nobler." † Christianity, preaching pitifulness and courtesy, deifying sorrow, simplicity, weakness and humility, poverty and purity, had opened an ever-flowing fount of tenderness, of compassion, of pure love, which caused the very desert places of humanity to rejoice and blossom as the rose. Main tests of the social position of any community are the places held in it by women and children, by the indigent and the aged: and judged by these tests Christianity stands far above any previous organization of society. But its superiority appears to me to be hardly less clearly marked in its public polity, its literature, and its art, which were all informed by the same spirit. The notion of unlimited dominion, of Cæsarism, autocratic or democratic—perhaps the most baneful manifestation of human selfishness—had no place among its political conceptions, which regarded authority as limited and fiduciary: nor did it allow of absolutism in property; the canon law expressly lays down that extreme necessity makes all things common, excusing theft and palliating robbery with violence; that both clergy and laity are at all times bound to provide alms, as a duty of strict justice, even if need be by their own manual labour: for alms, in the words of St. Ambrose, are the right of the poor: and the giving them is rather to be regarded as the discharge of a debt than the extension of a voluntary bounty. In its literature Dante sounds a deeper note than had gone forth from his master, Virgil; and the very source of his inspiration is the austere spiritualism of the Catholic creed. In its philosophy St. Thomas Aquinas surveys the field of human thought from a loftier standpoint than any sage of Greece or Rome, and maps it out with a fulness and precision unattained even by him whom he reverently calls "the Philosopher:" and it was from the Crucifix that the Angelic Doctor derived his intellectual light, and there that he discerned—according to the beautiful legend—his only and exceeding great reward. Mediæval

\* "Études sur les Barbares et le Moyen Age," p. 239.

† "The word civilization is a word of double meaning. We are accustomed to call a country civilized if we think it more improved, more eminent in the best characteristics of man and society, further advanced on the road to perfection, happier, nobler, wiser. But, in another sense, it stands for that kind of improvement which distinguishes a wealthy and powerful nation from savages or barbarians."—J. S. MILL, *Discussions and Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 160.

art, even in its rudest stage, is informed by a higher ideal than ever dawned upon the mind of Hellenic painter or sculptor or architect: by the sentiment of the Infinite, revealed in the divinely human Person of the Man of Sorrows, the Son of the Mater Dolorosa. All that was great in that vanished public order which we call Christendom, flowed from the self-abnegation which is the central idea of Christianity. Singular paradox that this new civilization, so rich, and fertile, and varied—the direct source of all that is highest and noblest in our own age, and in each of us—should have been the work of men whose first principle it was to despise the world: that the greatest democratic movement, the most potent instrument of human enfranchisement, should have been a doctrine which made so light of personal freedom as to bid the slave care not for its loss: that the most effectual vindication of the most sacred rights of humanity should be referable to teachers who spoke only of its duties. Sublime commentary upon the saying of the Author of Christianity: “He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.” Strong assurance that “He knew what was in man,” and that “His word shall not pass away.”

W. S. LILLY.



## THE OUTLOOK IN EGYPT.

HAVING as motto, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and being as anxious to get out of Egypt as are the Egyptians to bid us farewell, it seems an anomaly that to achieve this aim a Liberal Government should be driven to Jingo measures, and that a sound Liberal like Sir Evelyn Baring should be compelled to urge temporarily a direct interference in the interior affairs of Egypt—a policy repugnant to Liberal notions and traditions.

Yet there is no other way out of this dilemma, and unless a decision in that direction is taken promptly we shall drift down the incline and find ourselves ultimately obliged to do the very thing we wish to avoid. At Cairo, all those who have the future welfare of Egypt at heart, agree that no half measures can stave off the collapse of an administration artificially propped up; and all agree that the only way to avoid annexation or a protectorate, is for England to take the administration for a defined period of years in her own hands. Thus alone can life be given to the reforms Her Majesty's Government have determined to introduce; thus alone shall we be able to train Egyptian officials to British ways and to rear a new generation; thus alone can we hope to prepare Egypt for self-government, and accomplish the task of ensuring lastingly the welfare of the Egyptian people by the establishment of order, justice, security of life and property, equality of foreigners and natives, equalized taxation, sound finance, economy and honesty, development of public instruction, public works, agriculture, &c., and the blessings of Liberal institutions under the beneficent rule of a native prince.

It is too late now to criticize past mistakes, but it would be fatal to repeat them. The undermining of the Khedive's prestige and of native authority, *without putting anything in its place*, has more

than anything else contributed to bring about the present helpless state of the Egyptian administration.

After Tel-el-Kebir there were two ways open to us: to let Egypt govern herself in her own way, or to take the administration into our hands, either one or the other.

"And mark," said Riaz Pasha repeatedly to the writer, "had the British Government entrusted us with the reins, nothing would have prevented their tracing the direction we were to take. It would be foolish to imagine that the Egyptian Government is in a position to disregard hints from Downing Street; but there must be a programme, and if the authority and prestige of the Khedive and the Egyptian Government is to be re-established, the driver should not be interfered with as long as he keeps pace, time and direction, and the least should have been to permit him to keep on a road he knows—good or bad. Thus alone could the Egyptian Government take root again; in fact, it would be better for Egypt and all concerned to dispense with native Ministers altogether, than to discredit them in the eyes of their subordinates and the people. At any rate, it is not fair to saddle them with all the responsibilities, when they are simply puppets without initiative."

"If we are not capable of governing Egypt, in Egypt fashion," said another Pasha, "why burden us with the odium of measures we disapprove and we look upon as suicidal? Our views may be wrong, but if they are, England must openly carry out her own policy, and not screen her advice behind an Egyptian label, for it does more harm than good to keep up the fiction of a native Government."

"Never," said one of the members of Cherif Pasha's late Cabinet, "shall I, or will any of us, forget what we owe England; indeed, we owe to her our lives, those of our families, the preservation of the Khedivat, of our property—we owe all this to the timely interference of British arms; without England Egypt was lost, and would have been the prey of Arabi, of anarchy and disorder. England has saved us, and we live; but what is life to a sufferer if he cannot be cured? Native doctors may be bad, but they are better than none; foreign prescriptions are no good, if those who prescribe are debarred from making them up; believe me, you won't heal our sores by a series of soothing plasters. Face the evil, and either take the patient in hand yourself, or allow us to treat an Oriental patient in Oriental fashion."

Now that is exactly the conclusion to which those have arrived who have followed events on the spot. It is the opinion of every Englishman here, and though Sir Evelyn Baring and his able lieutenants may be precluded from saying so, one need not be a thought-reader to assert that they fully concur in it; it is the opinion of the foreign residents, of every enlightened native, and last but not least that of most of the foreign agents in Cairo.

It is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that the "Micawber" policy, of waiting for something to turn up, must lead finally to a protectorate or annexation; and to avoid this contingency England must either let the Egyptians do their business in their own way, or take temporarily the management of affairs in hand. There can be little doubt that Europe would welcome any measure putting an end to the present state of things—any measure calculated to restore confidence, and framed with a view of preparing



Egypt for self-government; nay, even the French are beginning to realize that we can only withdraw from Egypt *after* having accomplished the work we pledged ourselves to do; and that the best policy will be not to throw obstacles in our way, or to hamper us in a mission that must be undertaken, and which, as matters stand, we can neither leave to others, nor abandon.

I do not think I am mistaken if I say that this is, on the whole, also the conviction of the able French representative in Egypt, a diplomatist whose long stay in England enables him better than most Frenchmen to gauge British policy and intentions. If it is not, he has certainly acted as if it were; for far from following in the footsteps of his predecessors, and making himself the centre of all malcontents and of secret wire-pulling, Monsieur Barrère has done his best to soothe the ruffled feelings of the French colony. A personal friend of several members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, he knows too well the programme of English Liberals to share the fears of his countrymen with regard to Egypt; and fully convinced that Mr. Gladstone's administration honestly wishes to get out of Egypt and to redeem as soon as feasible the solemn pledges given to Europe, he has evinced from his very arrival a spirit of conciliation much appreciated on the English side. It would be absurd to imagine that a Frenchman could contemplate with indifference or satisfaction the decline of French influence in Egypt, yet Monsieur Barrère would not deserve the high reputation he enjoys of a shrewd observer and skilled diplomatist were he to contest the exceptional position events and circumstances have assigned to Great Britain. He knows that the days of the Dual Control cannot be revived, and though he may lament the consequences of our single-handed intervention, he seems fully to acknowledge our right to a preponderant voice, as a *quid pro quo* for the responsibilities undertaken. Keeping wisely aloof from all ill-timed intromission in the interior affairs, he is biding his time, well knowing that the day is approaching when the collaboration, or at any rate the good offices, of France will be wanted to remodel the law of liquidation, which at present is the means, if not the cause, of perpetuating Egypt's financial difficulties.

We may certainly congratulate ourselves on the choice made by the French Government, and nothing could be more satisfactory than M. Barrère's repeated declarations, "that his one object in coming to Egypt is to cement Anglo-French friendship and interests, and to bring about a cordial and lasting understanding on Egyptian affairs, with due regard to altered circumstances, and on a basis acceptable to both countries." I may be mistaken, but it strikes me that France is quite disposed to give us a maximum of support for a minimum of concessions, provided we do not remain in Egypt.

There is no concealing the fact that our single-handed intervention has placed the helm into our hands, and it would be absurd to contest England's right and duty to pilot Egypt out of the present troubled waters. The French are well aware that the captain is and will be English, and that they can only expect to be remembered in the selection of the crew. And on that point they are not likely to be disappointed, for Sir Evelyn Baring is far too able an administrator not highly to value the services which men of other nationalities, and chiefly Frenchmen, have rendered and are rendering; and as long as the political direction of affairs remains in British hands, it little matters to what country the instruments belong to whom the execution of *our* programme is entrusted. It is simply a question of expediency, and for all administrative posts the best men should be selected, regardless of nationality, though it must be remembered that nothing is more difficult than to ensure homogeneous work with heterogeneous elements.

However, these are matters of detail; the great point is, that we want our work done quickly and well, and must, therefore, avoid giving cause for obstruction. A few timely concessions go a long way; and on the other hand, the French are conscious that systematic opposition would precipitate events, and oblige us *decasser les vitres*. They know perfectly that England can never allow France to have Egypt, and as the Dual experiment has failed, there remains no other alternative but to facilitate the *exit* of the man in possession, and unless effected as long as Mr. Gladstone's administration is in power, the chances are *nil*. It is this danger M. Barrère seems fully to grasp, and though nothing would be easier for him than to intensify our present difficulties and to add fuel to the existing discontent, he has wisely abstained from a fatal course, which would only lead to unnecessary friction, possibly to an open breach, and ultimately result in a permanent occupation. Fully aware of these dangers, the French representative seems anxious to give us all possible assistance, and as we can only evacuate the Delta with honour to ourselves and advantage to Egypt and Europe *after* completing our work, we may rely on the enlightened support of M. Barrère in the task before us. Having only the choice between two evils, farseeing politicians are sure to prefer a temporary eclipse to permanent effacement; and given Mr. Gladstone's pledges with regard to a withdrawal from Egypt, there seems reason to believe that the French would not object to temporary measures facilitating this object, and probably they wonder by this time why, after the fall of Cherif Pasha, we have not dispensed with native Ministers altogether, and why we have not at least resorted to a mixed Cabinet, little aware that it is out of exaggerated regard for French susceptibility that we perpetuate an experiment known not to answer. To my



mind, it is neither fair to Egypt nor worthy of England to prolong an impossible situation. Every day increases the difficulties and widens the gap between us and the natives.

After Tel-el-Kebir we might have done anything, and it would have been hailed with gratitude; but what about to-day? Orientals worship power, but though unwilling to exercise it ourselves we won't allow the native Government to assert itself; hence the prevailing discontent.

The best men in the country are discouraged; they do not know what to think, what to hope, and they are disgusted with everything, whilst the people vainly inquire for the promised blessings of British intervention. In fact, we may flatter ourselves to have frittered away all the advantages of a spirited military action, by a chicken-hearted application of half measures.

Yet it would have been impossible to have entrusted the reorganization of Egypt to better hands, impossible to have selected men more kindly disposed for Egypt than Sir Evelyn Baring and his able coadjutors; but what can they do if they are paralyzed by a timorous Home Government, and if some Ministerial organs misinterpret their best intentions? It is nonsense to say that a damper must be put on Mr. Clifford Lloyd's zeal, and that he is interfering with personal liberties, when all his efforts are directed to fight the battle of the people, to protect them against arbitrary rule, and to better their material condition.

A cursory glance at what has been done in the last few months, may give an idea of what could have been done had the process of reform not been narrowed by international considerations.

It is of course unnecessary to say that the fullest accord exists between Sir Evelyn Baring and Messrs. Clifford Lloyd and Vincent, and no one at all acquainted with the circumstances could imagine that anything is done without the approval of Sir Evelyn, with whom naturally rests the responsibility of the line adopted; it is therefore weakening Sir Evelyn's own position and influence to insinuate that one or the other of his lieutenants overstep their mandate.

The first important change introduced by Mr. Clifford Lloyd is the abolition of the gendarmerie and the local police, and the reorganization of the constabulary. There is an end now to the arbitrary ways of the Prefects of Police and of the Moodeers, and by well-conceived centralization of the services enormous savings will be effected. At Cairo alone the savings will exceed £30,000 a year, and at present fourteen officers are doing the work formerly done by seventy. Similar results are obtained at Alexandria and elsewhere, and though only in working order since January 1st, it may be anticipated that ere long a considerable change will be

noticeable. *Bakshish* has had its day, the good pleasure of the great and private vengeance can no longer be gratified, and the gaols can no more be used as means of extortion. Indeed, if Mr. Clifford Lloyd had to his credit nothing but the prison reform, the natives would owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. Only those who have seen these vile dens of misery and infection can realize the good effected in that respect.

A description of an Egyptian prison, previous to Mr. Clifford Lloyd's interference, would require the pencil of Hogarth. Huddled together in filthy holes, devoid of all sanitary arrangements, frequently deprived of light and air, the poor wretches were entirely at the mercy of venal gaolers. Those who could pay were able to obtain a few necessaries at extortionate prices, the penniless were doomed to rot and die. No registers were kept, and frequently people remained for years in prison without ever being brought before a judge; nay, only recently a woman was discovered, who had been ordered to be kept in vile durance *for life* as a bad character without ever having been in court. With an iron broom Mr. Clifford Lloyd has swept out these Augean stables of iniquity, and henceforth prisoners are well cared for, whilst no one can be immured on mere suspicion or be kept in prison without a judge's order.

Next to the police and prison reform comes the sanitary reform, and here again a great stride has been made; the costly and utterly inefficient native system has been abolished, and new regulations, more in harmony with continental and British notions, have been framed by Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and it is much to the credit of Nubar Pasha that his first act should have been to give his assent to the proposed modifications of the sanitary regulations.

Another important step in the right direction is the municipal reform; already started at Port Said, the decree for Alexandria is daily expected to be published, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd is now considering the best means for establishing a municipality at Cairo. A most important matter, for it is incredible that a town of more than 300,000 inhabitants should be without the most elementary sanitary improvements; and though the house-tax levied in future on foreigners may not be sufficient to cover the expenses of drainage, &c., the institution of a municipality will ere long prove a great boon.

But if Mr. Lloyd has displayed activity in every direction open to him, Mr. Vincent has equally endeavoured to do his part, and on his suggestion Sir Evelyn Baring has instituted a Commission, at present engaged in revising the budget for 1884, with a view of reducing it by some £300,000 or £400,000. It was at the first sitting of this Commission, on January 31st, that Mr. Vincent suggested a reduction of his own salary by 10 per cent., and likewise proportionate reductions of the salaries of all other high officials. We know that



the Khedive, always ready to bring personal sacrifices, claimed the right to set the example by reducing his civil-list and that of the hereditary prince by some £12,000 a year, a large amount considering that His Highness has once before reduced his civil-list by £40,000, and that he is by no means well off. It could of course be anticipated that the native Ministers would follow suit, for I remember that already last year Khairz Pasha, the late Minister of the Interior, offered to reduce his own salary rather than consent to a reduction of the salaries of his subordinates. In addition to Cherif Pasha and his colleagues, all high British officials have cheerfully acceded to the proposal, and hopes are entertained that those of other nationalities will not be slow in giving their adhesion, though there are doubts. Should any of them decline they will only damage themselves. As to the saving in itself it will be trifling, but the moral effect will be good and is likely to soothe, to some extent, the bitter feelings of those who find themselves without a place. Moreover, I understand that due regard will be paid to individual claims, and that no pains will be spared to alleviate the distress of the small employés, who will be specially affected. That their number is out of proportion to the work, and far in excess of the requirements, needs not to be mentioned; any one looking into an Egyptian Government Office can form his own opinion, yet it must be hoped that the Khedive's £12,000 will be devoted to assist those most in want; it must not be forgotten that it is not these poor people's fault that they are useless or inefficient. For years it has been the custom of Ministers to fill the offices with their creatures and hangers-on, and in the Orient a lifetime of *dolce far niente* entitles an official as much as years of toil to consideration—it is not the work that is paid for, but a man's presence during office hours; yet it would be hard to condemn a man and his family to starvation because he no longer answers our requirements, and some sort of a provision must be made. It may therefore be presumed that the whole of the first year's savings will be swallowed up by indemnities, &c., and there will not accrue much immediate advantage to the Egyptian exchequer, though ultimately there will.

Thus the reductions in the Ministry of Finance alone exceed £54,000 a year, as some 725 officials (including 350 *gens de service*) will be suppressed, and that without touching the garrison of the *Caisse de la Dette*, the suppression of which would be even a greater saving. But as all these reductions will be the cause of much heart-burning, it must be earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government will seize this opportunity for giving likewise a proof of our disinterestedness as a nation. Why should British officials in Egypt, why should individuals, those who have the work and the worry, bring sacrifices, and not the community?

If I remember well, Sir Evelyn—then Major—Baring suggested some years ago a reduction from 5 to 3 per cent. of the interest paid by the Egyptian Government on our Suez shares; surely now would be the moment to follow up an equitable suggestion, and one which would economize some £80,000 a year.

But I go further, and now that Egypt has consented to abandon the Soudan, and that there is no longer a fear of seeing the resources of Egypt proper drained by a policy of conquest or adventure, I hold that we should either waive altogether our claims for the surplus cost of the army of occupation, or suspend the repayment for a time, and until a period when Egypt will be able to do so without injury to herself. At any rate, if the abandonment of the Soudan requires an increase of the British forces—and it is said that two or three regiments are under orders for Egypt—England and not Egypt should bear the cost, as it would hardly be logical to insist on one side on a withdrawal from the Soudan on financial grounds, and add on the other to the expenditure for the same reasons.

Moreover, we must remember that, though nominally we are, in reality we are not, in Egypt for Egypt's sake, and it is, to say the least, mean to make a half-bankrupt country pay for the protection of our own interests, and the sooner we remedy this mistake the better. If we do not, there will be a tremendous outcry; already we are not over-popular, and the natives will justly reproach us with sacrificing them to our own selfishness.

I feel confident that such a step would have the best effect at the present juncture, and neither Sir Evelyn Baring nor Mr. Vincent are likely to object to a measure that would considerably ease the difficulties of their task, whilst the natives would treat it as the first practical proof of British goodwill.

The Egyptian question is above all a financial one; people do not examine the causes, they look at results; and the natives say, not without reason, that far from bettering their financial position, British interference has made it worse; and between the Alexandria indemnities, the cost of occupation, ordinary and extraordinary deficits, the Soudan expedition and the rest, Egypt is some eight millions to the bad. To meet this, a loan must be raised; but as every available security has long been pledged, we must either guarantee the interest or proceed to a modification of the law of liquidation. This of course requires the consent of all parties, and it may be inconvenient to bring the Egyptian question at this juncture before other Powers. However, it will have to be done sooner or later, and considering that the proceeds of the contemplated loan will mostly flow into European pockets, and that these new sacrifices are due in a great measure to the efforts for protecting continental interests, it is but natural that at any rate the reduction of the old



debt should be suspended for a while. Indeed, should England decide upon a temporary occupation for a definite number of years, the rise in the stocks would even warrant a reduction of the rate of interest. No sacrifices of this kind would, however, be required, if the administrations of the assigned departments and lands were to undergo a similar overhauling to those under native administration. Indeed, it is monstrous that, not content with our pound of flesh, we should have saddled Egypt with an administrative machinery as costly as it is inefficient.

Lord Dufferin has pointed out that the deficit of the Domain Administration exceeded £700,000 in four years, with the prospect of an annual deficit of £200,000. The Dairadanieh has this year a deficit of £180,000 in consequence of the want of hands and water due to the Arabi rebellion. The railway administration is as bad as it could be, and could easily yield £100,000 a year more if differently managed. The *Caisse de la Dette* costs uselessly £25,000 a year, whilst any great bank would willingly undertake the business and pay £50,000 a year for doing so.

To put it in round figures, the annual loss to Egypt on this head may be estimated at from £500,000 to £600,000, and it looks like satire to dismiss for economy's sake a few hundred *gens de service* at twenty pounds a year, when our own mixed and muddled administrations are shown to cost Egypt annually over half a million. Yet who dare touch these uncontrolled and uncontrollable magnates? It would raise an international outcry, and poor Egypt has to suffer. But these are not the only past grievances of the Egyptians. There is also the tribute to Turkey, close on £700,000, and the indirect loss through the prohibition of introducing other than Turkish tobacco into Egypt, estimated at about £300,000 a year.

Unfortunately for Egypt, European creditors have a lien on the tribute, otherwise she might well repudiate an obligation, which had only a *raison d'être* so long as Turkey was willing and able to fulfil all the duties of a suzerain Power. In exchange for the annual tribute, Turkey owed Egypt protection and help; in fact when Ismail Pasha added Zeila, Massowa, Souakim, &c. to his dominions, the Porte claimed an additional tribute of some £50,000 or £60,000 on account of her increased responsibilities.

This amount, of course, Egypt will be justified in suppressing, now that she has to abandon these ports, and that Turkey has declined to come to the rescue; nay, if there were no continental creditors behind the Sultan, Egypt would be perfectly entitled to refuse the payment of any tribute for which no *quid pro quo* is coming forth in the hour of need.

With respect to the tobacco question, I understand that it has Mr. Vincent's serious consideration, and as Egypt has a right to con-

clude commercial conventions, this matter seems very simple the moment Her Majesty's Government are disposed to back Egypt. The increase of revenue would be very considerable, were tobacco made a State monopoly; in fact, there is no other way for shirking the present system of smuggling, carried on on a vast scale, as Turkey loses an export duty of 10 per cent., and no tobacco is allowed to enter without the Turkish *teskeres*; thus those who would willingly pay the import duty, but who cannot afford the additional export tax, defraud both Governments, and it has been calculated that just 75 per cent. of the tobacco consumed in Egypt has been smuggled.

However, all this does not yield anything for the present, and whilst liabilities and expenses are increasing, there is nothing to meet them with, and the financial situation gets daily more desperate. Owing about half her present indebtedness to the first Suez Canal, Egypt had not unnaturally been in the hope that the prospect of a second one would take into account the rights and claims of the freeholder. But up to the present the prospect seems slender; nay, M. de Lesseps' proposed agreement would have entailed a good deal of new sacrifices, to mention only a loss of from forty to eighty millions sterling by the contemplated extension of the original concession, for which Egypt was to be compensated with £12,000 a year. Possibly public opinion and the interests of British shipowners may turn the scales in favour of the Khedivial Government, but the odds are that Egyptian interests will once more be disregarded to suit international conveniences.

Were Egypt permitted to give a second concession to the highest bidder, she would easily find the means for meeting more than her present liabilities, and she would also minimize the chances of a conflict, almost unavoidable as long as there is only one water-way, and this water-way practically French property. Reports are current that Her Majesty's Government have given their consent to the new convention between M. de Lesseps and the shipowners; that may be, but as both the extension of the old and the construction of a new Canal require the *fiat* of the Khedive, it must confidently be hoped that our position in Egypt will not be misused for extorting new privileges without an adequate advantage to our *protégé*, and Parliament will have to see to it.

Having thus shortly reviewed the general situation, we now come to the main points which I have purposely reserved for the last—I mean the abandonment of the Soodân and the interior re-organization of the country.

The Soodân question has been so ably and exhaustively treated in the last number of this Review, and by one whose authority on that point is second to none, that it would be presumptuous to revert to it; and all I can say is that personally I share the fears



of Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, and that I look on the abandonment of the oriental part of the Soodân with serious apprehensions; and if it is not a mistake, it certainly is a misfortune. On the other hand, I can fully understand the reluctance of Her Majesty's Government to embark in an undertaking of such portentous consequences, and I think Sir Evelyn Baring deserves the greatest credit for having kept England out of the Soodân. Indeed, by not despatching troops to Souakim, we have given the best proof of our intentions to withdraw from Egypt at the earliest opportunity. Did we intend to annex, did we contemplate a protectorate, we would not have hesitated an hour.

That the expedition of poor Hicks Pasha was an ill-advised step of the Egyptian Government is unfortunately evident by the result; but they are not alone to be blamed, and England should from the first have put in a *veto*, instead of simply disclaiming responsibility. People here know as little as the savages of the Moutah-Mahdi, of the fine distinction between British officers on full-pay, half-pay, and retired. They see a general, an Englishman at the head of an army, and his defeat affects not the individual, but is a blow to our national prestige.

The worst of it is that the Egyptian Government had long ago contemplated to abandon Darfoor and Kordofan. Cherif Pasha told the writer so last year, dwelling on the injustice of having dispossessed the lawful owners, and fully admitting the advantages of restoring a tributary kingdom, which would act as buffer between the Moutah-Mahdi and Egypt; yet the Egyptian Government could not make up their minds, and they embarked recklessly in a campaign of adventure, which cost Egypt a province and Cherif Pasha his *portefeuille*.

However, there would not be much harm if the matter rested there; but, unfortunately it is almost as difficult to abandon the Soodân as it is to hold it against the rebels, and Sir Evelyn Baring and Sir Evelyn Wood do not estimate the enormous difficulties it presents.

Putting aside the political and religious part of the question, and the damaging effect the clearing out process will have throughout Egypt, there are military and strategical difficulties, almost insurmountable; yet they have to be faced, and the task incumbent on Baker Pasha is by no means enviable. There is however one comfort, that he is sole arbiter of what he can and cannot do—he has it fortunately in writing under the Khedive's own seal, and no scientific suggestions from home or from Cairo, are likely to obscure his sound judgment. If feasible, he is sure to relieve the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, and neither money nor trouble will be spared (I hear it will cost near on £20,000); but nothing will induce Baker to court defeat by

a foolhardy advance at the head of a handful of unreliable troops. At present he has been reinforced by part of Zobeir Pasha's niggers, who look like fighting, but are untrained and hardly the material he requires at the present moment, though they may make soldiers in time.

On their return—provided they do return—it is intended to incorporate them into Wood's army, which will likewise be stiffened by about a 1,000 Albanians; a capital thing, which will give his men the backbone they are lacking, and allow us in time to think of withdrawing our own men. It is a pity that so much time has been lost, and that they are not at Souakim, where 1,000 seasoned soldiers would allow Baker to venture on a move for the relief of the poor fellows at Sinkat and Tokar. One hardly dares think of the terrible position of the detached posts, the officials, the European traders, travellers like Junker, who all will have to be abandoned to their fate. The officials and their families alone exceed 6,000 heads in the Soodân, whilst no less than 1,300 barges are wanted to get the fugitives out of Khartoum, not to speak of the provisions, camels and the rest it will require to transport some 12,000 people down the Nile and partly through the desert. Indeed it will be a miracle if Sir Evelyn Wood succeeds in devising a scheme for their prompt relief, for there is no time to be lost.

Of course, now that Her Majesty's Government have decided on this measure, there remains nothing but to carry it out with as little delay as possible, and to do the best for minimizing the hardships of the poor victims. In fact, I doubt whether it would not have been more merciful to have taken this step two months ago, when the chances for escape would have been better; but it is impossible to offer an opinion without being on the spot, and it must be assumed that Her Majesty's Government did not wish to press the abandonment as long as Egypt had a faint hope of holding the line of the White Nile with her own resources. That this was impossible might have been foreseen, and Cherif Pasha and his colleagues fully admitted it; yet they can hardly be reproached for having cherished a hope that England or Turkey would come to the rescue, and assist with either men or money; failing this, nothing remained but a clearing out of bag and baggage, and this is what we are doing.

Nevertheless, I feel deeply for the Khedive and Egypt, and I quite understand the reluctance of Cherif, Khairz, Riaz, to put their signature to an act so humiliating for true patriots. I can understand that Cherif and his colleagues resigned, and that Riaz rather declined their succession; yet Nubar Pasha has acted wisely in coming to the rescue, thus sparing his country and us new complications and troubles.

His recent stay in England will have taught him that it is useless



for Egypt to attempt swimming against the stream. Sir Evelyn Baring having satisfied himself and the Home Government that an abandonment of the Soodân was the smallest of the evils to select from, Nubar Pasha did, I think, well to submit to the inevitable. The composition of his Cabinet shows, however, that his way of thinking is by no means shared in the country, and with the exception of Abderrahman Bey Rouschdi, there is not one man worth anything. All the rest are ciphers, and the country might have economized their salaries. Indeed, it is the general impression that this Cabinet cannot last, and that it would have been better to form at once a mixed Ministry, instead of appointing Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Col. Scott Moncrieff Under-secretaries with Ministerial powers. To rule in the Orient you require not only power, but also the attributes of power, and as long as the shadow of a Minister stands between an all-powerful Under-secretary and unwilling subordinates, there will continue the friction which has been the bane of our whole experiment here.

We must bear in mind that Mr. Lloyd's work has up till now been confined to one class of reforms. Police, sanitary, prison, and municipal reforms are only *hors d'œuvres*; the *pièce de résistance* is the administrative reform, and to carry it through in a way satisfactory both to England and Egypt, he must not be hampered. He cannot go back; his definite appointment indicates that British administration will be introduced, that British notions will prevail, and that we do not intend to do our work by halves. This, I think, Nubar Pasha realizes; but I doubt whether many of his countrymen have yet arrived at that point, yet the sooner they do the better. They must tell themselves that there is at present virtually a British Government, that the administration, though Egyptian in name, is intended to be British, until natives will be able to take the places of those deputed to teach them.

To obtain this end quickly our officials should have Egyptians at their side to train them in our ways, and it should be well understood, and repeated daily and hourly, that we are only *temporarily* here, and that we shall leave as soon as our work is done.

But to do it well, to restore confidence, to bring back capital, and develop the resources of the country, Great Britain should not hesitate a moment but openly fix a term of years for her occupation of the Delta. Egyptians would then be face to face with the inevitable, they would know that the days of shuffling had gone, and they would put their shoulders to the wheel to enable us to carry out our programme, if not because they like it, at any rate because, anxious to get rid of us, they will understand that unless we succeed in the time fixed, the occupation will have to be prolonged.

Moreover, the advantages and blessings of good government are such, that in a short time our most obstinate opponents will rally

around the British reformers, the Pashas, and the upper classes in order to find employment ; the fellaheen, the people, because they will after centuries of degradation and misrule, find protection, help, a friend.

No nobler task can devolve on a nation, and great as are the difficulties of Sir Evelyn Baring, Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Mr. Vincent, and their coadjutors, they may feel proud to attach their names to the work undertaken in Egypt by Great Britain, the traditional champion of the weak, of down-trodden nationalities.

To succeed, all half measures must be discarded : army, justice, administration, finance, public works, and public instruction, must be reorganized.

The resources of Egypt are boundless, and demand only rational development, whilst the people are the most easily led and governed on the globe. All they want is justice, common humanity, and the hand of a friend to lead them on the path of progress and civilization.

Quick and intelligent, the younger generation requires only schools, educational facilities—an opportunity, and Egypt will soon produce men able to take the places of their teachers. But to succeed there must first be a beginning, and we must show Egypt and the world that *we are in earnest*.

MALORTIE.



## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

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### I.—MODERN HISTORY.

DURING the last few months four books have issued from the press which illustrate the manifold activity of English historical literature, and show the various sides from which it receives impulses.

Mr. J. R. Green's "Conquest of England"\* is a book which every reader will open with regret when he thinks that it is the last contribution to English history of one whose powers had only reached their prime. Mrs. Green's touching preface tells how its pages were written, one by one, in the hours won from death by the force of a will that was resolved to labour till the end. Mr. Green was a student of history whose study was fired by patriotic enthusiasm. His sympathy with England in the past was founded on a large-hearted sympathy with England of to-day. His aim was to ennoble the politics of the present by bringing home to all the dignity of the rich inheritance of the past. His last book was due to an heroic effort to speak out something more before he passed away. It is this noble imaginative feeling which forms the merit of Mr. Green's work. He makes the dry bones of antiquity live with real life. The period of the invasion of the Northmen and its results on England is full of archaeological questions and is beset with obscurity. Mr. Green has done all that can be done to solve the problems, so far as our present knowledge allows, and to present his solutions in a real and intelligible shape. The points which he has left obscure are likely to remain obscure for many years to come. The distinguishing merit of Mr. Green's method is the imaginative power by which he keeps before his reader the entire life of the time in which he places him. Other writers isolate particular points and discuss them separately. Mr. Green sets us in the midst of England of the past, and shows us the natural movement of events. His picture of the England of Egberht is so clear and vivid that we see at once the process of the coming of the Wikings and the results of the revolution which they wrought. It is not Mr. Green's fault that the evidence is still wanting to enable us to trace with certainty the relations of the new settlers to the old. The reaction in Wessex under Alfred and his followers is vigorously sketched, and the causes of the political weakness of England under Ethelred are made clearer than they have ever been before. Mr. Green's picture of the rise of English towns in the peace and prosperity of the reign of Cnut, is singularly vivid, and shows how a skilful hand can weave into history the results

\* "The Conquest of England." By John Richard Green, M.A., LL.D. London: Macmillan. 1883.

of antiquarian research. The actual history of the Norman Conquest is only briefly sketched; but Mr. Green's estimate of Godwine and Harold is much more sober, and will probably be more convincing, than Mr. Freeman's enthusiastic appreciation of the last representatives of the old English stock. Mr. Green's character of Godwine, in his last pages, is a striking example of his power of analysis of a purely political situation. Every reader of this book must feel that Mr. Green has brought within the region of reality a new portion of English history.

Professor Seeley has a widely different object from Mr. Green. He does not aim at heightening the political consciousness of the Englishman by firing his imagination; he asks him to consider reasonably definite political problems. He is the champion of a science of politics of which a study of history is to form the backbone. He protests against pictorial history as misleading. He demands that his readers should see mirrored in the events of the past the results of the judgments and opinions of citizens like themselves, and should learn the responsibility which attaches to their own opinions in the present. In his lectures on "The Expansion of England"\* he suggests a new point of view from which to regard modern English history. Many of his sayings are pregnant and deserve consideration; for instance: "It is an illusion to suppose that great public events, because they are on a grander scale, have something more fatally necessary about them than ordinary private events." On the other hand, we find some remarks which are a little surprising. This seems dangerous advice to give to a class of students at Cambridge: "Your great effort must be to raise your head above the current of mere chronological narrative." Surely a careful attention to exact details of chronology is the only safe foundation for those larger generalizations which Mr. Seeley loves. Otherwise causes are often mistaken for effects, and instead of the results of experience we have the dreams of fancy. Mr. Seeley's book is eminently suggestive, if not quite conclusive, on every point which he touches. Every one will sympathize with his regret that English history is pronounced less interesting as it approaches our own day. This is no doubt owing to the fact that modern historians are not clear about the point which they are working up to. Mr. Seeley puts before them as the central subject, the expansion of England from Great Britain into Greater Britain. He insists that on the subsidence of the religious movement caused by the Reformation, the great question for Europe was the possession of the New World. He shows how the political history of Europe may be grouped round this central point. He interprets the history of the eighteenth century as the period in which England distanced her competitors in this struggle. The loss of the American Colonies was not due to any overpowering necessity, but to England's want of appreciation of her real position. Since that loss the process of expansion has again been going on, and the great question of the future is, how will England deal with it? In the exhibition of this process Mr. Seeley shows great dexterity and much sober sense. His account of the conquest and government

\* "The Expansion of England." By J. R. Seeley, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1883.



of India is excellent, and presents the position of England in a true and intelligible light. As a political pamphlet Mr. Seeley's book is admirable in the way in which it sets before the reader the responsibilities of England's imperial position. As a contribution to historical literature we are inclined to suspend our judgment upon it. It is easier to suggest points of view than to work them out in details. It is easy to show the inadequacy of regarding the expansion of England as a series of episodes in her domestic history. But it would be equally difficult to represent her internal and European relations as episodes in her continental development. The modern historian cannot be overwise. He may be pardoned if, while the issue of events is doubtful, he directs his attention chiefly to those whose influence is most keenly felt.

A work which bears striking testimony to the results of the "expansion of England" on historical literature is Sir William Muir's "Annals of the Early Caliphate."\* It is due to the patient study of one who has devoted a long life to the service of his country in India. Sir William Muir's "Life of Mahomet," which appeared in 1861, threw a new light upon the origin of Islam. His present work, which has been the subject of twenty years' study, carries on the story. It tells how Islam took shape; how it rose above all other beliefs prevalent in Arabia; how it united the warlike Arabs into a band of resolute conquerors, and sent them forth to subjugate the world. Hitherto Weil's "Geschichte der Califen" has been the standard authority for this period. Sir William Muir surpasses Weil in learning, and still more in vividness and clearness. He has told the story of the heroic days of Islam in a most fascinating way. We catch the stern enthusiasm, the martial ardour, the resolute courage of the time when Islam moulded its first disciples. Sir William Muir tells his tale so that it conveys its own moral. He does full justice to the virtues of Islam. He lingers with respect over the deathbed of Abu Bekr. "Had Mahomet," he says, "been from the first a conscious impostor, he never could have won the faith and friendship of a man who was not only sagacious and wise, but simple and sincere." At the same time he shows clearly that the strength of Islam lay in the fact that it united the Arab tribes, and riveted them together by a common bond, the love of rapine and the lust of spoil. The history of the Arab conquests is in many respects similar to that of the German tribes who overthrew the Roman Empire in the West. But the Arabs differed from the Germans in being bound together by a belief which set them in their own eyes above those whom they conquered. The result of the progress of Islam was to convert the conquering Arabs into a dominant aristocracy, which ran a brilliant but brief career. Sir William Muir carries his history to the accession of Muavia, when the first impulse of Islam was spent. Its power of political development was soon exhausted. The conception of brotherhood was confined to the Arabs, and when they made way for mercenary soldiers the political organization of Islam was autocracy tempered by military revolt. Its social institutions prevented civilization from penetrating into domestic life, and its culture soon withered away. Sir William Muir's concluding

\* "Annals of the Early Caliphate." By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. London: Smith & Elder. 1883.

remarks hold out no hopes for the future. "A reformed Islam," he says, "would be Islam no longer."

Sir William Muir's book is the fruit of research to which the duties of daily life first gave a stimulus; Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's "*Don John of Austria*"\* is the result of the deliberate choice of subject by a cultivated man, who devoted to its investigation the leisure of a lifetime. Though the book is posthumous, it had been revised more than once by its author, who to the last spared no effort to make his monograph complete. The result is a worthy monument of the writer's polished mind. The book is a treasure-house of information about the history of the sixteenth century, and what is told is merely a sample of the rich store from which it was taken. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell had mastered the history of the period as a whole, and then chose from it such things as served to illustrate the life of his hero. His hero was, moreover, chosen because his adventurous career entered into so many fields of interest, and afforded his biographer an opportunity for the careful painting of many brilliant pictures of different kinds. The Court of Charles V., the life of a Spanish noble, the character of Philip II., the tragic end of Don Carlos, first rivet the reader's attention. Then the Morisco rebellion is painted with a wealth of detail, an accuracy of local knowledge, and a power of realization which make it one of the most finished pieces of historical description in our language. From Spain the scene changes to Italy, and we have the description of the Italian statesmen who formed the Holy League against the Turk. A sketch of the Turkish power is followed by a learned essay on the naval equipments of the sixteenth century, and a detailed account of the battle of Lepanto. From the politics and festivities of Italy we are taken to the Netherlands, and listen once more to the better-known story of their revolt from Spain, of the vacillating policy of Philip II., of the ambitious schemes of Don John, which were doomed to disappointment, of the vexation of spirit which brought him to an untimely grave. Large as the book is, its interest never flags. There is nothing beside the purpose. Every chapter has been carefully planned, and the plan has been carefully carried out. There is a sense of reserve behind the fullness of detail which gives the book a charm rare in the histories of the present day.

These four books are works of first-rate importance, and are permanent contributions to English literature. Besides these are many of considerable merit which appeal to a more limited class of readers. Sir Arthur Phayre's "*History of Burma*"† is the first continuous history of that country that has been written. Its writer has studied the native historians, and has given a brief account of the somewhat dreary records of an Oriental kingdom. Perhaps to an Oriental eye the history of Europe is composed of similar records of purposeless warfare; but we can trace in them a gradual progress, whereas Oriental

\* "*Don John of Austria*." By the late Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bart. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1883.

† "*A History of Burma, including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim, and Arakan: from the Earliest Time to the End of the First War with British India*." By Lieut.-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre. London: Trübner (Oriental Series). 1883.



history leads on to the same story of increasing European interference, of anarchy, and of annexation. Yet Burma also had its heroes, though the story of its partition shows that the heroic spirit had been destroyed by the misdeeds of the descendants of the conquering founder of its last dynasty.

Two books deal with the Indian Mutiny, of which Mr. Holmes has written a detailed history.\* His work is perhaps as good as is possible in dealing with events so close to our own time. His attitude is moderate and impartial. He has not contented himself merely with pictures of striking events or with accounts of military exploits, but has realized the complicated nature of the problem and its interest as illustrating the character of our rule in India. His general conclusion is in accordance with Mr. Seeley's account of the basis of our Indian Empire, and rests on the absence of national feeling or community of interest amongst the native population. There are discontented classes, who are ready to take advantage of our embarrassments for their own purposes. There was some lack of consideration in our treatment of the native troops, and an accident brought their discontent to a head. In the consequent confusion there were outbreaks of crime on the part of the dangerous elements which lurk in every society. Mr. Holmes sees nothing which justifies alarmist views in the future. He is studiously moderate in his judgment of men, and has done his best to decide on disputed points according to the evidence. Mr. Keene has contributed an essay† towards the same subject. Its chief purpose is to bring into prominence the part played by the civil servants of Hindustan in checking the course of the revolt. He takes detached districts, and puts before the reader the efforts made by the district officers to meet the sudden emergency and restore confidence in the wavering population. He calls attention to the qualities of mind shown by the Europeans, and to the readiness of the natives to follow a leader whom they trusted. His moral is that, "if India is ever to be made prosperous and happy, it must be by a combination of native merit with European direction and control." He considers that the outbreaks of the rural population were due to ignorance, and urges a spread of education as the remedy in the future.

The interest felt in the history of the British Empire is again testified by Mr. Rusden's elaborate history of Australia, which fills three closely-printed volumes.‡ Yet long as the book is, we cannot accuse its author of needless prolixity. His own experience of Australia extends over fifty years, or half the time of the colony's existence. His book is of the nature of a contemporary chronicle, and contains impressions of the past which are fast wearing away from men's memory. The book will be valuable as materials for a future historian, and it is pleasant reading at the present day. Mr. Rusden has clear and decided opinions, and has formed judgments about individuals

\* "A History of the Indian Mutiny, and of the Disturbances which accompanied it among the Civil Population." By T. R. E. Holmes. London: Allen. 1883.

† "Fifty-seven: some Account of the Administration of Indian Districts during the Revolt of the Bengal Army." By Henry George Keene. London: Allen. 1883.

‡ "History of Australia." By W. Rusden. 3 vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1883.

which he is not afraid of expressing. He enters into the difficulties of the early governors of the convict settlement, and tells their struggles with sympathetic appreciation. Perhaps he is too decided in his judgments, and is too certain that the right lay on one side. But in this he only represents contemporary feeling, and enables the reader to enter into the full meaning of the problems. Though the history of Australia has no very striking episodes, Mr. Rusden attracts our interest by making us feel the movement of affairs. This is no slight achievement; perhaps it is all that can as yet be done.

Ireland still continues to occupy a place in historical literature proportionate to the political interest which it excites. Mr. Justin H. McCarthy has written a little handbook which is intended to make Irish history intelligible to the ordinary man.\* The first chapter, on the legendary history, is excellent; and if Irish history were all legendary, Mr. McCarthy would be a sympathetic exponent of its charms. But at present we need very definite information about the origin and growth of controverted questions, and Mr. McCarthy is rhetorical where he ought to be precise. He would have served his own purpose better if he had explained more exactly the ancient customs of the Irish, and had made intelligible the origin of the difference between English and Irish, which are still obscure to the majority of the English people.

A really valuable contribution to modern political history has been made by Mr. Barry O'Brien's "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland."† The work is conceived in a broad and temperate spirit, which makes its effect all the more telling. The author's plan is to examine in order all the points on which England has made concessions to Ireland, to investigate the previous history of the questions, to consider the condition of affairs which led to legislative remedies, and to trace the mode in which these remedies were applied. The first volume deals in succession with the National Education System, Parliamentary Reform, the Tithe Commutation Act, the Poor Law, and the Municipal Reform Act. The principles which Mr. O'Brien lays down in his introduction are admirably true. He acknowledges the difficulty that must always stand in the way of agreement between conquerors and conquered, and pleads that the conquerors, when they have driven the conquered into a position of estrangement, must not complain if their efforts to amend do not at once meet with cordial co-operation. "The success of a conqueror-nation," he justly says, "in pursuing a policy of conciliation and union, may, I think, be said to depend in a great measure on the period (with reference to the date of conquest) at which that policy was inaugurated, and the manner in which it has been carried out." The object of this book is to enable the reader to judge whether or no the policy of concession has failed, "because England has never conceded in time; because she has never conceded adequately or graciously; because the enactments embodying the concessions have been allowed to remain a dead letter on the Statute-book, or have been administered in a manner hostile to the spirit and intention of

\* *An Outline of Irish History, from the Earliest Time to the Present Day.* By Justin H. McCarthy. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

† *"Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland."* By R. Barry O'Brien. Vol. I. London: Sampson Low. 1883.



the law." These are questions worth asking, and are questions which ought to be answered. Certainly every reader of Mr. O'Brien's book will have ample reason for thinking that concessions to Ireland have never been made graciously, and that we have no just reason for pluming ourselves on excessive generosity. Mr. O'Brien promises a second volume dealing in a similar spirit with the Land Question. All readers of his first volume will assuredly be ready to read the second.

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's "*Four Years of Irish History*,"\* a sequel to "*Young Ireland*," forms an instructive commentary on Mr. O'Brien. The book is written with transparent honesty, thirty-five years after the events which it relates. It is written by a man who has had a large experience of affairs, and who has proved his capacity in other lands. Yet reflection has not dimmed his early enthusiasm, and we feel that if he had to repeat his Irish career he would not follow any different line of action. Sir Charles Duffy glows with pleasure at the thought of the moral earnestness of the Young Ireland party, and scarcely thinks that any apology is needed for their want of wisdom. He puts forward his work as their vindication, and does not seem to feel that one requisite of a patriot is that he should possess some of the qualities of a statesman. While a generation remains with such reminiscences as he relates, England must not be too sanguine about the results of "concessions."

It requires a firm hand and a clear purpose to write a history of civilization. Mr. Mackintosh, in his "*History of Civilization in Scotland*," scarcely shows these qualities.† He has no definite view of the end towards which he is working. His book is a political history of Scotland with the narrative parts omitted, and their place supplied by diffuse chapters on the social condition of the country, which consist merely of wearisome details. Points which might have illustrated the civilizing forces at work in Scotland are omitted. For instance, the settlement of the Scottish borderland after the Union is a good field for investigating the action of civilizing agencies; but Mr. Mackintosh dismisses it in a few lines; while he devotes an entire chapter to a sketch of the history of European philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His book is a collection of arbitrary jottings, which the reader cannot piece into a connected system.

A revised edition of Major-General Porter's "*History of the Knights of Malta*"‡ is welcome. The book gives a spirited account of a series of military episodes in European history; but the writer is an enthusiast about his heroes, and the military history is not always set in its due political proportions. The new edition of Mr. S. R. Gardiner's "*History of England, 1603-1641*,"§ is progressing in monthly volumes, and will call greater attention to the value of Mr. Gardiner's admirable

\* "*Four Years of Irish History*" (1845-1849). By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. London: Cassell. 1883.

† "*History of Civilization in Scotland*." By John Mackintosh. Vol. III. Aberdeen: Brown. 1883.

‡ "*A History of the Knights of Malta, or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*. By Whitworth Porter, Major-General. Revised edition. London: Longmans. 1883.

§ "*History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War*." By S. R. Gardiner. 10 vols. London: Longmans. 1883.

workmanship, which has scarcely met with its full recognition in England. An interesting survey of the Great Rebellion is given by Herr Brosch in a recent number of the *Historische Zeitschrift*\* and shows how largely Mr. Gardiner has influenced German historians. Herr Brosch shows himself an admiring and sympathetic student of English history. His recent work on "Lord Bolingbroke, and his Relation to Political Parties,"† is especially valuable. English writers are so bound by the political feeling of their own day that they generally fail to take a large enough view of political parties in the past. We cannot welcome too warmly the assistance of writers like Herr Brosch to raise us beyond the insular view which we are too prone to take to the exclusion of any consideration of the European importance of English politics. From this point of view documents which have recently been published are valuable for students of English history. Signor Prayer‡ has edited the despatches from the Genoese envoys in London during the Commonwealth; and Signor Mazzatinti has published the letters of Vincenzo Armani, from 1642 to 1644.§ Armani was the secretary of Count Rossetti, the envoy of Urban VIII. to Charles I. Several of his letters from England have already been published, and show that he enjoyed the confidence of Charles I., and especially of Henrietta Maria. Those now published by Signor Mazzatinti were written from Cologne, whither the papal envoy retired after the outbreak of hostilities between the King and Parliament. They contain the news which was brought from time to time. The importance of all these documents consists not so much in any new facts which they relate as in the power of reproducing the impressions of interested spectators, which often give most valuable hints for the full understanding of characters and of events.

One of the most interesting contributions to French history is a series of articles which have been contributed to the *Revue Historique*, by M. Decrue, on "The Political Ideas of Mirabeau."|| M. Decrue, after an elaborate analysis of Mirabeau's writings and speeches, claims him as the author of the modern constitutional system, and asserts for him a high place as a publicist. In tracing Mirabeau's ideas he probably has not allowed enough weight to the example of England and the effect of English political writers. The French, like ourselves, tend to examine their own history too exclusively by itself.

In Italy a charming little book has recently appeared, which is full of interest to many classes of readers. "The Diary of Luca Landucci,"¶ a Florentine apothecary, extends from 1450 to 1516, and covers some

\* "Zur Geschichte der Puritanischen Revolution." Von Moritz Brosch. *Historische Zeitschrift*. 1 Heft. 1884.

† "Lord Bolingbroke und die Whigs und Tories von seiner Zeit." Von Moritz Brosch. 1883.

‡ "Oliviero Cromwell dalla battaglia di Worcester alla sua Morte, Corrispondenza dei Rappresentanti Genovesi a Londra." Atti delle Società Liguro di Storia Patria. Vol. xvi. Genova. 1882.

§ "Lettere politiche dal 1642 al 1644 di Vincenzo Armani." Archivio Storico Italiano. Vols. xi. xii. Firenze. 1883.

|| "Les Idées politiques de Mirabeau." Par F. Decrue. *Revue Historique*. Tomes xxii. xxiii. Paris. 1883.

¶ "Diario di Luca Landucci dal 1450 al 1516." Pubblicato da Jodoco del Badia. Firenze: Sansoni. 1883.



of the most stirring events of Florentine history. It affords materials for judging of the daily life and political opinions of a Florentine tradesman. It is full of notices which are interesting to the economic as well as to the artistic student. It gives a vivid picture of the powerful influence which Savonarola exercised over the consciences of the Florentine people. It makes the different phases of Florentine politics become real to our eyes. Besides all this, it adds a new character to our gallery of Italian personages. We are accustomed to the lives of tyrants, statesmen, men of letters, artists, and the like. In Luca Landucci we have a picture of the pious, well-intentioned, cautious, irresolute middle-class, which was strong to labour, but too faint-hearted and narrow-minded to influence its political surroundings.

M. CREIGHTON.

## II.—MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

It will be generally admitted that Professor Green's posthumous work on *Ethics*\* constitutes the philosophical *pièce de résistance* of the past year. English philosophy has long had a special affinity for ethical speculation, and the "Prolegomena to Ethics" will probably be read by a wider circle than that which was reached and influenced by the author's elaborate "Introduction" to Hume. Doubtless, too, many will find it a relief that, in this book, the critical or indirect method of teaching has been abandoned. Professor Green is here directly constructive; he speaks in his own person, and does not require to be inferentially interpreted from his refutation of other views. Moreover, since his premature death, "the idea of his life" with its lofty ethical enthusiasm and its unresting sincerity, has gradually revealed itself to many outside of Oxford and Oxford circles. These will naturally turn with more than common interest to a work from his pen on the foundations of the moral life.

This book is characterized by the same "massive persistence," as Professor Croom Robertson has happily termed it, which marks all Green's work—a persistence which sometimes goads the reader to impatience by its many repetitions, but which finally impresses by its very earnestness. The book opens with an impressive allusion to the discord between heart and head in which many of the best natures live at the present time. They take their scheme of the universe from science, but are forced to seek the satisfaction of their ethical and religious aspirations in the higher poetry. Professor Green's contention is that an adequate philosophy ought to give them a reasoned justification of what they find in their favourite poets as

\* "Prolegomena to Ethics." By the late Thomas Hill Green, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Balliol College and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883.

matter of feeling and rhapsodic utterance. Professor Green makes no attempt to disguise his conviction that such a justification is impossible unless we admit that man, as a moral being, cannot be treated merely as a part of nature. Within the ethical sphere, we may certainly employ the usual scientific methods in ascertaining facts and laws. But the existence of such a sphere at all implies something beyond Nature, as science understands that term. If, with the Evolutionist, we seek to substitute "a scientific *Culturgeschichte*" for the old ethics, we must at least recognize that our principles imply the elimination of ethics as a system of precepts. Science deals with facts, and tells us how one stage of history follows upon another. From the scientific point of view the succeeding stage will follow, and must follow, upon the present. We may investigate what it is likely to be; but to exhort men to make the future different from what it is going to be, is to pass into another world altogether. The idea of "ought" implies a being who is related to the historic process otherwise than merely as one of its stages. Exhortation, or the inculcation of duty, carries us beyond Nature or the mere object; it implies a subject capable of setting ideas before himself, that is, ultimately, as we shall find, capable of being guided by the idea of his own perfected self.

The First Book deals with the Metaphysics of Knowledge, and demonstrates the existence of a "spiritual principle" as the necessary condition of knowledge, and of the existence of Nature as an intelligible system. "The evidence of its action," says the author, stating the transcendental method of proof in so many words, "lies in results inexplicable without it." Its presence yields to the lowest stage of knowledge that ideal which links it the highest—that forecast of there being a related whole, which leads us on to an ever fuller knowledge of what that whole is. There is the less need to dwell upon this part of the argument, as it has been familiarized to most of us by Professor Green's repeated statements in the "Introduction to Hume" and in the pages of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

The ethical application follows. Just as we cannot construct the world of knowledge out of atomic sensations, so we cannot construct the world of practice out of mere wants or impulses. The essential character of a moral action consists in its dependence upon motives; and a motive is more than the impulse to satisfy an animal want. Appetite or want "only becomes a motive so far as upon the want there supervenes the presentation of the want by a self-conscious subject to itself, and with it the idea of a self-satisfaction to be attained in the filling of the want." Without this qualification by the idea of self, "it would not be the man" that did the action, "but the hunger or some force of Nature in him." Man is free, on the contrary, because he acts from motives and necessarily imputes his action to himself. Professor Green's position here will hardly satisfy those who still nail their colours to the *liberum arbitrium*. He is perfectly explicit in renouncing that suppositional determination of the abstract self apart from the desires, feelings and thoughts of the individual man. "All results are necessary results. . . . If a man's action did not represent his character, but an arbitrary freak of some unaccountable power of unmotivated willing, why should he be ashamed



of it or reproach himself with it?" So far we go entirely with the Determinists. But we must likewise recognize that, in every act of will, it is *the man himself* who adopts the desire to which he gives effect. He identifies himself with it, and thereby makes it a motive. The motive is therefore his own creation, and is recognized by him as such; and furthermore, he has been author in the same way of all the actions that have made him what he is. For, evidently, it is only moral or self-related actions that can affect his character, that is, his moral self; the mere satisfaction of animal impulse (if such a thing be possible to a thinking being) falls outside of moral consciousness altogether. The freedom which it is essential for ethics to have, means the possibility of reform; and that is provided for by the constant self-reference and the ideal of self-satisfaction which we have found to be present in all moral action. Because the man's conduct has been all along determined by a conception of personal good, there is for him "a perpetual potentiality of self-reform, consisting in the perpetual discovery that he is not satisfied." As Professor Green finely concludes: "That denial of the possibility of a moral new birth, which is sometimes supposed to follow logically from the admission of a necessary connection between present and past in human conduct, is in truth no consequence of this admission, but of the view which ignores the action of the self-presenting Ego in present and past alike. Once recognize this action, and it is seen that the necessary relation in which a man stands to his own past may be one of such conscious revulsion from it, on account of its failure to yield the self-satisfaction which he seeks, as amounts to what is called a conversion."

The Third Book, on the "Moral Ideal and Moral Progress," seeks to determine what is the distinguishing characteristic of moral good? But what do we mean by calling ourselves moral agents? What is the ideal we set before us in moral action? When we face this question we find we can answer it only by reference to the particular relations—the social circumstances—in which the capacity for morality has already realized itself in the world. For the individual, the conviction of what is truly good is "the echo in him of the expression which practical reason has so far given to itself in those institutions, usages, and judgments of society which contribute to the perfection of life." Apart from this, the end of our endeavour is blank, and casts no light upon our path. "Of the moral ideal as a life of completed development"—ἐνέργεια ἀνευ δυνάμεως, as Aristotle would have called it—"we can think only in negatives. We cannot conceive it under any forms borrowed from our actual experience." At most, we may "by reflection on the so far developed activity convince ourselves that this realization can only be attained in certain directions, not in others." We thus inevitably move in a circle. We are unconditionally commanded to realize—we know not what, save in a fragmentary, *ex post facto* fashion, from the institutions around us; and if we ask the reason why we should conform to these institutions and practices, we are told that they "contribute to the perfection of life," that they are creations of the moral consciousness, and therefore deserving of our fealty. It is characteristic of Green's faithfulness with himself that he makes no attempt to conceal

this apparent break-down of his own theory. He insists, however, that this circle is incident to every form of ethical theory that remains true to the pre-supposition of the moral consciousness. Utilitarianism alone escapes this circle by identifying the good with the pleasurable. But it does so, as Green points out, *only by abandoning ethical ground altogether*. Green himself does not shrink from the paradox of "asserting as the basis of morality an unconditional duty, which yet is not a duty to do anything unconditionally, except to fulfil that unconditional duty."

The remaining chapters of the Third Book deal with the historical question how "the mere idea of something absolutely desirable" should have defined itself as a system of duties, and with the further problem how the possibility of moral progress is provided for, if conscience in the individual is the echo of the existing moral world. The comparison of Greek and modern ideas of virtue is finely thought out and full of delicate moral analysis, more particularly in the contrast of the Aristotelian idea of temperance with the subtler and wider developments of Christian self-denial. But as this section is more of the nature of illustration than of argument, the reader must be referred to the work itself. Space also forbids any detailed reference to the last Book of the "Prolegomena," in which is discussed the practical value of the moral ideal, or the application of moral philosophy to the guidance of conduct. Special mention must be made, however, of the delicate and masterly analysis of "conscientiousness," in which the character of the living man is faithfully reflected. He points out very forcibly that, though self-analysis may be, and often is, a morbid state of mind, yet the habit of conscientiousness, "the comparison of our own practice, as we know it on the inner side in relation to the motives and character which it expresses, with an ideal of virtue, is the spring from which morality perpetually renews itself." The constant reference to an ideal will not, it is true, "immediately instruct him as to the physical or social consequences of action, and through such instruction yield new commands;" but "it will keep him on the look-out for it, will open his mind to it, will make him ready, as soon as it comes, to interpret the instruction into a personal duty." It is in fact, the temper of mind in which all moral progress originates.

It is difficult to criticize or estimate a book so weighty in its contents as these "Prolegomena." It will be noticed that in the last sentences quoted we are met by the old difficulty which it is Professor Green's great merit to have faced here so steadily:—Without an idea of perfection and of unconditional duty, no morality is possible. Yet the idea, though invoked to explain the possibility of progress, seems to tell us nothing about the nature of the progress till the step forward has been already taken. Professor Green has sought in a manner to supplement what we may call the Hegelian ethics by bringing into fresh prominence Kant's categorical imperative, viewed as the law of an eternal autonomous Self. The Hegelian ethics and other systems which lay stress on the objective morality of the social organism, are certainly true as far as they go. The conscience of the individual cannot be detached from the organized morality of



the community at whose breasts, as it were, he is suckled. But such systems are too apt to acquiesce in existing standards—in the rightness of the thing that is. At any rate, they do not seem to make explicit provision for the aspiration after a higher and better which impels humanity onward on its "God-given path;" and keenness of moral tone is apt to be lost in an atmosphere of worldly acquiescence. But the mainspring of morality, as of religion, is infinite dissatisfaction with present achievements—a dissatisfaction which has its root in the idea of an unattained perfection, reflecting itself in an unconditional command. It is indifferent, in the main, whether we say that this idea imposes itself upon us as law, or inspires our progress from within as the sole end-in-itself which we can ultimately set before ourselves. But, under one form of words or another, it remains the presupposition of morality. The account given of it may be vague; but if the Intuitionist will be honest with himself, as Professor Green has been honest, will he be able to tell us anything more definite of the moral ideal—anything, that is, which he does not borrow from the already realized morality of the world? I think not. The ideal cannot be gathered from the actual; yet where else shall we seek it? The problem is a very old one. In Plato, too, we find the idea of the good appended somewhat incongruously to the theory of the ideal state; the guardians are made to withdraw into contemplation of the absolute good, and they emerge at intervals from this highest heaven to direct their fellows and guide the State. We seek in vain for any satisfactory conception of what Plato meant by this contemplation. Perhaps, as Jowett suggests, he was himself dimly "aware of the vacancy of his own ideal." But "the eye of the soul is turned round," notwithstanding, and an impulse is generated which communicates itself to us even at this distance of time. But this is just what we get from poetry, it may be said; and Green started by promising us a surer foundation for the higher life. Is his own moral ideal, the admittedly inconceivable idea of a perfected individuality, anything more, after all, than the poet's

"One far off divine event,  
To which the whole creation moves?"

In some respects it is, as, for example, in the transcendental demonstration of its necessity, and in the definitely personal and ethical character with which it is invested; but in others we shall possibly be compelled to admit the justice of the retort. Perhaps our inability to say more about the goal rests ultimately on the contradiction involved in the very action of development, as the becoming of that which already is. It seems a hard saying that our life should be ultimately based on a contradiction, and the wish to escape from it is natural; but it is a conclusion to which we are led up by many avenues.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Bradley's "*Principles of Logic*"\* is an important work; but it is one which it is hardly possible to criticize or give an account of in these pages. It is, as is stated in the preface,

\* "*The Principles of Logic.*" By F. H. Bradley, LL.D. (Glasgow), Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.

a critical study of first principles—a clearing of the ground. The clearing is very thorough. The traditional logic is relegated almost entirely to the limbo of effete superstitions; and the popular substitutes of the empirical school are summarily dealt with as “chimeras” and “senile psychology.” Mr. Bradley’s style is like the sowing of dragon’s teeth, which may by-and-by yield him a plenteous crop of armed foes. The work is so full of detailed criticism that even the special student will do best to master it in portions; but it will well repay his efforts. In spite of the half-serious disclaimer of Hegelianism in the preface, the impulse towards a line of criticism such as is here adopted evidently comes from Hegel. Only the impulse, however; the matter and the form of the work are due entirely to the author himself, and to the careful study he has made of recent writers on logic, such as Lotze, Sigwart and Jevons. It is wonderful how the logic of the Schools impassively maintains its ground in spite of the attacks made upon it from all sides. It is almost too much to hope that a work like the present will make much immediate impression upon the teaching of logic in England. The revolution it demands is too great, and the author’s doctrines and schemata are not always definite or dogmatic enough to oust long-established formulæ, which may still claim, in some cases, to be a possible mode of stating the reasoning process, though far enough, generally, from representing the actual operation of the mind. There is no reason, however, why the ordinary logic should continue to live without a theory of judgment which may make some pretensions to represent the facts of the case. Mr. Bradley’s account is worthy of careful study. First, he draws a luminous distinction between ideas as treated by logic—namely, as symbols, as having a *meaning*—and ideas as treated by psychology, mere facts or events in a mind. Ideas as the subject of logic are universals or abstractions which, when they come to exist, always appear particularized in a varying and irrelevant setting of mental fact. As ideas or knowledge, they have a content, but, strictly speaking, no existence; they are “floating adjectives.” The act of judgment consists in determining the real world by one or more of these floating adjectives. This reference to reality is what Mr. Bradley insists upon as the characteristic of every act of judgment. Judgment does not qualify one idea by another; it does not assert the grammatical predicate of the grammatical subject, both of which are alike ideas and unreal. On the contrary, the actual subject is in all cases the real world. This may be clearly seen in existential judgments, as when I say, “The sea-serpent exists.” What I really do, if I make this judgment, is to “qualify the real world by the adjective of the sea-serpent.” It is the same with more complex judgments. If I say, ‘This bird is yellow,’ the genuine subject is the thing as perceived, the content of which an analysis has divided into ‘this bird’ and ‘yellow,’ and of which we predicate indirectly these ideal elements in their union.” Similarly, in the judgment ‘A is to the left of C,’ the real subject is not A, but the nature of the spatial world at large, which we qualify by the relation A-C. For the further ramifications of Mr. Bradley’s suggestive criticism, the reader must be referred to the book itself. Here we shall only note that in his account of reality the author threatens



to break away altogether even from the very general Hegelianism that pervades the book.

Dr. Maudsley's "Body and Will"\* is written with all his old forcefulness, not to say acrimony, of style. What especially rouses his ire is the doctrine of "the freedom of a spiritual will," which he regards as "the stronghold of a metaphysical psychology." Dr. Maudsley would probably resent being told that the greater part of his argument against "freedom" is out of date; and we will not deny that there may be "metaphysicians" who will be advantaged by reading it. But he is in error if he supposes that thinkers of the first rank, either here or on the Continent, dispute the facts which he adduces, or maintain the abstract freedom which he denounces. A due analysis of the facts, however, may lead to other philosophical conclusions than those advanced in "Body and Will." Dr. Maudsley might do worse than read the relative sections of Green's "Prolegomena."

One of the freshest pieces of metaphysical speculation published lately is "Physical Metempiric,"† a posthumous essay by Alfred Barratt. It is written in a clear direct style, and is interesting as a specimen of the thoughts that commend themselves to many of the younger generations of English workers in philosophy and psychology. In Mr. Barratt's pages we find the influence of Spencer, Lewes, and Clifford crossing that of Kant, Green, Caird, and Shadworth Hodgson; but the author keeps on his own feet all the time. As long as we confine ourselves to the world given in experience, Mr. Barratt maintains, we must profess solipsism. We pass into metempiric (*i.e.*, beyond experience) as soon as we affirm the existence of another consciousness like our own. This is, however, an assumption which is universally made, and which is classed as "an ultimate belief." The other alleged universal assumption of common-sense, that of things-in-themselves, will not bear the interpretation which Realists put upon it, but is ultimately reducible to our first assumption of "other consciousness." The doctrine of the universality of consciousness is deduced in a simple but striking fashion from the theory of evolution. We are landed in a doctrine of monads or conscious centres, not very different, at a first glance, from the theory of Leibnitz. "A monad is the inner reality of that which we know as an atom." Does not the doctrine of Monadism, however (in spite of the subtle and eloquent advocacy of Lotze in recent times), seem ultimately to rest on a kind of materialization of consciousness? It is true that the world is constructed, or construed, by us according to analogues of the Self; but that hardly justifies a rough-and-ready attachment of consciousness as an inner side to each material atom; more especially as the notion of atom turns out to be merely provisional. In supposing a world of these mutually exclusive centres, are we not, in fact, reversing our own procedure, and defining the Self as such in terms of its lowest analogue?

ANDREW SETH.

\* "Body and Will: being an Essay concerning Will in its Metaphysical, Physiological and Pathological Aspects." By Henry Maudsley, M.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.

† "Physical Metempiric." By the late Alfred Barratt, Author of "Physical Ethics." London: Williams & Norgate, 1883.

## III.—SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

A RIFPLE of Socialism has just been passing over England—at least, if it is Socialism to take a quickened concern in the condition of the poorer orders and to propound all manner of demands for State help in the matter. Of course, what is now called State Socialism has always been strongly represented in this country, for that is only a new name, imported from German politics, for our old Conservative friends, paternal government and State monopoly; and in the hands of Prince Bismarck it does not look beyond the old political ends of securing domestic order and raising a revenue. But the feeling that is abroad at present goes further than this, and seems to recognize in the State something like a positive social mission; it must not only protect, but ameliorate. This idea has developed in the progress of events; for the increasing complexity of industry has necessarily thrown many new economical duties on the State, and the growth of the democratic spirit has as necessarily made the condition of the people a most governing consideration in all legislative work. But the seed of the idea was lodged in the previous state of opinion. For freedom has usually been advocated, not for its own sake, but as an instrument of progress, through the play it gives to individuality; but it, of course, involves the alternative possibility of decline, and therefore the same reason that prescribes freedom as the rule would justify exceptional State intervention when any considerable class of the community was threatened with permanent deterioration, physical, moral, or economical. Our factory legislation was intervention of this kind. This idea has its dangers, but it seems to represent a distinct advance in the political consciousness of the nation, and may be expected insensibly to colour public opinion on all questions in the future. The most active leaven of the present social movement, however, is really the land question, the rapidly ripening conviction that our land system lies in one way or another very near the root of many of our social evils, and that little can be done for the permanent amelioration of the labouring class without a thorough-going reform of our agrarian legislation. That is the real meaning of the popularity of Mr. George. He met this movement as it was rising, and partly helped it up, partly rose with it. Nobody accepts his actual ideas—even those who appear publicly as his friends are careful to disclaim belief alike in his principles and in his nostrum; he produces no Georgists; nevertheless he is the vague representative of a kind of cause, because everybody feels that he has laid his hand, however erringly, on a true seat of danger, and that much of the poverty that clings to us in spite of our wealth really does flow from the growing severance of the people from the soil. The stress of the agitation bears against landlords alone, not against capitalists; for the industrial classes, who made the strength of the Chartist agitation, have been put on the way to their emancipation, and are already a bulwark against revolution, and the same service remains now to be done for the rural labourer. The dwellings question, too, now that



the discussion of it has passed its acute stage, is seen to be closely bound up with the same subject, and, in fact, to be in some of its most fundamental aspects, really a part of the land question. One of the causes of the overcrowding, the immigration of redundant rural labour, carries us back to that question directly, and people are recognizing that if anything remains to be done after enforcing existing legislation, it must be in the direction of the abolition of building leases and perhaps of even the municipalization of ground rents. These proposals may be sound or unsound; but they show from how many sides attention is being forced upon our land organization, and that we are really in presence of a broader and more deep-reaching political agitation than we have had for generations.

In such an agitation, which throws the fundamental principles of our social system into the arena of popular discussion, we must expect the development of extreme opinions, and accordingly last month has witnessed the appearance, for the first time in this country, of the revolutionary social democracy, which is one of the forces of Continental politics. A monthly magazine has been established, which proposes to slay by one club the two giants that, in its opinion, oppress labour—Christianity and Capitalism; and one of its leading contributors, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, has just published a book introducing us to revolutionary socialism at greater length.\* Mr. Hyndman is a disciple of Karl Marx—his first English disciple—and his book is virtually a recasting for English readers of the more popular sections of Marx's famous work on Capital, with some not unimportant additions of the author's own, and though wanting Marx's precision, there is probably no source in English from which an idea of his system can be better acquired. Marx's remarkable survey of English industrial history, his scientific nomenclature, his illustrations, are reproduced, and even his ill-conditioned trick of ascribing corrupt motives to those who differ from him. Mr. Hyndman declares that the Trades Union leaders are fed by the capitalists, and that Cobden and the Free Traders fought for cheap bread only to get low wages. He is apparently a recent convert to Socialism, and is as yet somewhat bewildered among his new allies, distinguishing anarchism from collectivism, as if it were not a form of collectivism, and expressing, in a curious jumble, his indebtedness to "the famous historical school headed by Karl Marx, with Friedrich Engels and Rodbertus closely following." The famous German historical school was not headed by Karl Marx, but was among his chief adversaries: the Socialist school that was headed by him is not an historical school at all, but, as everybody knows, a doctrinaire and revolutionary one; and Rodbertus no more belongs to it than does J. S. Mill. In this school, however, Mr. Hyndman has learnt to speak with great contempt of the "huckster" economy of Adam Smith, and to read industrial history with the inner light of Marx's doctrine of surplus value, the single doctrine of the school. Of course, if because wealth is made by labour, it can only be accumulated by the disinheritance of the labourer, then the more it has been accumulated, the more have the labourers been disinherited, and "the historical basis of Socialism in England" is the attempt to

\* "The Historical Basis of Socialism in England." By H. M. Hyndman. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

show that gradual accumulation has all along been attended by, and obtained at the expense of, gradual disinheritorship of the labouring people. He begins with the fifteenth century, which, like Marx, he calls the golden age of England, but he fails to see that the prosperity of the labourers in that period was due, like the prosperity of other periods of brisk trade since, to an outburst of capitalistic energy, aided exceptionally, however, in this case by the dearth of labour, consequent on the black death and the Wars of the Roses. He dates our distress from the introduction of Poor Laws under the Tudors, but that does not mark the origin of pauperism, but only the fact, as indeed he himself explains in another chapter, that paupers were now supported out of civil instead of ecclesiastical funds. The most telling part of his book, as it is of Marx's, is the account of the way in which every change in industrial progress offered a fresh opportunity to employers for oppressive bargains with their labourers, but these facts, though furnishing a sound basis for our factory legislation, furnish none whatever for Socialism.

"Dynamic Sociology as applied to Social Science," by Lester F. Ward, A.M.,\* is a work of a much more important character. It is the fruit of much real thought, and is full of striking speculation. But Mr. Ward would assign to the State a rôle that pales altogether the rôle assigned to it by Mr. Hyndman and the Socialists. Society, he thinks, ought to work out its own perfection by means of such a scientific study of the social forces as shall enable men to predict their effects, and by artificial devices to guide their course. Science is never perfect till it invents, and legislation is to social science exactly what mechanical inventions are to physical. The State's direct business is not only to protect, nor even to accommodate, but to ameliorate the people, and it does so by means of inventions called laws, founded on an exact knowledge of the social forces, and causing them to flow more richly in the direction of progressive civilization. Dynamic Sociology is the science that guides it; it is the science of the organization of happiness, and this organization cannot be obtained by directly trying to produce it, but only by indirect manipulation of the social forces near their source. In the matter, for example, of the distribution of wealth, he thinks Socialists are working "at the roof, instead of the foundations, of the structure they desire to erect," and he would for the present concentrate energies on the better distribution of knowledge, because he believes inequalities of capital and labour depend in the last analysis on inequalities of intelligence. Mr. Ward is an independent and fertile thinker, and though few may agree with any of his conclusions, they will be stimulated by the fruitful lights in which many things are placed.

The interest in the land question is betokened by the large share of the economical books of the past few months that is devoted to that subject. Some of them are far from being of a fleeting or purely occasional character. Mr. Justice Field's,† for example, is a work of permanent value, the result of long and careful study, and distinguished

\* New York: D. Appleton & Co.

† "Land-holding and the Relation of Landlord in Various Countries." By C. D. Field, LL.D. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.



by its firm grasp of the principles of the many systems it describes, and by its power of luminous exposition. Half the work, some 400 pages, is devoted to the land systems of India, and so complete an account of them from one who has himself observed their operation on the spot, is a distinct gain to economical literature.

Professor Pollock's "*Land Laws*,"\* is a concise and most readable account of the English land laws, furnished for the "*English Citizen Series*." Complicated as the subject is, Mr. Pollock succeeds in making it simple and intelligible to ordinary lay readers. He approaches it more as historian than reformer, but his attitude is critical as well as expository, and in dealing with present legislation he does not conceal his opinion of its defects, or refrain from pointing where reforms must be provided. Among other things he condemns the building lease system, declares that "leasehold emancipation is a problem that must be faced," and indicates a preference for the municipalization of ground rental.

Professor Nicholson's "*Tenant's Gain not Landlord's Loss*,"† deals specially with the existing situation in England, and, as the title indicates, mainly with the differences between landlords and tenants, but he travels in the course of his little book over most of the important economic aspects of the Land Question. He is well informed, judicious, discriminating, and throws out many valuable suggestions. Among these, however, we are not disposed to include the distinction for which he bespeaks our attention as his chief contribution to the discussion. He would divide improvements, not into permanent and temporary, but into improvements necessary for the practice of good husbandry, such as drainage, steadings, manures, and those which alter the character of the subject, such as reclamation of moorland or conversion of pasture to tillage. For the latter he would allow no compensation without the landlord's consent, except in the case of crofters. It is hard to see how drainage and reclamation should stand on different footings. He advocates leases of considerable length, with several revisions of rent during their currency, to be made by private arbitration, and his remarks on the bearing on leases of such factors as the probable appreciation of gold and industrial cycles deserve consideration. Though opposed to nationalization schemes he quite admits that "the existence of a separate rent-receiving class may, under certain circumstances, check production, and to some extent raise prices."

Mr. Stubbs' little book‡ is mainly taken up with describing some of the principal modern experiments in co-operative agriculture, but his first chapter contains an account of an interesting experiment made on his own glebe, which shows the economic value of small husbandry. He let forty half-acre lots to forty labourers, and their average production was forty bushels of wheat per acre, as compared with an average of twenty-five in the district generally, and twenty-six in all England.

Other countries besides England are at present occupied with their land system. In Germany, where much speculative attention was given

\* London: Macmillan & Co.

† Edinburgh: David Douglas.

‡ "*The Land and the Labourers*." By C. W. Stubbs, M.A. W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

to the subject twenty or thirty years ago, American competition and bad harvests have now made it a matter of serious practical concern. The Society for Social Politics devotes its annual publications this year to a series of investigations into the circumstances of the peasantry in the various parts of the country.\* These reports, written by competent local observers, embody a mass of very valuable information on the agricultural situation. Distress is reported everywhere, unless in districts like the Duchy of Brunswick, where, though most of the holdings are very small, there are plenty of auxiliary industries, and the larger holdings are mainly pastoral. Besides bad harvests and American competition, the main causes of the distress seem to be the great rise of local taxation during the last twenty years, and the defective system of agricultural credit. Debt has greatly increased, though not more than the value of the land; but then the people who have least land have mortgaged it in the highest proportion and to the worst kind of creditors. Estates of 100 acres are seldom mortgaged above 35 per cent., but those under 30 acres as high as 70, 100, and even 150 per cent.

Professor Miaskowski† shows that while the present distribution of landed property in Germany is still essentially healthy, inasmuch as the middle-sized peasant estate preponderates, yet this class of estate which Meitzen thought in 1868 to be permanently secure, is at present not merely threatened but seriously declining, through a tendency to *latifundia* in some parts of the Empire, and through subdivision in others. The first tendency is due to the increasing importance of movable capital, but the other is due, he thinks, altogether to the "estate butchers"—land speculators—and might be corrected by government interference. He strongly urges the direct creation, by State measures, of a powerful middle-class peasantry in provinces like Silesia, as the only preventive to the complete proletarianization of the people. A curious point is that while the large estate has been growing the large farm has not. This is an important and authoritative work.

Mr. W. G. Moody‡ takes a very pessimistic view of the course of things in America. What with *latifundia*, land grants, land speculation, bonanza farms, and above all, the universal introduction of labour-saving machinery, half the working population of the United States are declared by Mr. Moody to be either tramps or next door to being so. "The real amount of idleness in this country must be in excess of 50 per cent. of those who are dependent upon labour for subsistence." His figures, however, are obtained by unsound methods, and his great remedy, a Six Hours' Act, which Massachusetts manufacturers seem inclined, for reasons of their own, to favour, involves the ordinary fallacy that wages can be raised by "making work" instead of producing wealth. Some of the chapters—*e.g.*, that on the economic effects of the war—contain interesting facts.

Historical inquiry has been also directed to the land. The village

\* "Bäuerliche Zustände in Deutschland." Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

† "Das Erbrecht und die Grundeigenthümer im deutschen Reich." Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

‡ "Land and Labor in the United States." By Wm. Godwin Moody. New York: C. Scribner's Sons.



community is a discovery of this century, but we have already got so accustomed to regard it as an economic stage through which most nations have passed, that it is often adduced in current discussions as a proof that primitive property was communistic, and that private property is a modern supplanter. The mark, it is said, preceded the manor, and the mark is supposed to have been a free community of land-owning peasants. This conclusion is now simultaneously challenged by two independent investigators in England and America. Mr. Seebohm\* scrutinizes the English evidence, and comes to the conclusion that, as far back as we can go, there was a manor, and that the village community was nothing but the community of serfs upon it. He admits there may have been exceptional cases of free village communities, but as a rule he thinks community and serfdom went together, that serfdom was almost the *raison d'être* of community, and community "the shell of serfdom." This is going too far, for he admits it to be the shell of freedom in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and, in fact, its origin lies neither in the tribal system nor in serfdom, but in the economic advantages of the system to small cultivators with no capital. Mr. Seebohm's book contains the completest account we possess of the early English agricultural system. His knowledge of the "runrig" system in other parts of this island is less exact. He errs in identifying it with the simpler form of shifting arable that preceded the three-field system; it was really a combination of those two systems, one-half the ground being cultivated on the one system, and the other half on the other.

Mr. Denman Ross† deals with the German evidence, and arrives at similar conclusions. The German village communities were not originally communities of proprietors but of slaves. "The transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life has almost always been effected by means of slavery. That was certainly the case among the Germans." Primitive property was not communistic, nor yet primitive tenancy, whether the tenancy of freemen, or of debt dependents, or of serfs. The land was cultivated on a common plan, but was held in individual shares. Mr. Ross has been already favourably known by his writings on this subject, and the present work is one of wide and exact research.

JOHN RAE.

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#### IV.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—With the express purpose of preventing a biography of himself being written, Lord Lyndhurst destroyed all his letters and papers that were of any consequence. "Why," said he, "should the world desire to know anything of me? What have I been but a successful lawyer?" The result ought to be a warning to persons of eminence,

\* "The English Village Community." By Frederic Seebohm. London: Longmans.

† "The Early History of Land-holding among the Germans." By Denman W. Ross, Ph.D. Boston: Soule & Bugbee.

that they are not their own. It only allowed Lord Campbell to write a most misrepresenting life of him; and then to correct its misrepresentations necessitated the present work,\* which suffers seriously from the meagreness of the materials its author found at his disposal, and from the constant tone of apology and recrimination upon Lord Campbell which he is obliged to adopt. With all these disadvantages, however, so accomplished a writer as Sir T. Martin could not fail to produce a readable and instructive book on so remarkable a man. For sheer intellectual power and freedom from pettinesses of character, Lord Lyndhurst was almost unique among our public men. Even the vanity of Brougham could bow to him to such a degree as to say, "I will make an exchange with you; I will give you some of my walking-power and you give me some of your brains," a compliment which Mr. Gladstone, who heard it given, thinks the highest he ever heard one human being pay to another. In joining the Tories he certainly disappointed the expectations of the Liberals, but his biographer shows plainly enough that he never gave any sufficient ground for such expectations being entertained, and that the charge of calculating apostacy, so often brought against him on the strength of them, is without any real basis. As for his other political inconsistencies, more is made of them, both by accusers and defenders, than they are worth. Political immutability is not now counted a virtue.—*"The Story of Chinese Gordon,"* by A. Egmont Hake (London: Remington & Co.), is by a happy accident extremely well-timed. It is not the first life of the General that has appeared, for though, like Lord Lyndhurst, Gordon disliked publicity of this sort, his biography has actually been written three times during his lifetime. Mr. Hake has had access to family papers, and has given us a very well told and interesting narrative of one of the most romantic careers in the nineteenth century. The exploits and the individuality of the hero are alike laid clearly before us. The book will be read with much interest at present when Gordon has renewed his connection with the Soudan under better auspices.

TRAVEL.—Mr. Villiers Stuart's *"Egypt after the War"* (London: Murray) is also a most seasonable work, and, what is better, one of great value and authority. Mr. Stuart has had nearly thirty years experience of the country, and last winter he made, at the request of the English Government, a tour of investigation into the social and financial condition of the Egyptian people. The present work gives us the results of that investigation, together with the more interesting portions of a previous work of an archaeological character, which would perhaps have been better published separately. Mr. Stuart draws a dark picture of the condition of the peasantry, of their sufferings from the forced labour system, from usurers, from the corruption of the official classes, from taxation, but he has a much higher opinion of their qualities than is usually entertained. He believes them to be industrious and intelligent, and capable of fighting well when well led. Nay, he declares there is a "latent tiger" in them, and fears general anarchy if the English military occupation is

\* *"A Life of Lord Lyndhurst."* By Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B. London: Murray.



given up too soon. He urges the necessity for some considerable time of the government of Egypt through Englishmen. He makes many practical suggestions worthy of consideration.—“*Temples and Elephants*” (London: Sampson Low & Co.), is a new work by Carl Bock, the Norwegian traveller, whose previous book on Borneo attracted much attention. The present volume takes us to Upper Siam, one of the few parts of the world where European travellers have not hitherto penetrated, and of which accordingly little is known. The author enjoyed, through the kindness of the King, exceptional facilities for seeing the country, and his work is a distinct and important addition to our geographical and ethnological knowledge. Interesting details are given of the customs of the people, of the character of the country, of the temples and the sacred white elephants. The Albino elephant is never white, but at most, pale reddish-brown, and the only really white elephant ever seen in Siam, it appears, was introduced by an English showman, but was found to leave white marks when it rolled on the ground, having been white-washed for the occasion. Japan is much better known than Siam, but it has perhaps never been more thoroughly described to us than in Professor Rein’s work: “*Japan: Travels and Researches undertaken at the cost of the Prussian Government*,” of which a translation is now published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. The author is Professor of Geography at Marburg, and spent two years travelling in Japan in conformity with the commission of the Prussian Minister of Commerce, for the purpose of studying and describing the trade and industries of the island.—A future volume will deal with special commercial and industrial subjects; the present confines itself to the physical geography, the natural history, the ethnography, and the civil history of Japan. It is the authoritative work of a geographical expert, amply equipped for his task by the proper scientific preparation, and it is as clear and well arranged in its exposition as it is encyclopædic in its information.—A book of a very different character is “*A Tea Planter’s Life in Assam*,” by George M. Barker (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.). Mr. Barker found, when he was about to go to Assam, that in spite of its commercial importance, little or nothing had been written about it from which he could learn what lay before him. He determined to wipe away this reproach, and has supplied us with a very good and readable description of at least one phase of life there, accompanied by numerous illustrations drawn by himself. What may be called the business parts of the book are of most value. The processes of cultivating and preparing tea are clearly explained, and he has sensible remarks on coolie questions, brokers’ charges, and the like. He thinks one of the chief faults of the business at present is the scale of living the younger planters are adopting.—From Assam the cry is not far to Ceylon, whose situation is at present so critical on account of the blight of its main industry through the coffee-leaf disease. Information of an exact and trustworthy nature as to its present condition is therefore desirable, and may be obtained in short compass in “*Ceylon in 1883*,” by John Ferguson (London: Sampson Low & Co.). Mr. Ferguson takes a hopeful view of the prosperity of the colony, because the people are turning their attention to other products which may

eventually pay as well as coffee. Coffee itself was but a thing of yesterday in Ceylon. Mr. Ferguson describes the remarkable progress of the island, and the course of beneficial legislation under the different governors during the last fifty years.—In "Notes on the Caucasus" by Wanderer (London: Macmillan & Co.), we have a book that is not uninteresting, though it is loosely written and its information is neither novel nor always accurate. The best things in it are the anecdotes about Russian officers, police and other functionaries, though they are sometimes so coarse that the author has to resort to Latin to veil them, and he indulges all through in as much slang as if he had formed his style in the service of the sporting journals.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The *Gentleman's Magazine* is very much consulted for the valuable information it contains on points of antiquities, and the social history of the period it covers; and the idea was first suggested by Gibbon, the historian, that its principal contents should be collected, classified, and published in a separate and accessible form. The idea was partially acted upon by Dr. Walker in 1809; but it has awaited its full realization till now, when it has fallen into the competent hands of Mr. Gomme.\* The present volume is the division on social manners and customs, and contains [some most interesting matter, which might, however, with advantage be further divided into distinct sub-sections. Mr. Gomme adds some useful notes and a full index.—"The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare," by the Rev. T. F. Thisleton Dyer (London: Griffith & Farran), is a learned and workmanlike book, which renders an equal service to students of Shakespeare and to students of English folk-lore. All the allusions Shakespeare makes to the folk-lore of his country, and all the illustrations he draws from it—and they are very numerous—are here classified and explained, and the popular beliefs they embody are abundantly elucidated from the author's own wide and intimate acquaintance with the subject. It is a piece of solid, careful and valuable work.—Dr. Andrew Smart, who publishes some lectures on "Germs, Dust and Disease" (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace), is already known as having contributed by his own discoveries to the establishment or illustration of the germ theory of infectious diseases, and in these lectures he gives a lucid exposition of the theory and urges the adoption of various legislative measures for the control and prevention of such diseases. He strongly insists on their compulsory registration and the ampler provision of special hospital accommodation for them, as well as more thorough-going sanitary supervision of building operations, and subsequent continuous inspection of houses and streets. His remarks on overcrowding and the experience of Glasgow are very timely.—Sir Alexander Grant's "Story of the University of Edinburgh" (Longmans and Co.) is the first real history of the famous University of which he is the head; the previous works on the subject have been no more than *memoires pour servir*. It is a piece of solid and

\* "The *Gentleman's Magazine* Library." Being a Classified Collection of the chief contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by George Lawrence Gomme, F.S.A. "Manners and Customs." London: Elliot Stock.



genuine work, which the author presents very modestly to the world, as an offering on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the College. Sir Alexander first gives an account of the Papal Universities in Scotland that preceded it, with the purpose of explaining the peculiarities of the University system of Scotland, and then unfolds the gradual development of his own University, from its small beginnings under Pollock, till it is now, in point of numbers, one of the largest in the world. An interesting account is given of all its professors from the first, and many curious particulars of its relations with the Church and with the Municipality.—Mr. A. M. Broadley's "How we Defended Arabi" (Chapman and Hall), is a vigorous and lively narrative of historical transactions, in which the author played an important part, and besides being an entertaining book of the season, it has a certain documentary value. But it is more than this, it is also a claim for the recall of Arabi to power. The motto of the book, "Allah make thee Conqueror, oh Arabi," is its keynote. Mr. Broadley has a very enthusiastic admiration for his client, and is no doubt right in holding his insurrection to have been a nationalist one, in which all Egypt sympathized; but that is not enough to show that he could be of real service in the situation now.—Mr. R. H. Shepherd has collected from the newspapers the speeches delivered by Charles Dickens between the years 1841 and 1870, and published them, together with a revised and enlarged bibliography of Dickens's works, in a volume, "Speeches of Charles Dickens," just issued by Messrs. Chatto and Windus. They were delivered on many different kinds of occasions, and will be prized by all lovers of our best loved novelist.

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NOTE.—The Rev. Prebendary Row wishes to withdraw the words "deliberate unfairness" in his notice of Mr. Greg's work in our last issue, as conveying more than he intended to imply.

## FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

*The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, chiefly told  
in his own Letters. Edited by his Son, FREDERICK  
MAURICE. With Portraits. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co.*

"**T**HEN said I, Ah, Lord God, they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?" The people who said this meant that the prophet was unintelligible to them. His sayings were to them dark sayings. They perhaps could not at once have pointed out which particular sayings they were unable to understand; but some obscurity there was, which made the prophet's speech disagreeably perplexing to their minds. Yet he desired to be understood by those to whom he addressed himself. No genuine prophet has ever been the mechanical vehicle of enigmas which waited for fulfilment as their key. The Hebrew prophet was an impassioned preacher, pouring forth warnings and encouragements to his own generation. There is a pathetic tone of disappointment and distress in the complaint with which Ezekiel turns to his God: "Ah, Lord God! they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?"

In some such words Mr. Maurice was accustomed to utter the feeling of deep distress with which he found himself regarded by most of those around him as difficult to understand. The discovery was a continual surprise to him. His place, also, was among the prophets. He had the strongest desire to be as plain and emphatic as possible. But, whilst he lived and was pouring out his eager utterances, to most of those who heard him his prophesyings were baffling and obscure. They did not know exactly what to make of him. They could not help feeling that he was a most impressive person, but they soon perceived that he was neither one thing nor another—neither Conservative nor Liberal, neither High nor Low nor yet Broad. It was not easy to see what he was driving at. And during the twelve years that have passed since his death, only the few who have been drawn to him by an inward sympathy have



studied with any appreciative interest the volumes which he has left behind him. It is probable that his writings become less easy to understand as the circumstances which called them forth, and of which they are full, pass out of memory.

The "Life" which has just appeared, and for which his son and biographer Col. Maurice has found abundant material in letters addressed to many correspondents, will have a profound interest for those who desire to obtain a closer knowledge of Mr. Maurice and to understand better what was peculiar and characteristic in him. And the general impression that will be left on the mind of an intelligent reader will be, that he must be looked at as a "prophet," or be put aside as an incomprehensible fanatic. The critic may as well pass him by as hardly worth his notice, unless he will take the trouble to observe how a man, believing himself to be born with a prophetic mission, delivered his testimony in this nineteenth century. All accounts of him like that which the Poet Laureate has made popular in his charming Invitation, representing him as a practical philanthropist who was at the same time fearlessly true to his personal convictions, are so inadequate as to be misleading. He had an ardent wish to be practical, and he tried hard to be what he wished; but he had to struggle against noticeably unpractical tendencies in his nature and inclinations. When he was engaged in practical work, his mind was nearly sure to be occupied with the principle or idea which his work was illustrating. He had, indeed, a strong and conscious reverence for facts; but it was for facts as revealing an order, a method, a purpose. His intense desire to sow seed, of principles and ideas, which should bear fruit in institutions and other outward realities, was not without reward; and he was a founder as well as a prophet in relation to the co-operative movement and to the higher education of women and of working men. But his strong points were not those of the inventive philanthropist or the efficient organizer. His fellow-workers early came to regard him as one who brought them inspiration, and those who valued him most learnt to look up to him and to accept his testimony. His letters make it perfectly clear that he regarded his own position as a peculiar one. He had hardly reached manhood when he began to believe that a special task of witness-bearing was laid upon him.

Allowance must at the same time be made for one distinct cause of obscurity in his writings, which may be rightly ascribed to a peculiar modesty, but which is not unconnected with his prophetic impulse and manner—his habit of alluding to opinions and movements with which his readers or hearers could not be reasonably assumed to be familiar, as if the faintest hint was sufficient to bring them clearly to their minds. It was his instinct to think others better informed than himself; and then he never thought of himself

as communicating information, but always as seeking to awaken some inquiry or conviction in those whom he addressed. The very rapid movement of his style carries the reader on with it, so that he hardly takes account of some allusion on which the full understanding of a sentence or a paragraph may depend; and when the subject of the allusion is recognized, the reader may still be uncomfortably conscious of having been unable, for want of knowledge, to estimate duly the force of the comparison or the argument involved in it. But this is not the chief reason why Mr. Maurice has gained the character of being unintelligible. His whole spiritual work, as consciously undertaken and performed, demanded more of patient and exceptional attention than most men have cared to give to it. His contemporaries have had some excuse for being perplexed by him.\*

If it should seem to any that a consciousness of a prophetic vocation must imply a good deal of self-confidence, Mr. Maurice is a convincing example that this need not be so. There was in him an extraordinary and almost overpowering humility. His habit of self-depreciation and self-reproach was somewhat trying to his hearers; his readiness to ascribe to himself shameful shortcomings, helpless ignorance and inaptitude, hundreds of blunders, might seem to have become a mannerism. But no one can read the "Life" without seeing how painfully sincere all this feeling was. His mode of expression was habitually vehement: but self-depreciation was rooted in his hereditary constitution and deepened by his early history; and his fellowship with the Righteous Father, as it grew continually closer, made him only the more conscious of personal unworthiness.

As is so generally the case with remarkable men, Maurice owed what was uncommon in him to his mother rather than to his father. She had a rare depth of nature, in comparison with which her husband's spiritual capacity was but ordinary. There is a mildly tragic element in the inner history of the grave Puritan family of which Frederick Maurice was a member. The father was a Unitarian minister and took pupils; the family had good connexions and were in comfortable circumstances. Frederick was the only son; three daughters were born before him, and five after him. An hereditary Puritanism formed the religious atmosphere of the family.

\* The late Charles Buxton, whose nobly ingenuous mind could not fail to be impressed by Maurice's spiritual authority, told me once that he had recently mentioned him to Lord Macaulay, asking if he had in any way become acquainted with him. "Oh, that is the man," answered Macaulay in a tone of scornful impatience, "that wants to apply a sponge to the National Debt." Charles Buxton expressed a doubt whether this was so; but Lord Macaulay was quite confident that he was right. I was unable to guess what could be meant, so I asked Mr. Maurice himself if he could suggest any explanation. "I think," said Mr. Maurice, with a patient smile, "he must have confused me with Francis Newman, who has proposed some questionable plan of paying off the Debt."



The father was personally an intelligent Liberal of his time, held in esteem by those who knew him, and receiving the full tribute of dutiful affection from wife and children. But the mother's nature, essentially shy and reserved, was driven inwards by the absence of anything which could tempt it to expand. Her force was reproduced in many of her daughters; in some of them with a readiness of self-assertion which was foreign to her character. When Frederick was ten years old, the three elder sisters renounced Unitarianism; and in a letter written to her father, though he was then in the house, the youngest of them, sixteen years old, gives him this emphatic notice: "We do not think it consistent with the duty we owe to God to attend a Unitarian place of worship." The father replies in a few words, expressing deep distress. There is an observation in one of Mr. Maurice's dialogues, which evidently describes his own mother: "My mother's Calvinism came to me sweetened by her personal gracefulness, by her deep charity and great humility." Ten months after the daughter's letter, the mother writes to her husband as follows:—

"I am truly unhappy, my dearest friend, to see how much you suffer. I wish it were in my power to comfort you. . . . I can think of only one cause by which we can in any way have been led to the present circumstances—a desire that our children should be serious . . . . It can be no *shame* to us that we were obliged to resort to authors of different *opinions* from ourselves, to give our children serious impressions, to teach them the end for which existence was bestowed upon them. It is, however, a shame to Unitarians in general that they have so few books of this kind. From my own experience, I can say that I am driven to read books which continually introduce doctrines that I cannot discover in the Scriptures, because I find so few Unitarian publications that make an impression on the heart, influencing it by forcible motives to right conduct. You feel an anxiety that the youngest children should not be biassed to doctrines which have separated the elder ones in religious worship from us, though I must say we were never so united in *duty* . . . . Accomplishments and literature will neither enable them to discharge their duties, nor support their minds in the numerous trials they must have to endure. How anxious I am that now, whilst their minds are tender and easily impressed, they could have books that would give them right views of life, plain directions for duty, and the greatest supports in affliction! I should not like to be responsible for withholding *principles* from them, for fear of their imbibing *doctrines* different from my own. [In this distinguishing between principles and doctrines we see one of her son's most constant testimonies anticipated.] But in this I cannot judge for you, for though I lament our children's opinions on account of the sorrow you feel, I cannot bring my mind to regret them, whilst I see that they are influential in producing good fruits."

In the course of another year Mrs. Maurice became alienated from the Unitarian creed. "In September, 1821," writes Col. Maurice, "she gave her husband a paper which, in consequence of her great distress at causing him trouble, seems to have taken her nearly a year in composing, to ask him how she could, with least pain to him, attend

some other public worship than his." The husband, in reply, refers to the younger children: "I will require their attendance on my ministrations and their assembling at my domestic altar till they can assign a satisfactory reason for their own separation. I have the painful, the afflicting, prospect, from all they see and hear, that they will follow the steps of those who may one day feel the anguish I now feel." The anticipation was fulfilled. All the members of the family, except the father, ceased to be Unitarians. The mother followed her daughters in adopting Calvinistic views; but she could never quite satisfy herself that she was one of the elect.

The young Frederick Maurice grew up at home, his father's pupil, and did not formally renounce Unitarianism till after he had left Cambridge. All accounts represent him as having been from the first peculiarly sensitive, dutiful, and unselfish. His cousin, Dr. Goodeve, thus writes of him:

"We were brought up very much together. Sons of two dear sisters, almost in the same nursery, in the same school as boys, and continually associated as young men till I went to India in 1830 (when Frederick Maurice was twenty-five), I had great opportunities of watching his early character and progress, and I rejoice to have an occasion of repeating now, what I often said then, that during that time I never knew him to commit even an ordinary fault or apparently to entertain an immoral idea. He was the gentlest, most docile and affectionate of creatures; but he was equally earnest in what he believed to be right, and energetic in the pursuit of his views. It may be thought an extravagant assertion, a mere formal tribute to a deceased friend and companion, but, after a long and intimate experience of the world, I can say with all sincerity that he was the most saintlike individual I ever met—*Christ-like*, if I dare to use the word."

To such a boy, endowed with those intellectual and spiritual powers which afterwards became manifest, the earnest differences of belief on vital questions which broke the family harmony must have been intensely painful, and the occasion of incessant anxious inquiry. Few indications remain of what were his inner thoughts during that interesting period of his life. Mr. Maurice himself says, in an autobiographical fragment, "these years were to me years of moral confusion and contradiction;" but he does not further lift the veil. It seems to be certain that till he was nearly twenty-five he kept his struggles and searchings and most inward convictions to himself. There is one exception to this reticence, a tantalizing one. It had been assumed that he would become a minister like his father; but at the age of sixteen he expressed a desire to go to the bar, and this led to his leaving home for a time. During this absence he became intimately acquainted with a lady, a friend of the family, who was a disciple of Mr. Erskine, of Linlathen. Some correspondence took place between them, and her letters, but not his, appear to have been preserved. He spoke of himself with more than a youthful melancholy, as "a being destined to a few short years of



misery here, as an earnest of and preparation for the more enduring state of wretchedness and woe," and applied to himself the phrase, "The heart knoweth its own bitterness." His correspondent asks him, "Where is your authority for regarding any individual of the human race as *destined* to misery either here or hereafter?" and appeals to the character of God, which, if He is Love, must be traduced by such a representation. Col. Maurice observes, "It is evidently the first time that this idea has ever been presented to his mind." If this is so, it will follow that from this lady came the most important seed that was ever dropped into Frederick Maurice's mind—the seminal principle of what was most characteristic in his theology. But for some years there is no distinct sign of its having taken root. His utterances during his Cambridge life, and for a little time after, abundant and eager as they were, dealing with literature and philosophy and life, containing the germs of what he was afterwards accustomed to teach on such subjects, are yet, in marked distinction from his later utterances, expressly untheological. The thought of God was in his mind, a clear and overmastering faith in God was forming itself there, and was really the root of his other beliefs, but he has not yet the freedom to name God. Writing to his father in February, 1829, he says: "One reason why I have not enjoyed as much happiness as I might is that I have felt a painful inability to converse even with those who loved me best upon the workings of my mind. . . . My lips have been hermetically sealed to those who had a right to expect frankness from me." He makes confession of this as a "crime." But we may trace his reticence to causes which the "Life" sets plainly before us,—his constitutional reserve and self-distrust, his sensitive and reverential attachment to a Unitarian father and a Calvinist mother, and the steady growth of convictions which diverged equally from Unitarianism and Calvinism. The letter in which he makes these reproaches against himself was written shortly after a visit to his home, in which, as Col. Maurice says, "he for the first time spoke out at least part of his thoughts to his mother and his sister Emma." Till then, his father seems to have hardly been aware that his son also had found Unitarianism wanting. From that time his theology begins to appear in his letters, and to form more and more the staple of them. Whilst he was musing on things unknown to those nearest to him, the fire kindled, and at the last he spake with his tongue.

There is sufficient evidence that Maurice made a strong impression on the most intellectual of his contemporaries at Cambridge. Their high estimate of him must have been due to the loftiness of his character, his ardent utterance, and, above all, his penetrating insight. His extreme shyness must have created difficulties in intercourse; he had no academical distinction, no variety or versatility

of endowments. But those who were wishing to understand themselves and things around them, found in Maurice a grasp of ideas and principles, an intolerance of conventional fallacies, a defiance of the authority of the world, a power of discerning method and order, which constrained them to look up to him. As a measure of the admiration which it has been possible to entertain for Maurice as a thinker and seer, I will mention—not without shrinking a little from the smile which the estimate will call forth from the ordinary critic—what Archdeacon Hare once said to me. Referring expressly to the highest endowments, he declared his belief that no such mind as Maurice's had been given to the world since Plato's. But assuredly no one possessing great mental powers has ever laid them more deliberately at the foot of the Cross. Having learnt to see all things in God, the God revealed through Christ, he accepted it as his one vocation to bear witness of God. There was no sphere of thought or life which to him was exempt from the presence and operation of God; there was none in which he was not himself interested, and on which the acknowledgment of God did not seem to him to throw some light. He believed that God was dealing with every man; and he would sometimes speak as if to name God,—the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,—might be enough to awaken a recognition of the Divine presence in the heart of a hearer. His writings are mostly sermons; but in any writing of his what might be called a tendency to preach was nearly sure to be perceptible. If he was giving a history of events or of thought, he could not describe them without seeking to see and to show how some Divine purpose was revealing itself through the things he was relating. When he says paradoxically in one of these letters that he found the book of Isaiah much easier to understand than Lord Mahon's history, he means, no doubt, that Lord Mahon did not help him to see the meaning, below the surface, by which the occurrences which he reported were connected together and made instructive.

He himself was ardent in interpreting movements and institutions from the point of view of a Divine education of mankind. He took for granted that every leading man, every social creation, had some witness to bear. Of no other man could it be said that he lived more completely in the region of ideas; of no other, that he had a more genuine reverence for facts. He had a great scorn for abstractions; history of all kinds was the authority to which he paid homage. He always declined to consider the opinions of any philosopher apart from his life. Towards all institutions coming down from the past—monarchy, aristocracy, the National Church, other religious bodies,—he had what might seem a somewhat blind Conservatism; but it was because he regarded them as commissioned to do some Divine work, or set forth some aspect of the Divine



nature: and so far as the existing representatives of such institutions failed to execute their commission, he held that they were doomed to be set aside. His unvarying formula from the beginning of his speculations was, that all that was positive in any system was good, all that was negative was bad. The cautious reader of "The Kingdom of Christ," of "The History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," of the Cambridge Lectures, will often feel that he is being hurried on too fast, that he is expected to know and see and discriminate, where he is looking for information. But he may always take for granted that the author is looking for the living truth, the Divine meaning, in every opinion or system or personal history that he touches, and that he wishes his reader to apprehend this for himself. Mr. Maurice evidently describes his own aim as well as that of others, when in an early review of Hare's "Guesses at Truth," written when he was twenty-three, he speaks of those "who make it their great object to set free their own minds and those of their fellow-men, to feel as deeply and think as earnestly as they can, and to teach others to do so; who would bring us to truth, not by tumbling us into a stage-coach,—none of which travel that road, and which would certainly take us wrong,—but by lending us a staff and a lantern, and setting us forward on our way for ourselves." Such persons, he justly says, are not the most popular sort of guides.

One stumbling-block, for which the reader of Maurice should be prepared, is his continual denunciation of systems and opinions as distinguished from principles and methods. It is hopeless to understand him without being able in some degree to apprehend this distinction. When it is apprehended, it will assuredly be felt to be a most real and vital one. Mr. Maurice hardly assumes that, at the best, we can do without systems and opinions. But he assumes, what every one will admit, that truth and reality exist independently of all systems and opinions; and he assumes further, that men in general are continually forgetful of this independence of truth. They are so from two impulses. The logical faculty, which, as Mr. Maurice held, has a very inferior power for the discovery of truth as compared with the spiritual nature and the experience of life, is busy and self-assertive, and delights in the creation of a system. And the system which a man has built up or chosen he is apt to value as his own, and to be ready to uphold and contend for. Truth needs to be sought humbly, and with deference to the deeper instincts and to the demonstrations of experience. Mr. Maurice always claimed the methods of inductive philosophy as not only sound in their own sphere, but as the right methods of moral and spiritual investigation. But truth, to him, was identical with the nature and purposes and works of God; of God who was always teaching men and drawing them to Himself. He was instant,

therefore, in warning others and himself against substituting devotion to a system and opinions for the habit of searching after the living truth. Logical completeness he regarded as a snare; logical difficulties had very little effect upon him. The vital question was what view met the needs of the spirit and of human society, what apprehensions got hold of the foundations of life, in what faith men might struggle into victory and light. In respect of his own opinions Mr. Maurice was by no means tenacious. To those about him he always seemed, in practical matters, singularly modest and humble. He was sometimes rather alarmingly ready to adopt suggestions made by any in whose judgment he had confidence. But it is needless to say with what fearless devotion and eagerness he maintained a truth which appeared to him to be impugned.

It might strike some as a paradox that, whilst thus distrusting systems, Mr. Maurice insisted so strongly upon the value of Creeds and Articles. There may have been something of the enthusiasm of a convert in this insistence. But it seemed to him a sure fact of experience that the Creeds of the Church Catholic and the Articles of the Church of England served to "deliver men from the tyranny" of the systems and opinions of the day. He revered the Creeds because they set forth the Divine nature and Divine acts as objects of human faith. The Thirty-nine Articles he regarded with less reverence, but with genuine respect, as setting forth, in language which had issued from a time of earnest spiritual conflict, the special position of the Church of England, for the guidance of its clergy. Of all things that he thought enslaving, the dominion of religious public opinion seemed to him the most deadly. He was not the less likely to entertain this feeling, because the religious opinion of his day contradicted some of his own most cherished convictions. Against this opinion he took his stand on the Creeds and Articles. In these, as in all things, he looked to the vital constitutive principle rather than to details of expression. Subordinate phrases or statements he claimed the right, or it appeared to him to be the rational course, to interpret somewhat freely in accordance with the dominant principle. Looking to their substance, he was in the closest sympathy with the Articles as well as with the Creeds. He even defended the signing of the Articles by youths as the condition of entrance at Oxford, in a pamphlet of which Archdeacon Hare spoke as follows:—

"I know no work comparable to it in reach and depth and power of philosophic thought produced by any minister of our Church within the last hundred years; and though my opinion on the immediate topic was and still is different from the one therein maintained, I never read a book which so compelled me to love and revere its author."

He defended also the Athanasian Creed, affirming with vehemence



that no document warned him so solemnly not to think of men as likely to be punished for intellectual errors. He changed his opinion, however, about the policy both of imposing the Oxford subscription and of requiring the Athanasian Creed to be read in churches.

I have spoken of his being animated by the enthusiastic partiality of a convert. Certainly, the Church of England, as a branch of the Church Catholic, never had a more passionately loyal adherent. This statement may surprise some who have heard of him as a somewhat freethinking clergyman. But those who read this "Life" will see that the loyalty of a convert remained steadfast in him to the end of his days. It was not till he was twenty-eight, in January, 1834, that he was ordained. When he left Cambridge, at the age of twenty-one, he came to London with the intention of preparing for the bar, but for some three years he was chiefly occupied with literary journalism, making no profession of theological belief. At the end of that time he let it be known that he had been inclining towards the ministry of the Church of England; and, urged apparently by no more definite reason than impulses of humility, he determined to go through the undergraduate course at Oxford. He went there in 1829, and took his degree in 1831. It was a time of peculiar interest, when the thoughts which presently found expression in the Oxford movement and in the Tracts for the Times were stirring in the minds of several persons whose influence was already highly attractive in the university. But there is no sign that this movement produced any such impression upon him as to disturb or modify the progress of his own belief. He was becoming more and more convinced that he was called to bear witness to the perfect character of the One God. He writes to a sister in January, 1831:—

"I think I am beginning to feel something of the intense pride and atheism of my own heart, of its hatred of truth, of its utter lovelessness; and something I do hope that I have seen very dimly of the way in which Christ, by being the Light and Truth manifested, shines into the heart and puts light there, even while we feel that the light and truth is still all in Him, and that in ourselves there is nothing but thick darkness. . . . The thought that had been brought to me as if from heaven,—'the light of the sun is not in you, but out of you, and yet you can see everything by it if you will open your eyes,'—gave me more satisfaction than any other could."

But his attachment to the historical Church of England was at the same time growing closer and more vital. Our national Church was never separated in his mind from the Church Catholic. His early work "The Kingdom of Christ," is an exposition of the nature and characteristics of the Church as a universal spiritual society. But the nationality of the Church in England was almost as dear to him as the catholicity of the Church throughout the world. The

nation was in his view as Divine a creation as the Church. He could not think of either as without the other. The nation, he held, was properly Protestant; the Church was properly Catholic. In the Church of England he found a satisfying home; and nothing pleased him more than to justify and interpret all its institutes and all its services from the point of view of faith in the living God.

There was a good deal in what he said about the Church and the sacred ministry and the sacraments that seemed to connect him with the High Church party; as did his almost scornful repudiation of Liberalism. For a short time after he was ordained he was regarded by the Oxford High Churchmen as a man who might give them valuable assistance; but Dr. Pusey's Tract on Baptism shewed him what fundamental differences separated them and him. Mr. Strachey writes, in October, 1836: "I heard him say that he had read Pusey's Tract with the greatest pain, and the conclusion he came to after it was, that if it were true, he might as well leave off preaching, for he could have no message to declare to men from God." And about the same time Maurice complains that the High Churchmen were by preference regarding the doctrines of the Church as authoritative dogmas rather than as truths, and desiring to keep the world always in the condition of childhood. I have seen a long letter written to him by Dr. Pusey, which sufficiently proves how unintelligible his position and language were to the Oxford leader. It is a kindly meant lecture, given *de haut en bas*, expressing much annoyance, and mixing correction, reproof, and encouragement. The feeling, too prevalent in the High Church party, that the world was without the direct action of the living God except so far as special Church media or channels could be provided for such action, was enough to put them out of sympathy with Maurice. But he was not drawn to any other party. The spirit of party was always a godless one in his eyes; and he felt a strong conviction that it was his duty, more than that of other men, to stand entirely aloof from all the parties of the day. His letters show how sensitive he was as to the danger of forming another party, were it only a "no-party" party. If there was one thing upon which he was resolved, it was that he would make it impossible to use his name as a party one. That he did not belong to either the High Church party or the Evangelical is easily understood; but it has been very common to reckon him as a leader in the Broad Church party. This description of him became known to Mr. Maurice, and it provoked him into vehement repudiations of "Broad Churchism." Liberalism was the hereditary creed which he had rejected; he had tried it and found it superficial. He did not recognize in it any testimony to the living God; on the contrary, it often seemed to assume that the time was come when the living God might, or must, be dispensed with. The



Oxford Broad Churchism, represented in one generation by Archbishop Whately, in the succeeding by Professor Jowett, was what he chiefly had in view when he refused to be called a Broad Churchman; but it is certain that the more plausibly a party name might be applied to him, the more anxiously would he disclaim it. He refers from time to time to the isolated position which he felt constrained to take up; it had accompaniments which were painful to him, but he faced them deliberately; what he had to say to his contemporaries required that he should almost ostentatiously separate himself from parties. His interest in politics was deep and ardent, and he took for the most part the Liberal side in the political agitations of his time; but he did not take his side under the dictation of Liberalism. He was equally ready to justify Toryism and Liberalism by pointing out the sound positive principle at the heart of each; whilst the "platform" and partisanship of each were equally distasteful to him.

There were two controversies into which Mr. Maurice threw his whole heart and soul, and by which all that was characteristic in his theology was displayed. His watchword in the one was Eternal Life; in the other, Revelation. In both he was not acting as the champion of one school against another, but was bearing a solitary testimony in opposition to what was supported by a nearly unanimous consensus of the religious opinion of the time.

It is not easy for those who are breathing the freer air of the present day to realize how imperatively, before the controversy of Mr. Maurice with Dr. Jelf, at least a silent acquiescence in the doctrine of a hopeless future for all who died without having turned to God was demanded by the current orthodoxy. This hopeless future of never-ending torment was the basis and first doctrine of religion—the pivot upon which all preaching turned. Hell was the name of hopeless evil; heaven of secure bliss. "Die converted, and you will go to heaven; die unconverted, and you will go to hell; and you may die this moment." This was called the Gospel—a word which means good news. The doctrine that all were to be made happy in the world to come was associated, to Mr. Maurice's mind, with a heterodox liberalism which had become repugnant to him; after he became a Churchman he had an almost passionate prejudice in favour of Catholic orthodoxy. It was not by any tradition or opinion of a school that he was led to rebel against that version of the Gospel. It was the perfect character of God, of which, as he would have said, he had been allowed to have glimpses, that moved him. It had become impossible for him to acquiesce in any account of God's dealings with men, which represented them as essentially unequal, unjust, unloving. "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all," could not be an unmeaning proposition to him. It

was not that he did not know the mystery of sin or feel the weight of guilt; to few men that have ever lived has sin been more awful. He knew that God could not compel any man to repent against his will; he could foresee no point of time at which a man must necessarily cease to be impenitent. He had no weak shrinkings from severe punishment. But the notion that the Father of all finally cut off from Himself, and from any possibility of repentance every man, woman, and child who in the few years of this life did not turn to Him, became intolerable to him. To admit it was to do dishonour to God. But that was not all: not only was the doctrine intolerable of itself—it dragged down all theology into a low materialism. Eternal life was commonly used in the received theology for never-ending bliss; but Mr. Maurice found that in St. John eternal life meant the knowledge of the only God and of Jesus Christ whom He sent into the world. It was clear that in the Gospel theology eternity was transfigured; instead of denoting infinite time, it signified that property of the Divine nature by which it was above and independent of time. Eternal life was the highest object of man's aspiration, the highest gift of God; but this was knowledge of God, fellowship with God, a partaking of the very life of God. All that was noble and elevating in religion seemed thrust aside and lost, when men were told that the one question for every man was how he could escape endless torment and obtain endless happiness. In his "Theological Essays," Mr. Maurice repudiated definitely and with emphasis this materialistic doctrine. He was at the time a Professor of King's College, and the Principal of the College, Dr. Jelf, felt called upon to impeach the language of the Essays as heterodox and dangerous. The result of his action was that Mr. Maurice was requested by the Council to resign the two Professorships which he was holding. I remember that on the day on which the chairs were declared vacant he was engaged to give a reading from Shakespeare in the schoolroom of a District in Whitechapel to which I had recently been appointed. He kept his engagement and brought me the news. He spoke no word of anger or of blame; he was not depressed by his dismissal; it was evident that in his restrained and subdued manner he rather gloried in it. He would have welcomed more persecution than fell to his lot, if it had come to him without his provoking it, and if it had served to draw attention to his testimony. He was glad that men should hear that a Professor had been dismissed from King's College because he declared that God's love was about His creatures in the future state as well as in this world. Certainly the Principal and the Council could not have done a worse thing for the creed they supposed to be orthodox than to give occasion for this to be said. But Mr. Maurice was glad also that this dismissal was not an official



act compromising the Church of England. He was never under any official condemnation. None of the bishops under whom he served even threatened any Episcopal action against him. Bishop Tait forbade him to resign St. Peter's, Vere Street, when he wished to do so; the present Bishop of London pressed upon him the appointment of Whitehall Preacher. As years advanced, indeed, he found himself treated with a general respect, often deepened into reverence, which caused him some misgivings.

In the other controversy he took the aggressive part. Mr. Mansel, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, delivered a course of Bampton Lectures at Oxford, in which he maintained, for the confounding of unbelievers, that the nature of God is necessarily unknowable to man, and that any reasonings about that nature are futile; but that we have in the Bible a regulative Revelation given to us which we must accept for our guidance, and which it will be the worse for us if we do not follow. Mr. Mansel was so able, his knowledge so large and clear, and his argument seemed so to put philosophical infidels into a corner, that the Lectures were received by the religious world in general with delight and applause. Here, it was thought, were the weapons of the enemy turned against himself. Apologetic divinity, at the best, was distasteful to Mr. Maurice; he thought it injurious to Christianity that it should be continually arguing for its right to exist. But such an apology as Mr. Mansel's seemed to him the most utterly destructive assault upon Christianity that he could conceive. It made the whole Bible a delusion and imposture; it turned the Gospel into a law more dead and more deadening than any that St. Paul had in view. It was a blow in the face to his own special testimony; it defended any amount of apparent injustice in God's dealings with men, any views concerning God which were morally intolerable, on the ground that man's spiritual faculties could take no account of the ways of God; it reduced men's higher aspirations to the most mechanical calculation of personal advantage. No wonder that Mr. Maurice's mind took fire and blazed in indignant protest and defiance and invective against such teaching. His first attack on the Bampton Lectures, "What is Revelation?" was not, as his friends have always admitted, a specimen of calm and cool controversial writing. But it put the question on the true issue. According to Mr. Maurice's faith, the Eternal God, however incomprehensible, has been and is genuinely revealing Himself to the spiritual apprehension of His human creatures. The Bible is not a law, delivered as an infallible document for the government of men's lives, but a series of records describing successive stages of God's self-revelation. The Bible is a unique volume, because there was a special character attaching to the revelation of the Divine nature in Jewish history and in the person of Jesus Christ. But the revelation did not

cease when the last book of the New Testament was written. It is going on now; and the supremely worthy occupation for the mind of man is to be ever learning more of what God is communicating concerning Himself. It is the glory of the spiritual intuitions of the humblest of mankind that they are inspirations of the Divine nature. Man is bound to know himself as limited and dependent; but he has no right to disclaim community of view and purpose and will with the Eternal God Himself.

No believer in its infallibility has ever surpassed Mr. Maurice in genuine reverence for the Bible. He was accustomed, honestly and effectively, to claim its support for all the doctrines that were dearest to him. He could show, as regards this question of Revelation, that every book of the Bible assumed that God was revealing Himself to the human spirit, and not merely laying down laws for human life. It cannot be denied that the impeachments of its accuracy made by historical and scientific criticism were unwelcome to him, and caused him pain. Bishop Colenso's discoveries about the Pentateuch, in particular, were for several reasons the occasion of deep and prolonged unhappiness, which clouded many months of his life. All that he wrote under the stress of the Colenso trouble, like his part in the Mansel controversy, bears signs of emotion. What he had to say about the Bible and its relation to modern criticism in its two branches of history and physical science is summed up in his eloquent "Letters on the claims of the Bible and of Science." He believed that the things of man—human relations and endowments and experience—were the media and the sphere of Revelation; that non-human facts were by comparison insignificant. He gave—I think it may be said—a full unquestioning faith to all that was in the moral sense strictly human and Divine in the sacred records. He was almost indifferent about the accuracy of any but the human facts, those which had to do with human hopes and struggles, in the Old Testament as in other books. To make much of arithmetical or local details caused him an impatience which he could not repress. He would always go himself, and make others go if by any means he could, to the heart of the matter. The actual course of history was to him real and sacred. A recognized order and method in the history handed down by any records was a kind of verification of that history apart from adequately demonstrative evidence. It is obvious to object to such a view, that it makes a man's own notions of what is probable and orderly the ground of historical truth. Mr. Maurice never had to learn from critics what could be said against his views; but he was in the habit of thrusting aside many objections. If what he said was true, he trusted to its truth to support it; and he never shrank from speaking vehemently, even paradoxically.

"A very great exaggeration in numbers about the expedition of Xerxes—



trying adviser, Mr. J. M. Ludlow. But he was inevitably recognized as the leader and controller of the movement. The days of "Christian Socialism" were the days of most hope and activity in his life. He found himself the honoured chief of a band of ardent young men, including, besides Mr. Ludlow, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. With them working-men of high aspirations were associated; and they all felt the animation of an enthusiastic social effort, which was making a visible impression on the working class and on society in general. Mr. Maurice's views, then denounced as revolutionary and subversive, are moderate enough now. There was nothing of "State-Socialism" in the movement. It was limited to the establishment of voluntary co-operative associations, and to the preaching of union and fellow-work, rather than competition, as the foundation of the true social system. To the perplexity of some of those who worked with him, but in accordance with his characteristic faith, Mr. Maurice insisted that they were not trying to reorganize society, but only to discern the bases on which the actual society of which they were members was built. He would not admit that anything which held men together could be other than Divine. Personal greed of money was no part of the social system; it was that which was infesting and destroying it. The State, he affirmed, was an appointed witness and security for justice and personal rights; the Church was essentially communistic. He did not desire that the State should become socialistic; he desired that the Church should sincerely and practically bear witness that all men were brothers, and that progress was to come through mutual aid and fellow-work. Christian socialism was a voice through which much of his most earnest faith found utterance. So far as the co-operative movement failed to proclaim the living God and to affirm the Divine constitution of human society, Mr. Maurice had no special delight or hope in it.

He had always been greatly interested in education; he wrote about it when he was a youth at Cambridge. He afterwards warmly advocated the claim of the Church to be, rather than the State, the educator of the people. He held that it was impossible for human beings to be properly educated unless they were taught concerning God, and without the influences of love and hope. He never abandoned these convictions; but as to the organization by which education should or could be given, he waited with characteristic humility on the teaching of experience. When it was suggested to him that an institution should be established, by the action of professors of King's College, to qualify governesses for their work, and at the same time to offer sound teaching to other ladies, he welcomed the suggestion and threw himself heartily into the scheme. Of this movement, also, he naturally became the chairman; and Queen's College looks to him with reverence as its virtual founder.

if it can be proved—may make me doubt the information, or even the veracity, of Herodotus. It will not make me doubt the truth of a battle of Salamis, and a battle of Plataeæ. It will not make me doubt the grand truth that a set of tiny European republics discomfited the great monarchy of Asia. These events are taken out of the region of letters. They do not depend any longer on the credibility of records. They have established themselves in the very existence of humanity. You cannot displace them without destroying that, or remaking it anew, according to some theory and fashion of your own."

How far is a judgment like this true and safe? That is one of the pregnant questions which Mr. Maurice constrains those who will listen to him to ask. I will only here put by the side of these sentences of his one or two from M. Renan ("Les Évangiles," p. v.):—

"Les esprits qui n'aiment que la certitude matérielle ne doivent pas se plaire en de pareilles recherches. Rarement, pour ces périodes reculées, on arrive à pouvoir dire avec précision comment les choses se sont passées . . . Aristote avait raison de dire: 'Il n'y a de science que du général.' L'histoire elle-même, l'histoire proprement dite, l'histoire se passant en plein jour et fondée sur des documents, échappe-t-elle à cette nécessité? Non certes, nous ne savons exactement le détail de rien; ce qui importe, ce sont les lignes générales, les grands faits résultants et qui resteraient vrais quand même tous les détails seraient erronés."

That such a view leaves men without a definite opinion on a multitude of points of interest, without a conclusive answer to a number of questions that may reasonably be asked, was no argument against it. One who held, as Mr. Maurice did, that the living God was actually teaching mankind, could easily suppose that God trained men through much uncertainty to the knowledge which he thought good for them. On the most disturbing of all the recent discoveries of science, Mr. Maurice writes thus:

"The new inquiries respecting the antiquity of Man make some people tremble lest the story of Adam in Paradise should be shaken. My own anticipations from those inquiries are altogether hopeful. I know not in what they may issue. But while I have a strong conviction that, whatever way the facts go, they will make that simple story more simple and more intelligible to us, and will strip it of a thousand wilful additions, I have a still stronger conviction that we shall never really regard the Second Adam as Him by whom all things were created, and by whom all things consist—as the true Man, the actual image of the invisible God—till the first Adam occupies quite a different place in our divinity from that which he has occupied for several centuries."

Although Mr. Maurice's chief task was to prophesy, in the pulpit and out of it, he had, as I have intimated, some of the honour of a founder, through his connection with several creations to which he supplied the chief inspiration. I refer especially to the co-operative movement in England, to Queen's College, and to the Working Men's College.

In the beginning of the co-operative movement Mr. Maurice, to some extent, followed the lead of his devoted friend and sometimes



trying adviser, Mr. J. M. Ludlow. But he was inevitably recognized as the leader and controller of the movement. The days of "Christian Socialism" were the days of most hope and activity in his life. He found himself the honoured chief of a band of ardent young men, including, besides Mr. Ludlow, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. With them working-men of high aspirations were associated; and they all felt the animation of an enthusiastic social effort, which was making a visible impression on the working class and on society in general. Mr. Maurice's views, then denounced as revolutionary and subversive, are moderate enough now. There was nothing of "State-Socialism" in the movement. It was limited to the establishment of voluntary co-operative associations, and to the preaching of union and fellow-work, rather than competition, as the foundation of the true social system. To the perplexity of some of those who worked with him, but in accordance with his characteristic faith, Mr. Maurice insisted that they were not trying to reorganize society, but only to discern the bases on which the actual society of which they were members was built. He would not admit that anything which held men together could be other than Divine. Personal greed of money was no part of the social system; it was that which was infesting and destroying it. The State, he affirmed, was an appointed witness and security for justice and personal rights; the Church was essentially communistic. He did not desire that the State should become socialistic; he desired that the Church should sincerely and practically bear witness that all men were brothers, and that progress was to come through mutual aid and fellow-work. Christian socialism was a voice through which much of his most earnest faith found utterance. So far as the co-operative movement failed to proclaim the living God and to affirm the Divine constitution of human society, Mr. Maurice had no special delight or hope in it.

He had always been greatly interested in education; he wrote about it when he was a youth at Cambridge. He afterwards warmly advocated the claim, of the Church to be, rather than the State, the educator of the people. He held that it was impossible for human beings to be properly educated unless they were taught concerning God, and without the influences of love and hope. He never abandoned these convictions; but as to the organization by which education should or could be given, he waited with characteristic humility on the teaching of experience. When it was suggested to him that an institution should be established, by the action of professors of King's College, to qualify governesses for their work, and at the same time to offer sound teaching to other ladies, he welcomed the suggestion and threw himself heartily into the scheme. Of this movement, also, he naturally became the chairman; and Queen's College looks to him with reverence as its virtual founder.

Here, again, he waged war against the mercenary spirit. Eager competition for prizes was hateful and distressing to him. The pursuit of knowledge was degraded and corrupted by being adopted for the sake of what was to be got by it. It was one of his dearest hopes that Queen's College would be a witness to women of the upper and middle classes in behalf of the noblest ideals of education.

His aspirations were not less high with regard to the Working Men's College. That institution grew out of the co-operative movement. Whenever Mr. Maurice spoke about it, or addressed the members of it, he dwelt upon the duty and privilege and advantages of true human fellowship between the more educated and the less educated, upon the value of knowledge for its own sake, and upon its use as qualifying men to realize their places and to fulfil their functions in the social body. He never concealed his own conviction that the knowledge of God lay at the foundation of, and gave unity to, all other knowledge. The question how this conviction of his could be wrought into the action of the college was the occasion of some difficulties, perplexing both to him and to those who worked with him. Queen's College had been associated from the first with the Church of England; but it was not so with the Working Men's College. In establishing it, Mr. Maurice welcomed the aid of some who did not accept the creed of the Church. It was determined that no acceptance of any creed should be required of either teachers or students. But Mr. Maurice had a yearning desire, and a too sanguine hope, that the acknowledgment of God should in some way through personal influence hold a prominent place in the system of the college. It cannot be denied that he experienced a certain disappointment of this deeply cherished hope. But he took care that there should be no doubt as to his own conviction on this point, and the reverence paid to his name and spirit by all who were associated with him has at least secured that a Bible-class should take the first place in the list of classes of the college.

It was not only in the pulpit, as I have said, that Mr. Maurice was a preacher; and it was not in the exercise of his position as a clergyman that he became most widely known. But, from the time of his ordination to the end of his life, he was pouring the treasures of his heart and mind into weekly sermons which seemed to many of his hearers to have more of the Divine breath in them, to come with more power and light to the inward spirit, than any which they heard from other lips. No clergyman ever discharged his appointed duties with more anxious fidelity. For some thirty-three years, from 1836 to 1869, he was preaching in London; first at Guy's Hospital, then at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and then at St. Peter's, Vere Street. Towards the end of this time some of his friends believed that it would be an acceptable thing to liberal-minded men throughout the



country if the Government were to recognize his services by appointing him to a Deanery or Canonry. A friend who regarded him with reverence and affection, Mr. William Cowper, now Lord Mount Temple, had had the opportunity of recommending him to the Crown for the incumbency of St. Peter's. But whether he would even have accepted higher preferment is doubtful. The ideal which he had cherished was one which might almost have seemed to be mocked by preferment. He expressed his own feeling on the matter in a letter to the Bishop of Argyll (June, 1870):—

"I am sure you meant the letter in the *Pall Mall* most kindly. But may I be permitted to say that the only part of it which gave me real pleasure was the announcement that there is a 'vow registered in heaven' against my promotion? If, as I trust, that is so, I accept it as an answer to prayers which I offered from my inmost heart last autumn, when my friends talked to me about canonries and such things, that I might not be led into temptation by receiving offers which I felt that I ought to refuse. Supposing I could be of any service to the Church, it ought to be much more by enduring something for her—an honour of which I am not worthy—than by receiving oliveyards and vineyards from her. The Prime Minister, who represents the lay as well as the clerical feeling of the country, would, I think, be utterly wrong if he promoted me. For there is not a journal, from the *Saturday Review* to the *Record*, which does not speak of me as misty or mystical; and there is no charge so odious to every class of Englishmen as that. What party in the Church, high, low, or broad, would not disdain me as its representative?"

He was to receive, however, in his later years an appointment which he accepted with grateful pleasure, and which gave him congenial and happy employment for the rest of his life. He was greatly surprised when it was suggested to him, in the autumn of 1866, that the official electors might not be unwilling to choose him for the Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. Having been persuaded to offer himself as a candidate, he was elected almost by acclamation. Colonel Maurice dwells with reasonable satisfaction on the tribute thus paid to his father's intellectual standing. On going to Cambridge, Mr. Maurice was welcomed with a respect and sympathy for which he was not at all prepared, and which made all his relations with the University gracious and happy. He was always glad to speak with praise of what he saw at Cambridge. His Professorship afforded him an opportunity which he much valued, of giving a more definite and complete expression to the thoughts about morality of which his mind had been always full. The published Courses of Lectures on the Conscience and on Social Morality are the ripe fruits of a method which put forth its early leaves in the old Cambridge undergraduate days.

If it is pleasant to those who loved and honoured Mr. Maurice to look back to these concluding years of happy labour, they

must feel a more solemn joy in the records which his son has been able to give us of the last days. In the closing scenes of his life there was nothing unworthy of the faith and hope and love by which its noble efforts had been sustained. He died as he had lived. And such a man assuredly has not lived in vain. Some definite results, in the form of visible and permanent institutions, Mr. Maurice has bequeathed to the nation which he loved and served. Who shall say what he has left behind him, in the diffused effect of the principles and ideas to which he bore witness? He has, at all events, succeeded in one object of his efforts. No one can say that he has created a party to be added to the existing parties which wage war with one another in the Church of England. This is not to be wondered at, if I have been right in claiming a place for him "among the prophets." It is not in the order of things that a man sent into the world with a prophetic mission should end as the maker of a party. What he leaves behind him is his testimony, wrought into the life of his contemporaries, and preserved in his writings for the instruction of those who follow him. And such a feeling towards himself as Mr. Maurice inspired in those who really knew him, one of reverence so profound, so unalloyed, and so tender, is too rare and too heavenly an influence to be counted of no importance in the social movement of our time.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.



## TERRORISM IN RUSSIA AND TERRORISM IN EUROPE.

**T**IME was when dynamite seemed likely to remain the exclusive patrimony of Russian revolutionists—that is to say, of Nihilists—and to have no function outside the Muscovite Empire, except the innocent industrial one of exploding mines. But in the last year or two events have occurred, now in one place and now in another, which make this supposition questionable. In France, in Belgium, in Spain, in Italy, and even in England, there have been explosions of dynamite, of which the aim has been by no means industrial; and hardly a week passes without newspaper reports of the arrest of this person or that for carrying dynamite or bombs, or of the discovery of a dépôt of these infernal substances. It is true that the acts of terrorism committed in Europe have not as yet assumed a serious aspect, owing to the manifest want of organization in their preparation, the inexperience shown in their execution, and the defect of concerted plan by which they are all characterized. They are isolated attempts, evidently conceived and carried out by single individuals or by small groups, and may be regarded as experiments in the use of dynamite rather than as political acts; for in most cases it has been equally impossible to discover the individuals against whom they have been directed and the class it has been proposed to intimidate.

But may not this aspect of the matter change with time? The first step has been achieved, and it involves much: to the acts mentioned above, the significance of a policy has been imputed; dynamite has become the accredited symbol of anarchy, the banner of the extreme revolutionary party. And for a certain class of minds, extreme parties will always have peculiar attractions. Will it not be possible for all revolutionary spirits who have resorted to courses of destruction and violence, to unite themselves under this banner in a

single organization of a prudent and far-seeing character, which shall give a terrible concentration to these hitherto disconnected acts? It is not necessary to look far in order to find the country in which all this has already happened. The spectre of Russian terrorism rises before eyes dilated with panic, and forces upon us the question—are the bombs and explosives of the European terrorists merely extravagances of a few hot heads, or are we on the eve of a new era in the revolutionary movement? In order to answer this question, and, what is more important, to put the reader in a position to answer it for himself, we propose to pass in review the causes of Russian terrorism—considering them impartially and as far as possible objectively, not as a political tendency, but as historical facts, the inevitable and fatal result of special circumstances; by studying which we may perhaps come to understand the conditions of terrorism in general, and so qualify ourselves to form an opinion upon the terrorism of the present anarchy.

## I.

That which surprises and perplexes all those who interest themselves in the so-called Nihilists, is the incomprehensible contrast between their terrible and sanguinary methods and their humane and enlightened ideals of social progress: a contrast that is suggested most forcibly by their personal qualities. For, whenever these men come actually before the eyes of the public, every unprejudiced and independent observer is forced to recognize that, instead of the ferocious monsters their acts would suggest, they are in fact men of the gentlest disposition, evidently inspired by unselfish love for their country, and, more often than not, well-educated, refined, and belonging to the best society. How is it then, that men of this sort, not only commit so many deeds of blood, but defend them, and proclaim them openly as fair means of political warfare?

This is the peremptory question that every historian of the revolutionary movement in Russia has to answer. And accordingly each one in turn first approaches the phenomena of terrorism from a psychological point of view, and shows how this apparent contradiction is explained by the conduct of the Government towards the Socialists. On this point it may be said that there is but one opinion among competent judges; all, without distinction of party, have pronounced in favour of the Nihilists.

When a Government considers all things permitted against a particular section of its subjects, and hunts them down like wild beasts without mercy and without truce, the persecuted body are, *ipso facto*, absolved from all civil obligations. The social pact ceases to exist for them, and unable to put themselves under the protection of the



civil law they are constrained to appeal to the natural instinct of self-defence and retaliation, which, under the name of Lynch law, prevails in the forests of the New World, where there are neither judges nor tribunals—as, in Russia, there are none for the Socialists.

A very good exposition of the gradual progress of the terroristic tendency under the influence of Government repression, was given by Prince Kropotkin in an article on Nihilism, published in the *Fortnightly Review* of May, 1882, to which I would refer my readers.

It is, however, a mistake to treat the ferocity of the system of repression as the sole, or even the principal, cause of terrorism in Russia. The acts we are considering have never been mere measures of personal defence or vengeance—they have always contained an element of aggression, of war; they have had a general purpose; they represent, in short, a *system of political strife*. And as such they have been adopted; by which I mean, that in the present condition of Russian affairs it is hoped, by these means, to realize approximately, if not entirely, the common aim of the party—that is to say, the liberty of the country.

Liberty won by assassination! exclaim the good people. The phrase has an ugly sound. We are the first to acknowledge it and to regret it. But is the idea altogether new? Is not Timoleon, the liberator of Syracuse, universally celebrated as a hero, though he slew his own brother to deliver his country from a tyrant? The executions of Charles I. in England and of Louis XVI. in France, were they not called legal assassinations by Royalists? And were they not really such? Yet who can deny that these acts helped the cause of liberty in the countries in which they were perpetrated? Why then should not the assassination of Alexander II. prove equally useful? But let us not involve ourselves in moral considerations. It is not the apology for terrorism that we are making, but the analysis of it. The task before us is to inquire rather than to palliate. We will therefore leave the reader to apply for himself the French maxim—*tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*.

The anomaly presented by the struggle for liberty in Russia is but a reflection of the anomalies inherent in the social condition of the country.

In other countries where liberal ideas have been developed concurrently with the material and intellectual development of the classes that stand in need of them, the result has been the overthrow of the autocracy by the revolutionary movement; the *bourgeoisie*, valuing itself upon its influence with the working-class, and especially with the more intelligent and excitable operatives of the towns, has stirred up the people to overthrow the *ancien régime*, and establish upon its ruins the parliamentary institutions that belong to the new political order. But in Russia nothing of this

sort is possible. The whole nation languishes under its barbarous and incapable Government; and the working-class, reduced to literal starvation, suffers most of all. Profoundly discontented with its position, it is given up to dreams of agrarian communism. We have here the elements of a vast popular revolution that should loosen the joints of the existing order from the base to the summit of the social fabric. In the beginning, the Socialists entertained the dream that Russia would accept the situation, and pass by one leap from despotism to socialism. But the actual course of events has cruelly exposed the fallacy of such hopes; and it is now inexorably evident that the overthrow of the autocracy is an indispensable first step towards progress of any kind. The means by which such a political revolution could be worked are, however, presently wanting in Russia, and they are likely to be wanting for a time that cannot be calculated. The operatives of the towns make an insignificant part of the population, and they are distinguished from the rest by no special intelligence. The *bourgeoisie* is only beginning to exist; and that of the country and the provincial towns which alone has influence, is quite uncultivated: it can barely read and write, and is anything but liberal in its ideas.

There remains the mixed class of cultivated and educated people—in Russia called “the intelligent class”—that has no distinctive origin, or even position, except such as comes by professional or official occupation, and includes nobility and *bourgeoisie*, sons of the Church, as well as employés of the Government. It is upon this class, nourished from childhood on the liberal thoughts of the best European thinkers and permeated by the most advanced democratic ideas, that the actual despotism presses most painfully. But, with a cruel irony, this class is deprived of its natural support by the moral gulf that separates it from the people.

This social chasm is the supreme misfortune of our country. Left to itself, without means of enlightenment, the people is given over to mediæval prejudices in politics and religion, and becomes the docile and unconscious instrument by which the Government maintains the very *régime* under which it suffers; while the cultivated classes, deprived of support, are placed in a truly desperate position. In their own country, surrounded by compatriots in speech and in blood, their condition is that of a race numerically small but of superior culture, subject to conquering barbarians.

This then is the anomaly in the social state that produces the anomaly of the political issue. There was only one course by which it could have been obviated—that the Government, accepting the situation, should have voluntarily abstained from using the material forces at command to oppress this new nation within the nation that has been begotten by the ardour of the Western breeze, on the plains of the



Muscovite Empire. The part of a generous conqueror would have been to recognize that this new nation had its needs and its sacred rights, however incapable it might be of asserting them by force. But this the Government has never done, and in truth cannot do, without renouncing the autocracy. It has gone to the opposite extreme and treated the new class with a brutality rather Vandal than European. Every manifestation, however slight, of that independence of spirit which is the very breath of life to intelligent citizens—every freedom of thought or of speech, it has been the policy of the Government to requite with exile or the galleys. Rebellion was inevitable, and we have it in fact. Turn Nature out by the door and she comes back through the window. Unable to resort to open revolution, "intelligent Russia" is in a state of permanent passive rebellion; and by refusing all service and aid to the powers that be, contrives to paralyze such small efforts at reform as are attempted by the Government, which is thus driven to confide in unscrupulous and incompetent adventurers. Another result of this isolation of the cultivated class, and one specially interesting to us here, is the formation of a *milieu*, in which those whose patriotic feeling is strong enough to make them indifferent to personal risk can find moral support and encouragement even though they go the length of open rebellion. For in this class there is no disposition to be squeamish about the means resorted to by the more desperate spirits; the inequality of the forces pitted one against the other is so well appreciated—the wrongs, the griefs, the outrages, are so intimately felt—that everything is justified, everything applauded, provided the blow strikes to the heart of the enemy, and the serpent that strangles the whole nation is made to writhe.

These are, in our opinion, the principal causes leading, among us, to the system of war known by the name of terrorism. The repressive measures of the Government do but supply the kindling spark: they educate Socialists in the implacable hatred of oppressors, and they determine the first acts of terrorism, but they do not create terrorism: without the political and social conditions already indicated, these manifestations would remain isolated acts of self-defence and vengeance, and could never achieve the importance belonging to the systematized policy of a whole party. On the other hand—supposing for a moment that an impossibility had occurred—that the actual autocratic Government, while continuing to oppress the country, had treated the Socialist party with the utmost mildness; we still think it more than probable that terrorism would none the less have made its appearance in Russia—with only this difference, that in that case the movement would have begun at the point of aggression—that is to say, at *Tzaricide*—instead of passing through the preliminary phase of attacks upon government employés, all acts of this character having been directly provoked by

the repressive measures. In the short history of our revolutionary movement, there is an interesting incident that justifies this assumption. Karakozoff's attempt, made in 1866, was determined simply by the general policy of reaction pursued by the Government, and had no pretext of provocation in measures of repression against the Socialists, who indeed hardly existed as a party at that date. We have it on the authority of all concerned, that the society of which Karakozoff was a member had deliberately planned a series of similar attempts. But the times were not then mature; neither the society nor the revolutionary party were equal to so great a cause. How they have become so since, we shall see in the next chapter. Let us conclude this one with a recognition that, with the existing constitution of parties in Russia, only two courses of events are possible; either political terrorism on all sides, or a social revolution of the starving and desperate masses of the population. There is only one way of escape from this dilemma—that the revolution shall convert an integral part of the Government, that is to say, of the army, of the ministry, of the Imperial family itself, and the officials nearest to the throne. By this means the Government would be divided against itself, and the autocracy would fall to pieces by a process of natural decay. Such an event is anomalous, but the system now obtaining in Russia is an anachronism monstrous enough to make such anomalies possible. Should this state of things be realized, we should have a series of *coups d'état* and military insurrections, with more or less intervention on the part of other sections of the social body. And this is precisely the programme adopted by the party of "Narodnaya Volya," and which they are seeking to carry out. If they succeed, it will be well for us; if not, we shall have terrorism once again.

## II.

In the preceding chapter we have endeavoured to point out the method and the causes of the creation of terrorism, as an idea, a tendency, and a system. We have now to consider its machinery; and on this aspect of the matter we propose to linger a little as that which is above all interesting. Modern social science teaches us that every phenomenon of social life has its material substratum with which it is so intimately and essentially connected that it cannot exist independently of it. We shall see that this principle holds in the present case; and in order to make the application plain we will venture upon a parallel. Karl Marx, the founder of the new school of political economy, has proved to demonstration that in the course of history the creation of capital and the development of the power of the third estate, or *bourgeoisie*, has always been based upon the spoliation of peasants and artisans, and the conversion of the whole labouring class into a proletariat without property in the soil, and



obliged to hire itself out for daily wages to landlords and capitalists. In like manner it may be said that terrorism is based upon the creation of a political proletariat consisting of the so-called "illegal men" or outlaws of Russian society. I have explained elsewhere that this name is given to all those who continue to live in open defiance of the police by means of false names and passports. This is a class that exists in no other country, but is numerous in Russia, in consequence of the arbitrary action of one party and the revolutionary temper of another.

The fact is that in Russia every one who has the misfortune to fall into the hands of the police as a political offender—no matter how trivial his offence may be—is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a lost man. The preliminary detention is made at the arbitrary pleasure of the prosecution, which in Russia is another name for the police: they can arrest and detain whom they will. No blame attaches to a mistaken arrest: on the contrary, the more arrests the greater the merits of the prosecutor. For instance, at the time of the trial of the "hundred and ninety-three" in 1878, there were, over and above this number of the accused, about one thousand four hundred persons arrested. Of these, half were set at liberty after a few months, but the remainder were kept in prison during the whole four years that the case lasted; save only seventy-five who died, some by suicide, some of consumption, some insane. And in more recent times, when the white terror followed upon outbreaks of revolutionary terrorism, and especially in the reign of Alexander III.—who invented a species of political proconsuls, such as Strelmikoff, to devastate towns and provinces, and arrest right and left—the severities have been even greater. But I have no positive figures at hand.

The normal penalties for political crimes are simply Draconian, ten years at the galleys for a single speech, or for reading or preserving a proclamation. And whenever a prosecution follows an outbreak, the tribunal receives special orders to aggravate the penalties so as to make "a salutary example," and the verdicts become legal assassinations of the most monstrous character. The lad Rosovksy was condemned to death, and actually hanged at Kiev on the 5th of March, 1880, for merely having in his house a proclamation of the Executive Committee. The same judgment was passed on the student Efremoff for having lent a room in his house to two revolutionists who were concerting a plan of escape without even taking their young host into confidence. But his sentence was commuted to a lifelong condemnation to the galleys in consequence of his having the weakness to appeal for mercy. Drobiasgin, Maidansky, Lisogub, Tchubarov, were all hanged—some for having subscribed money to the revolutionary cause, others for conveying a box, of which they did not know the contents, but which was proved to contain notes for a circular

drawn up by two or three youths: offences, one and all, which the actual law of the country punishes only with exile or a few years of imprisonment.

But is there not a degree of innocence that can avail even before a Russian tribunal? If a man knows himself to be absolutely uncompromised in any revolutionary enterprise; if the police, on searching his house, could find no compromising document; if no treacherous deposition aggravate his danger—might not this man hope to get off with a few months, or at the utmost one, two, or three years of detention, and be left in peace for the rest of his life, with health impaired perhaps but not ruined, a future spoiled but not destroyed, and the means of recovery with time and industry? Even so poor a hope as this will prove illusory in Russia. The principle of the terrible *law of suspects* is that not only the act, but the thought and the intention, shall be punished, and that these can be divined by the intuition of a *clair-voyant* police who need no proofs to confirm their guesses. It is an altogether exceptional and astounding thing for a man once implicated in a state prosecution to be ever again left in peace. Convicts with definitive sentences just after they have served out their term of punishment as well as those who are acquitted by the tribunals, even the very witnesses (who had also suffered imprisonment to make them more malleable), except of course those on the side of the prosecution, are generally sent afterwards into exile by *order of the administration*. The imposition of this final penalty is left entirely to the discretion of the police, who are guided only by information privately received, and who, according to the behaviour of the witness or implicated person before the tribunal or the judge, pronounce sentence of exile and appoint the place of punishment. This last point is a very weighty one, for it makes a material difference to a man whether he is sent to the uttermost parts of Siberia or to some less remote region. It is, moreover, in the power of the police to extend or shorten the term of exile at their pleasure. But they are in little haste to shorten it. Without any exaggeration, we may declare that no man of the opposition who refuses to renounce his convictions or to pretend hypocritically to do so, will ever be recalled from exile, even though he may have committed absolutely no offence. Some of the witnesses in the case of Netchaieff, tried in 1871, are to this day in administrative exile. And what is this administrative exile? A horrible slow decay, an undermining of the whole moral and physical constitution of a man, a consumption by slow fire. We need not speak of administrative exile in Eastern Siberia among the wild Yakut of the horrible deserts, in the country where winter lasts ten months and cold reaches to 40 or 50 degrees below zero; where no clothing can be had but untanned skins of beasts, where bread is a rare delicacy, and almost the only luxury is a meal



of rotten fish; where there are no human beings to exchange speech with, for the aborigines speak an unintelligible gibberish; where the post comes but once in the year. In these icy deserts exile is worse than the galleys. Nevertheless, it is inflicted *administratively*—that is to say, at the sole will and pleasure of the police, and for offences too trivial (when not purely imaginary) to be cited even before a Russian tribunal.

But enough of this. Let us consider administrative exile in its milder forms—in Western Siberia or Northern Russia. Here we are in civilized countries—at least so far as the material side of life is concerned. There are houses to live in, there is food to eat, the European costume is in vogue. Only in order to enjoy all this, we must have money or the means of earning it. But how shall this last be done without intercourse with other citizens? And this is just what the Government is determined to prevent, on the ground that “loyal subjects” are in danger of being corrupted. Hence the monstrous regulation of March 12, 1882—reprinted in all the Russian newspapers of the day. It is forbidden to administrative exiles to give lessons, or occupy themselves in any educational function, or even to give instruction in manual arts. They are also forbidden to hold conferences, to take part in scientific meetings or to attend theatrical performances, to serve in libraries, in printing offices, in lithographers’ or photographers’ shops, or even as journeymen labourers; and always for the same reason—to obviate the risk of propaganda. On the same ground those who are doctors, chemists, or accoucheurs, are forbidden to exercise their respective professions. Finally, because many of them are men of letters, they are forbidden to contribute to reviews and newspapers. What means of earning their bread is left to them? Manual labour, in some cases. But what does that mean for educated men who have never held a workman’s tool in their hands? And even that is not always permitted. The Government does not think itself safe, short of granting discretionary power to the administration, to forbid any exile to practise his own handicraft.

Obviously, having thus deprived the exiles of the means of earning their living, it is incumbent upon the Government to maintain them, like prisoners, at the public cost. And in fact, this obligation is recognized in principle, and a monthly allowance is made to every political exile—five roubles to those who are of noble origin, and three to those who are not noble. The larger sum is about equal to ten shillings, the smaller to six shillings, a month. Such an allowance as this is a mockery. And were it not for the contributions of friends and relations, which all the exiles share like brothers, they must all die of starvation. But the friends of the exiles are overburdened with other expenses; and the utmost they

can do for their unfortunate comrades amounts to little more than a few crumbs cast into an abyss of indigence. The exiles sink into a state of squalid misery, and their health wastes away for want of the commonest necessities of life.\* At the same time, the absence of books and newspapers, the want of occupation and of intellectual interests, in this death-in-life, dragged out from day to day under the incessant *espionage* of the superintendents, produces a dull despair and apathy that wears out the spirit even more terribly than the physical hardships ruin the body. Those who have suffered it for a few years feel the effects of it all their lives, and maintain that even the misery of solitary confinement is preferable to this slow consumption prolonged through years and years, and sometimes through a lifetime. Proof of this lies in the number of suicides that occur among the administrative exiles: every issue of the "*Narodnaya Volya*" announces several.

Such is the future that awaits not only every revolutionist in Russia, but every member of the opposition who has once come in contact with the police. It would be easy to fill whole pages with examples of arbitrary inflictions of the extreme penalty. Not seldom, the police are unable to formulate any kind of definite accusation, and the charges written against the names of men sent to perish in Siberia will be of this sort—"he belongs to a dangerous family," "has perverse opinions," "had a brother who was hanged!" We have not as yet complete statistics as to these exiles. It is, however, calculated approximately that, in the reign of Alexander II. alone, their number amounted to ten thousand—the flower of a whole generation brought to the sickle like the corn in ear. Verily, in these scattered hamlets of the desert, the youth of Russia is immolated. It is not necessary to seek further for the causes of sterility in all our fields of intellectual labour; a country as poor as ours in intellectual resources cannot stand this constant letting of its best blood.

But now let us suppose the case of a man who, by some lucky chance, learns beforehand that he is regarded with suspicion by the police. An inquiry, followed by an arrest, is inevitable. Beyond this, the event is doubtful: he will be cited to a trial of some sort, and may appear either at the prisoner's bar or in the witness box; he may be acquitted or condemned; hanged or restored to provisional liberty. All these points are uncertain, and a man of sanguine temperament may flatter himself that the issue is doubtful also; but, in fact, one thing is certain, he will be sent into administrative exile, and will suffer all its miseries; and unless he is prepared to be a hypocrite

\* In order to alleviate their sufferings and supply their wants as far as possible, a purely philanthropic society has been founded under the name of "The Red Cross of the *Narodnaya Volya*," with an agency abroad, presided over by Vera Zassoulitch (Clarens, Switzerland); and Pietro Lovroff (328, Rue St. Jacques, Paris).



or to make compromises, he must lay his account to spending the best years of his life in such exile, if not to die in it. Unless, indeed, he will have recourse to the only remaining expedient—flight. In this case, is it not better to fly at once? Accordingly, he flies. But it is those who hold the revolutionary faith who fly; those only who have not sufficient faith to endure the life of an outlaw remain, because their position in the heart of the revolutionary movement would be like that of an atheist priest within the Church.

It is precisely the predominance of the revolutionary faith that has created this class of outlaws. In former days a man being warned that he was compromised with the Government, began by getting out of the way, and kept in hiding until he could succeed in crossing the frontier; then he devoted himself either to active agitation among the European populations or to the literary propaganda of revolutionary ideas. But since the year 1873, when the movement reached its maturity and was reinforced by new life and ardour, to abandon one's country and agitate abroad has been felt to be too troublesome a course, and the resolution has been taken to remain on the soil and work for the cause under cover of false passports. At this point the new figure of the "illegal man" comes into the political field.

We have seen that the anticipated arrest is the principal means of his creation. Such cases occur every day; never an arrest takes place that does not carry with it *loss of legality* (as the Nihilist phrase has it) for several citizens whose addresses, letters, or photographs show them to be friends or acquaintances of the accused; the most energetic of these always resort to outlawry, and their number is swollen by those who, less fortunate or less resolute, have not been able to evade arrest, and after being sent into exile, contrive to get away from their station, a comparatively easy matter. And, finally, these are joined by a curious contingent of *volunteer outlaws*, consisting of men who renounce legality before they have even compromised themselves, knowing well that they stand in daily risk of doing so, and not wishing to be caught unprepared. Such are the sources from which *illegal Russia* has sprung into existence. Statistics are wanting by which to estimate its numerical strength; we can only say that it is less than it should be in the present condition of Russia; and this because none enter into it except the Socialists. Even so, however, the number of "illegal men" who have come upon the scene during the last eight or ten years cannot be less than several thousands.

These outlaws may be described as men deprived of all political and civil rights. If they have had a profession, a trade, or any sort of occupation, they can no longer practise it, for to make themselves known is to be arrested. If they are men of property, they must renounce all rights of property; for having lost their identity, they

are no longer in a position to enjoy their estates, or to alienate them by will or by gift. If they have families, they must disown them, for they cannot venture to see them any more. The police, knowing the weakness of human nature, keeps special watch over the near relations of every "illegal man," and seizes the opportunity of a stolen interview to effect his arrest. His sweetheart will sometimes follow him, abandoning everything for his sake.

All these things taken into consideration, the position of the "illegal men" is not so miserable or so defenceless as might be supposed. For these reasons. Their own number is considerable, and the number of those who, without throwing in their lot with them, are yet willing to help them, is simply enormous. So that they constitute a State within the State, having their own organization, their particular code of manners and customs, an independent public opinion, a special press and various offices of government, among which the most important are the passport office and the finance office—by which the community provides for the needs of its members. This mysterious republic, in constant war with the Government, is moreover on terms of peace and amity with all the world outside. Altogether the life of such an outlaw is as different as possible from what a European reader might suppose, if he judged by the case of a man in a corresponding position in any other country. The Russian outlaw is on his guard, but he is not obliged to hide himself. He goes about openly, frequents public haunts and domestic circles, attends theatres and concerts, becomes a member of scientific and literary societies, &c. &c.; and wherever he goes he meets people who are aware of his *illegality*. But he has nothing to fear from them, for any one who should betray his secret would incur universal contempt, and be counted irredeemably dishonoured for the rest of his life. Generally speaking, it may be said that an "illegal man" stands in no danger whatever so long as he stands alone. The real and only danger is when he puts himself in relation with comrades to concert a revolutionary attempt.

It is from among this class of "illegal men" that the ranks of terrorism are recruited, and therefore I affirm that the creation of this class of men, destitute of political rights, bears the same relation to the systematization of terror that the creation of the proletariat (or class economically spoiled) bears to the organization of capital. The one is the material substratum of the other. The truth of this assertion may be tested by a single question. Is it possible to carry on an organized revolutionary movement in the manner of Zassoulitch—that is to say, can every man who takes part in a revolutionary act consign himself afterwards into the hands of so-called justice, as Vèra Zassoulitch did when she shot General Trepoff? This is a question that admits of no answer but a unanimous and emphatic "No;" except



perhaps on the part of mere lookers-on, quiet citizens who, knowing nothing of the real working of revolutions, always imagine the revolutionist to be an abnormal creature outside the ordinary laws of human nature. The revolutionists of all countries, and especially those of Russia, will answer with one accord that on these terms a systematic revolution is a thing absolutely impossible; no party, however enthusiastic, *exalté*, heroic, can produce men like Zassoulitch by the dozen.

And a man who is not an outlaw, but a citizen living under ordinary conditions, when he commits an act of terrorism does nothing less than sacrifice completely and irrecoverably his future, his life, his all! For in Europe there remains no possible position in society, no occupation of any sort, for the man who has a deed of blood at his heels. He is dead, if not physically, at least morally and politically. Men, ready to make such sacrifices, are not easy to find. When they fall, how are they to be replaced?

But the violence of the Russian despotism has created the class of "illegal men," and so solved the problem. The revolutionary outlaws are men sacrificed in advance. They know that the fatal hour must come for each one of them sooner or later; and one and all they throw themselves into the desperate struggle initiated by a handful of heroes. I do not know who it was that calculated the average duration of an "illegal man's" life at two years. Possibly the estimate is even too long. But in that short space there is no definite moment or act that is known beforehand to be the fatal one—an important point, as every one knows who understands human nature. The outlaw knows that he stakes his life upon every enterprise in which he embarks, but he knows also that by courage, resolution, and presence of mind he may escape death, and that in that case he loses nothing, while he gains the satisfaction of having done his part well. It matters little to him that the police are on his track; he is not a person—but a shadow, a number, a mark. He has but to change his name, his passport, and his dwelling-place, and he vanishes, to begin life anew. If through any unfortunate combination of circumstances his real name transpires, he only suffers the annoyance of being, for a short time, carefully sought by the police. Protected and hidden in his little world beyond the law, he can afford to laugh at their pains; and, after a short interval of repose, he appears again and once more openly defies the enemy. Neither does he lose consideration in general society if he has any relations there which he cares to maintain; for the devotion and affection of "loyal subjects" to their Czar is of such a singular character that a man who has attempted the life of his sovereign, or of one of his ministers, does not thereby lose respect and esteem, or cease to be a welcome guest in the houses of the best society. (This is a statement that will provoke a shriek

of rage from Kat Roff, the present vice-emperor; but neither he nor the Government can deny its perfect truthfulness. Least of all does the prospect of punishment deter the "illegal man" from attempting desperate deeds. That is a consideration that does not weigh with him for a moment; he knows that as a revolutionist he has no hope of escaping, whatever he does or does not do. He is only concerned to crowd into the brief term of life allotted to him, the greatest possible number of services to the cause of liberty, and of injuries to the common enemy.

But the opposing forces are so unequal that the revolutionary party cannot carry on the struggle in the form of war. Its soldiers often transform themselves into voluntary martyrs, and invoke victory for their cause, after the manner of the Roman leaders, by dedicating themselves to the infernal gods. Such was the part of Zolovieff, of Grinevezki, of Kara Rosoff, of Mlodezki, and others. But these cases of exceptional heroism, and indeed all the general heroism displayed by the revolutionary party, to the amazement, and even the admiration, of their very enemies—is it not due in no inconsiderable degree to this life beyond the law and under the sword of Damocles?

We have no sympathy with the apotheosis of a nation any more than of a party. If the Nihilists have any virtue peculiar to themselves (as they certainly have some defects) it is in consequence of the conditions in which they live. The ancients said: *poetæ nascuntur oratores fiunt*. We may say with more truth that heroes are not born, but are moulded in the school of danger and sacrifice. Man is altogether a creature of habit. There is nothing to which he may not be accustomed: to privations and inconveniences, to things pleasant as well as unpleasant. By merely having it every day and each day before his eyes, he may become so used to danger that he will not think of it. He may become indifferent even to the idea of death, by looking it constantly in the face and carrying it always in his thoughts. A Russian traveller relates that once, when he was visiting the monastery of Mount Athos, an earthquake occurred during the celebration of mass. All the congregation were seized with panic, and rushed out of doors shrieking. But the monks remained at their posts and went through the service with imperturbable calm. When the shock was over, the traveller expressed his surprise to a friend among the monks, who answered simply: "What surprises you? Is not all our life a preparation for death?" A like answer may be given by the Russian revolutionary about to ascend the gallows with a firm step. Sophie Perovskaya, a few days before her execution, wrote to her mother: "My fate does not afflict me in the least, and I shall meet it with complete tranquillity, for I have long expected it, and known that sooner or later it must come." We do not pretend, therefore, that these men are, in any



sense, giants—or even strange freaks of chance or nature; we will not even call them rare and passing types, but simply men who have been well trained in the awful school the Russian Government supports. So long as this school exists, and education in it continues to be compulsory, the supply of heroes will not fail.

We have now seen how terrorism has been developed in Russia, how it maintains itself and must continue to maintain itself. We do not hesitate to say that this system, which has been kept up for some years past by the existence of this outlawed class, must, as time goes on, banish all security from the State. The conditions that have created this class are unchanged; the class itself is now more numerous than it has ever been before. It is quiet for the moment. But the apparent calm is not to be trusted. Modern Russia may be compared to Germany during the thirty years' war, when the whole country teemed with volunteers, and the cry of a popular leader sufficed to turn them into an army and put the country to fire and sword. The soldiers of the revolution are scattered through the length and the breadth of the land, and everywhere their power is felt and the most energetic and resolute spirits are driven to make themselves outlaws. The moment a new Wallenstein sounds the alarm; the moment a few victories have been gained—the contagion will spread from mind to mind, and those who still hesitate, or seem to hesitate, will crowd to his banner and throw themselves with new energy into the work of destruction. As things are at present, no one can answer for the tranquillity of the country; no one, from the Emperor down to his humblest subaltern, can be sure of his life from day to day, any more than one can sleep peacefully in a house under which a barrel of dynamite is concealed.

### III.

I have completed my study of terrorism in Russia, and it only remains for me to come back to the question concerning the nascent terrorism in Europe, which I put at starting. Is it the beginning of a new revolutionary movement—has it a future?

I need not linger long over the answer, which the reader can hardly have failed to anticipate. I do not believe that dynamite will ever be naturalized in Europe as a political agent. I do not think that terrorism has a future there.

The situation in Russia has been determined, as we have seen, by the fact that the party through which the actual political revolution is maintained is numerically so small, that were it to venture upon an open trial of its strength, it must inevitably be overpowered by the Government, which has the mass of the people at command. In Europe, on the other hand, the revolutionary movement is not so

much political as economical, and the class concerned in it is the strongest as well as the largest numerically; so much so, that a considerable section of it—let alone the whole, supposing it to be united and determined to act—would suffice to overpower all its enemies. And yet no insurrection takes place. Where political liberty exists, a favourable vote is enough to satisfy the socialists. The important thing is to make the liberal intention felt. Therefore, for European revolutionists to make personal attacks upon the Government or the *bourgeoisie*, would be as absurd, as if, in the last Franco-Prussian war, Moltke, Manteuffel, and other Prussian Generals, instead of encompassing the weak enemy with their mighty battalions, would seek to penetrate in disguise to the heart of the French camp to engage in single combat with Napoleon, Bazaine, and MacMahon, instead of meeting them at the head of their battalions.\* Terrorism has no *raison d'être* on European soil, and will therefore not succeed in forming for itself the indispensable surrounding of a mass of sympathizers and supporters.

Moreover, the cause wants soldiers; there are no "illegal men" in Europe like those of Russia. The conditions of European life have certainly produced revolutionists and socialists, but these are not driven to put themselves beyond the law in order to work for their ideals. They remain citizens of their respective countries, and will certainly not sacrifice willingly the possibility of appearing in public and speaking freely and openly—the only means by which men can seriously influence their fellow-citizens in Europe.

But if the adoption of terrorism as an organized system of political warfare is absolutely impossible in Europe, what is the meaning of those acts of terrorism that occur now here, now there? We are very far from approving of them. On the first page of the number of the "*Narodnaya Volya*," published shortly after the death of President Garfield, the following declaration appeared:—

"While expressing profound sympathy with the American people in the death of President James Abram Garfield, the Executive Committee feels itself obliged to protest in the name of the Russian revolutionary party against all acts of violence like that which has been perpetrated. In a country where the liberty of the subject allows peaceful discussion of ideas, where the will of the people not only makes the law but chooses the person by whom it is administered; in such a country as this, political assassination is a manifestation of the identical despotic tendency, to the destruction of which we are devoting ourselves in Russia. Despotism, whether wielded by individuals or by parties, is equally condemnable, and violence can only be justified when it is opposed to violence" (No. VI., Oct. 23, 1881).

This declaration sums up the feeling of Russian revolutionists in regard to the real terrorism in Europe, and we can but endorse it.

\* Invert the comparison and imagine that by misadventure a single company of franc-tireurs, left alone to defend their country against the invaders, act in the same way towards the Prussian generals—you have then the case of the Russian Nihilists.



Nevertheless, it would be neither very philosophical nor altogether reassuring to regard the acts of terror committed on European soil as mere manifestations of individual wickedness and madness? For what guarantee should we have against madmen? To us it seems that these acts are the fruit of class hatreds and antagonisms developed under the influence of foreign examples, and without due regard to difference of local conditions, into a sanguinary political theory. It is precisely for this reason that we do not believe they will continue long. In politics, no course is adopted without the hope that it will make its party the strongest; and the anarchists (we should rather say a few knots of anarchists) would not have betaken themselves to terrorism if they had not expected to draw the operative class into their camp, and inaugurate a movement of considerable importance. As, however, it is impossible, for the reasons indicated above, that such a result can ever be realized, they find themselves reduced to a kind of agitation of which the political insignificance (not to speak of its other aspects) is too evident; and they will probably abandon their ill-advised practices, rather than risk their lives for such false stakes. The sooner they do so, the better it will be for the interests of the social revolution.

There is, however, one important factor in the problem by means of which the life of this still-born babe may perhaps be artificially prolonged. To wit, the action of those governments who, wishing to avoid the state of things that has come about in Russia, have had the unlucky inspiration to adopt the Russian methods. For in what other way can we characterize sentences of five or six years' imprisonment for the mere holding of anarchical opinions, such as were lately passed at Lyons; or for participation in a demonstration, as in the case of Louise Michel? Is not this a reproduction of Russia in miniature? But it is always the same; repression is the easiest and quickest mode of response to what Carlyle has called the "petition in hieroglyphs;" nothing so simple as to blow brains out and refuse to inquire into anything.

What is to be done by those who will take the trouble to decipher the hieroglyphs in order to satisfy the abstruse petition—it is not my business to answer. I leave it to others. As for me, I have only endeavoured to show, by a true exposition of Russian events, a useful example of *what should not be done*, of that which all civilized countries should avoid as completely as possible.

STEPNIAK.

December 28, 1883.

## THE AMUSEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE.

"AND do your workmen," asked a London visitor of a Lancashire mill-owner, "do your workmen really live in those hovels?"

"Certainly not," replied the master. "They only sleep there. They live in my mill."

This was forty years ago. Neither question nor answer would now be possible. For the hovels are improved into cottages; the factory hands no longer live only in the mill; and the opinion, which was then held by all employers of labour, as a kind of Fortieth Article, that it is wicked for poor people to expect or hope for anything but regular work and sufficient food, has undergone considerable modification. Why, indeed, they thought, should the poor man look to be merry when his betters were content to be dull? We must remember how very little play went on even among the comfortable and opulent classes in those days. Dulness and a serious view of life seemed inseparable; recreations of all kinds were so many traps and engines set for the destruction of the soul; and to desire or seek for pleasure, reprehensible in the rich, was for the poor a mere accusation of Providence and an opening of the arms to welcome the devil. So that our mill-owner, after all, may have been a very kind-hearted and humane creature, in spite of his hovels and his views of life, and anxious to promote the highest interests of his employés.

A hundred years ago, however, before the country became serious, the people, especially in London, really had a great many amusements, sports, and pastimes. For instance, they could go baiting of bulls and bears, and nothing is more historically certain than the fact that the more infuriated the animals became, the more delighted were the spectators; they "drew" badgers, and rejoiced in the tenacity and the courage of their dogs; they enjoyed the noble sport of the cock-



pit; they fought dogs and killed rats; they "squailed" fowls—that is to say, they tied them to stakes and hurled cudgels at them, but only once a year, and on Shrove Tuesday, for a treat; they boxed and fought, and were continually privileged to witness the most stubborn and spirited prize fights; every day in the streets there was the chance for everybody of getting a fight with a light-porter, or a carter, or a passenger—this prospect must have greatly enhanced the pleasures of a walk abroad; there were wrestling, cudgelling, and quarter-staff; there were frequent matches made up and wagers laid over all kinds of things: there were bonfires, with the hurling of squibs at passers-by; there were public hangings at regular intervals and on a generous scale; there were open-air floggings for the joy of the people; there were the stocks and the pillory, also free and open-air exhibitions; there were the great fairs of Bartholomew, Charlton, Fairlop Oak, and Barnet. There were also lotteries. Besides these amusements, which were all for the lower orders as well as for the rich, they had their mughouses, whither the men resorted to drink beer, spruce, and purl; and for music there was the street ballad-singer, to say nothing of the bear-warden's fiddle and the band of marrow-bones and cleavers. Lastly, for those of more elevated tastes, there was the ringing of the church bells. Now, with the exception of the last-named, we have suppressed every single one of these amusements. What have we put in their place? Since the working classes are no longer permitted to amuse themselves after the old fashions—which, to do them justice, they certainly do not seem to regret—how do they amuse themselves?

Everybody knows, in general terms, how the English working classes do amuse themselves. Let us, however, set down the exact facts, so far as we can get at them, and consider them. First, it must be remembered as a gain—so many other things having been lost—that the workman of the present day possesses an accomplishment, or a weapon, which was denied to his fathers—he *can read*. That possession ought to open a boundless field; but it has not yet done so, for the simple reason that we have entirely forgotten to give the working man anything to read. This, if any, is a case in which the supply should have preceded and created the demand. Books are dear; besides, if a man wants to buy books, there is no one to guide him or tell him what he should get. Suppose, for instance, a studious working man anxious to teach himself natural history, how is he to know the best, latest, and most trustworthy books? And so for every branch of learning. Secondly, there are no free libraries to speak of; I find, in London, one for Camden Town, one for Bethnal Green, one for South London, one for Notting Hill, one for Westminster, and one for the City; and this seems to exhaust the list. It would be interesting to know the daily average of evening visitors at

these libraries. There are three millions of the working classes in London: there is, therefore, one free library for every half-million, or, leaving out a whole three-fourths in order to allow for the children and the old people and those who are wanted at home, there is one library for every 125,000 people. The accommodation does not seem liberal, but one has as yet heard no complaints of overcrowding. It may be said, however, that the workman reads his paper regularly. That is quite true. The paper which he most loves is red-hot on politics; and its readers are assumed to be politicians of the type which consider the millennium only delayed by the existence of the Church, the House of Lords, and a few other institutions. Yet our English working man is not a firebrand, and though he listens to an immense quantity of fiery oratory, and reads endless fiery articles, he has the good sense to perceive that none of the destructive measures recommended by his friends are likely to improve his own wages or reduce the price of food. It is unfortunate that the favourite and popular papers, which might instruct the people in so many important matters—such as the growth, extent, and nature of the trades by which they live, the meaning of the word Constitution, the history of the British Empire, the rise and development of our liberties, and so forth—teach little or nothing on these or any other points.

If the workman does not read, however, he talks. At present he talks for the most part on the pavement and in public-houses, but there is every indication that we shall see before long a rapid growth of workmen's clubs—not the tea-and-coffee make-believes set up by the well-meaning, but honest, independent clubs, in every respect such as those in Pall Mall, managed by the workmen themselves, who are not, and never will become, total abstainers, but have shown themselves, up to the present moment, strangely tolerant of those weaker brethren who can only keep themselves sober by putting on the blue ribbon. Meantime, there is the public-house for a club, and perhaps the workman spends, night after night, more than he should upon beer. Let us remember, if he needs excuse, that his employers have found him no better place and no better amusement than to sit in a tavern, drink beer (generally in moderation), and talk and smoke tobacco. Why not? A respectable tavern is a very harmless place; the circle which meets there is the society of the workman: it is his life: without it he might as well have been a factory hand of the good old time—such as hands were forty years ago; and then he would have made but two journeys a day—one from bed to mill, and the other from mill to bed.

Another magnificent gift he has obtained of late years—the excursion train and the cheap steamboat. For a small sum he can get far away from the close and smoky town, to the seaside perhaps, but certainly to the fields and country air; he can make of every fine Sunday in the summer a holiday indeed. Is not the cheap excursion



an immense gain? Again, for those who cannot afford the country excursion, there is now a Park accessible from almost every quarter. And I seriously recommend to all those who are inclined to take a gloomy view concerning their fellow-creatures, and the mischievous and dangerous tendencies of the lower classes, to pay a visit to Battersea Park on any Sunday evening in the summer.

As regards the working man's theatrical tastes, they lean, so far as they go, to the melodrama; but as a matter of fact there are great masses of working people who never go to the theatre at all. If you think of it, there are so few theatres accessible that they cannot go often. For instance, there are for the accommodation of the West-end and the visitors to London some thirty theatres, and these are nearly always kept running; but for the densely populous districts of Islington, Somers Town, Pentonville, and Clerkenwell, combined, there are only two; for Hoxton and Haggerston, there is only one; for the vast region of Marylebone and Paddington, only one; for Whitechapel, "and her daughters," two; for Shoreditch and Bethnal Green, one; for Southwark and Blackfriars, one; for the towns of Hampstead, Highgate, Camden Town, Kentish Town, Stratford, Bow, Bromley, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Kensington, or Deptford, not one. And yet each one of these places, taken separately, is a good large town. Stratford, for instance, has 60,000 inhabitants and Deptford 80,000. Only half a dozen theatres for three millions of people! It is quite clear, therefore, that there is not yet a craving for dramatic art among our working classes. Music-halls there are, certainly, and these provide shows more or less dramatic, and, though they are not so numerous as might have been expected, they form a considerable part of the amusements of the people; it is therefore a thousand pities that among the "topical" songs, the break-downs, and the comic songs, room has never been found for part-songs or for music of a quiet and somewhat better kind. The proprietors doubtless know their audience, but wherever the Kyrle Society have given concerts to working people, they have succeeded in interesting them by music and songs of a kind to which they are not accustomed in their music-halls.

The theatre, the music-hall, the public-house, the Sunday excursion, the parks—these seem almost to exhaust the list of amusements. There are also, however, the suburban gardens, such as North Woolwich and Rosherville, where there are entertainments of all kinds and dancing; there are the tea-gardens all round London; there are such places of resort as Kew and Hampton Court, Bushey, Burnham Beeches, Epping, Hainault and Rye House. There are also the harmonic meetings, the free-and-easy evenings, and the friendly leads at the public-houses. Until last year there was one place, in the middle of a very poor district, where dancing went on all the year round. And there are the various clubs, debating societies, and local parliaments which have been lately springing up all over London.

One may add the pleasure of listening to the stump orator, whether he exhorts to repentance, to temperance, to republicanism, to atheism, or to the return of Sir Roger. He is everywhere on Sunday: in the streets, in the country roads, and in the parks. The people listen, but with apathy; they are accustomed to the white-heat of oratory: they hear the same thing every Sunday: their pulses would beat no faster if Peter the Hermit himself or Bernard were to exhort them to assume the Cross. It is comic, indeed, only to think of the blank stare with which a British workman would receive an invitation to take up arms in order to drive out the accursed Moslem.

As regards the women, I declare that I have never been able to find out anything at all concerning their amusements. Certainly one can see a few of them any Sunday walking about in the lanes and in the fields of northern London, with their lovers; in the evening they may also be observed having tea in the tea-gardens. These, however, are the better sort of girls; they are well-dressed, and generally quiet in their behaviour. The domestic servants, for the most part, spend their "evening out" in taking tea with other servants, whose evening is in. On the same principle, an actor when he has a holiday goes to another theatre; and no doubt it must be interesting for a cook to observe the *differentiæ*, the finer shades of difference, in the conduct of a kitchen. When women are married and the cares of maternity set in, one does not see how they can get any holiday or recreation at all; but I believe a good deal is done for their amusement by the mothers' meetings and other clerical agencies. There is, however, below the shop-girls, the dressmakers, the servants, and the working girls whom the world, so to speak, knows, a very large class of women whom the world does not know, and is not anxious to know. They are the factory hands of London; you can see them, if you wish, trooping out of the factories and places where they work on any Saturday afternoon, and thus get them, so to speak, in the lump. Their amusement seems to consist of nothing but walking about the streets, two and three abreast, and they laugh and shout as they go so noisily that they must needs be extraordinarily happy. These girls are, I am told, for the most part so ignorant and helpless, that many of them do not know even how to use a needle; they cannot read, or, if they can, they never do; they carry the virtue of independence as far as they are able, and insist on living by themselves, two sharing a single room; nor will they brook the least interference with their freedom, even from those who try to help them. Who are their friends, what becomes of them in the end, why they all seem to be about eighteen years of age, at what period of life they begin to get tired of walking up and down the streets, who their sweethearts are, what are their thoughts, what are their hopes—these are questions which no man



can answer, because no man could make them communicate their experiences and opinions. Perhaps only a Bible-woman or two know the history, and could tell it, of the London factory girl. Their pay is said to be wretched, whatever work they do; their food, I am told, is insufficient for young and hearty girls, consisting generally of tea and bread or bread-and-butter for breakfast and supper, and for dinner a lump of fried fish and a piece of bread. What can be done? The proprietors of the factory will give no better wage, the girls cannot combine, and there is no one to help them. One would not willingly add another to the "rights" of man or woman; but surely, if there is such a thing at all as a "right," it is that a day's labour shall earn enough to pay for sufficient food, for shelter, and for clothes. As for the amusements of these girls, it is a thing which may be considered when something has been done for their material condition. The possibility of amusement only begins when we have reached the level of the well-fed. Great Gaster will let no one enjoy play who is hungry. Would it be possible, one asks in curiosity, to stop the noisy and mirthless laughter of these girls with a hot supper of chops fresh from the grill? Would they, if they were first well fed, incline their hearts to rest, reflection, instruction, and a little music?

The cheap excursions, the school feasts, the concerts given for the people, the increased brightness of religious services, the Bank holidays, the Saturday half-holiday, all point to the gradual recognition of the great natural law that men and women, as well as boys and girls, must have play. At the present moment we have just arrived at the stage of acknowledging this law; the next step will be that of respecting it, and preparing to obey it; just now we are willing and anxious that all should play; and it grieves us to see that in their leisure hours the people do not play because they do not know how.

Compare, for instance, the young workman with the young gentleman—the public schoolman, one of the kind who makes his life as "all round" as he can, and learns and practises whatever his hand findeth to do. Or, if you please, compare him with one of the better sort of young City clerks; or, again, compare him with one of the lads who belong to the classes now held in the building of the old Polytechnic; or with the lads who are found every evening at the classes of the Birkbeck. First of all, the young workman cannot play any game at all: neither cricket, football, tennis, racquets, fives, or any of the other games which the young fellows in the class above him love so passionately: there are, in fact, no places for him where these games can be played; for though the boys may play cricket in Victoria Park, I do not understand that the carpenters, shoemakers, or painters have got clubs and play there too. There is no gymnasium for them, and so they never learn the use of their limbs; they cannot row, though they

have a splendid river to row upon ; they cannot fence, box, wrestle, play single-stick, or shoot with the rifle ; they do not, as a rule, join the Volunteer corps ; they do not run, leap, or practise athletics of any kind ; they cannot swim ; they cannot sing in parts, unless, which is naturally rare, they belong to a church choir ; they cannot play any kind of instrument—to be sure the public schoolboy is generally grovelling in the same shameful ignorance of music ; they cannot dance ; in the whole of this vast city there is not a single place where a couple, so minded, can go for an evening's dancing, unless they are prepared to journey as far as North Woolwich. Not one. Ought it not to be felt and resented as an intolerable grievance that grandmotherly legislation actually forbids the people to dance ? That the working men themselves do not seem to feel and resent it, is really a mournful thing. Then, they cannot paint, draw, model, or carve. They cannot act, and seemingly do not care greatly about seeing others act ; and, as already stated, they never read books. Think what it must be to be shut out entirely from the world of history, philosophy, poetry, fiction, essays, and travels ! Yet our working classes are thus practically excluded. Partly they have done this for themselves, because they have never felt the desire to read books ; partly, as I said above, we have done it for them, because we have never taken any steps to create the demand. Now, as regards these arts and accomplishments, the public schoolman and the better class City clerk have the chance of learning some of them at least, and of practising them, both before and after they have left school. What a poor creature would that young man seem who could do none of these things ! Yet the working man has no chance of learning any. There are no teachers for him : the schools for the small arts, the accomplishments, and the graces of life are not open to him ; one never hears, for instance, of a working man learning to waltz or dance, unless it is in imitation of a music-hall performer. In other words, the public schoolman has gone through a mill of discipline out of school as well as in. Law reigns in his sports as in his studies. Whether he sits over his books or plays in the fields, he learns to be obedient to law, order, and rule : he obeys, and expects to be obeyed ; it is not himself whom he must study to please : it is the whole body of his fellows. And this discipline of self, much more useful than the discipline of books, the young workman knows not. Worse than this, and worst of all, not only is he unable to do any of these things, but he is even ignorant of their uses and their pleasures, and has no desire to learn any of them, and does not suspect at all that the possession of these accomplishments would multiply the joys of life. He is content to go on without them. Now contentment is the most mischievous of all the virtues ; if anything is to be done, and any improvement is to be effected, the wickedness of discontent must first be introduced.



Let us, if you please, brighten this gloomy picture by recognizing the existence of the artisan who pursues knowledge for its own sake. There are many of this kind. You may come across some of them botanizing, collecting insects, moths and butterflies in the fields on Sundays; others you will find reading works on astronomy, geometry, physics, or electricity: they have not gone through the early training, and so they often make blunders; but yet they are real students. One of them I knew once who had taught himself Hebrew; another, who read so much about co-operation, that he lifted himself clean out of the co-operative ranks, and is now a master; another and yet another and another, who read perpetually, and meditate upon, books of political and social economy; and there are thousands whose lives are made dignified for them, and sacred, by the continual meditation on religious things. Let us make every kind of allowance for these students of the working class; and let us not forget, as well, the occasional appearance of those heaven-born artists who are fain to play music or die, and presently get into orchestras of one kind or another, and so leave the ranks of daily labour and join the great clan or caste of musicians, who are a race or family apart, and carry on their mystery from father to son.

But, as regards any place or institution where the people may learn or practise or be taught the beauty and desirability of any of the commoner amusements, arts, and accomplishments, there is not one, anywhere in London. The Bethnal Green Museum certainly proposed unto itself, at first, to "do something," in a vague and uncertain way, for the people. Nobody dared to say that it would be first of all necessary to make the people discontented, because this would have been considered as flying in the face of Providence; and there was, besides, a sort of nebulous hope, not strong enough for a theory, that by dint of long gazing upon vases and tapestry everybody would in time acquire a true feeling for art, and begin to crave for culture. Many very beautiful things have, from time to time, been sent there—pictures, collections, priceless vases; and I am sure that those visitors who brought with them the sense of beauty and feeling for artistic work which comes of culture, have carried away memories and lessons which will last them for a lifetime. On the other hand, to those who visit the Museum chiefly in order to see the people, it has long been painfully evident that the folk who do not bring that sense with them go away carrying nothing of it home with them. Nothing at all. Those glasscases, those pictures, those big jugs, say no more to the crowd than a cuneiform or a Hittite inscription. They have now, or had quite recently, on exhibition a collection of turnips and carrots beautifully modelled in wax: it is perhaps hoped that the contemplation of these precious but homely things may carry the people a step farther in the direction of culture than Sir Richard Wallace's pictures could effect. In fact, the Bethnal Green Museum does no more to educate the



people than the British Museum. It is to them simply a collection of curious things which is sometimes changed. It is cold and dumb. It is merely a dull and unintelligent branch of a department; and it will remain so, because whatever the collections may be, a Museum can teach nothing, unless there is some one to expound the meaning of the things. Why, even that wonderful Museum of the House Beautiful could teach the pilgrims no lessons at all until the Sisters explained to them what were the rare and curious things preserved in their glass cases.

Is it possible that, by any persuasion, attraction, or teaching, the working men of this country can be induced to aim at those organized, highly skilled, and disciplined forms of recreation which make up the better pleasure of life? Will they consent, without hope of gain, to give the labour, patience, and practice required of every man who would become master of any art or accomplishment, or even any game? There are men, one is happy to find, who think that it is not only possible, but even easy, to effect this, and the thing is about to be transferred from the region of theory to that of practice, by the creation of the People's Palace.

The general scheme is already well known. Because the Mile End Road runs through the most extensive portion of the most dismal city in the world, the city which has been suffered to exist without recreation, it has been chosen as the fitting site of the Palace. As regards simple absence of joy, Hoxton, Haggerston, Pentonville, Clerkenwell, or Kentish Town, might contend, and have a fair chance of success, with any portion whatever of the East-end proper. But then around Mile End lie Stepney, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, the Cambridge Road, the Commercial Road, Bow, Stratford, Shadwell, Limehouse, Wapping, and St. George's-in-the-East. Without doubt the real centre, the *ὀμφαλος* of dreariness, is situated somewhere in the Mile End Road, and it is to be hoped that the Palace may be placed upon the very centre itself.

Let me say a few words as to what this Palace may and may not do. In the first place, it can do nothing, absolutely nothing, to relieve the great fringe of starvation and misery which lies all about London, but more especially at the East-end. People who are out of work and starving do not want amusement, not even of the highest kind; still less do they want University extension. Therefore, as regards the Palace, let us forget for a while the miserable condition of the very poor who live in East London; we are concerned only with the well-fed, those who are in steady work, the respectable artisans and *petits commis*, the artists in the hundred little industries which are carried on in the East-end; those, in fact, who have already acquired some power of enjoyment because they are separated by a sensible distance from their hand-to-mouth brothers and sisters, and are pretty certain to-day that they will have enough to eat to-morrow. It is



for these, and such as these, that the Palace will be established. It is to contain : (1) class-rooms, where all kinds of study can be carried on ; (2) concert-rooms ; (3) conversation-rooms ; (4) a gymnasium ; (5) a library ; and lastly, a winter garden. In other words, it is to be an institution which will recognize the fact, that for some of those who have to work all day at, perhaps, uncongenial and tedious labour, the best form of recreation may be study and intellectual effort ; while for others, that is to say, for the great majority—music, reading, tobacco, and rest will be desired. Let us be under no illusions as to the supposed thirst for knowledge. Those who desire to learn are even in youth always a minority. How many men do we know, among our own friends, who have ever set themselves to learn anything since they left school ? It is a great mistake to suppose that the working man, any more than the merchant-man or the clerk-man, or the tradesman, is ardently desirous of learning. But there will always be a few ; and especially there are the young who would fain, if they could, make a ladder of learning, and so, as has ever been the goodly and godly custom in this realm of England, mount unto higher things. The Palace of the People would be incomplete indeed if it gave no assistance to ambitious youths. Next to the classes in literature and science come those in music and painting. There is no reason whatever why the Palace should not include an academy of music, an academy of arts, and an academy of acting : in a few months after its establishment it should have its own choir, its own orchestra, its own concerts, its own opera, and its own theatre, with a company formed of its own *alumni*. And in a year or two it should have its own exhibition of paintings, drawings, and sculpture. As regards the simpler amusements, there must be rooms where the men can smoke, and others where the girls and women can work, read, and talk ; there must be a debating society for questions, social and political, but especially the former ; there must be a dancing school, and a ball once every week, all the year round ; it should be possible to convert the great hall into either theatre, concert-room, or ball-room ; there must be a bar for beer as well as for coffee, and at a price calculated so as to pay just the bare expenses ; there must be a library and writing-room, and the winter garden must be a place where the women and children can come in the daytime while the men are at work. One thing must be kept out of the place : there must not be allowed to grow up in the minds even of the most suspicious, the least jealousy that religious influences are at work ; more than this, the institution must be carefully watched to prevent the rise of such a suspicion ; religious controversy must be kept out of the debating-room, and even in the conversation-rooms there ought to be power to exclude a man who makes himself offensive by the exhibition and parade of his religious or irreligious opinions.

As for the teaching of the classes, we must look for voluntary work



rather than to a great endowment. The history of the College in Great Ormond Street shows how much may be done by unpaid labour, and I do not think it too much to expect that the Palace of the People may be started by unpaid teachers in every branch of science and art: moreover, as regards science, history and language, the University Extension Society will probably find the staff. There must be, however, volunteers, women as well as men, to teach singing, music, dancing, sewing, acting, speaking, drawing, painting, carving, modelling, and many other things. This kind of help should only be wanted at the outset, because, before long, all the art departments ought to be conducted by ex-students who have become in their turn teachers; they should be paid, but not on the West-end scale, from fees—so that the schools may support themselves. Let us not *give* more than is necessary: for every class and every course there should be some kind of fee, though a liberal system of small scholarships should encourage the students, and there should be the power of remitting fees in certain cases. As for the difficulty of starting the classes, I think that the assistance of Board School masters, foremen of works, Sunday schools, the political clubs, and debating societies, should be invited; and that besides small scholarships, substantial prizes of musical and mathematical instruments, books, artists' materials, and so forth, should be offered, with the glory of public exhibition and public performances. After the first year there should be nothing exhibited in the Palace except work done in the classes, and no performances of music or of plays should be given but by the students themselves.

There has been going on in Philadelphia for the last two years an experiment, conducted by Mr. Charles Leland, whose sagacious and active mind is as pleased to be engaged upon things practical as upon the construction of humorous poems. He has founded, and now conducts personally, an academy for the teaching of the minor arts: he gets shop girls, work girls, factory girls, boys and young men of all classes together, and he teaches them how to make things, pretty things, artistic things. "Nothing," he writes to me, "can describe the joy which fills a poor girl's mind when she finds that she, too, possesses and can exercise a real accomplishment." He takes them as ignorant, perhaps—but I have no means of comparing—as the London factory girl, the girl of freedom, the girl with the fringe—and he shows them how to do crewel-work, fret-work, brass-work; how to carve in wood; how to design; how to draw—he maintains that it is possible to teach nearly every one to draw; how to make and ornament leather work, boxes, rolls, and all kinds of pretty things in leather. What has been done in Philadelphia amounts, in fact, to this: that one man who loves his brother man is bringing purpose, brightness, and hope into thousands of lives previously made dismal by hard and monotonous work; he has put new



and higher thoughts into their heads ; he has introduced the discipline of methodical training ; he has awakened in them the sense of beauty. Such a man is nothing less than a benefactor to humanity. Let us follow his example in the Palace of the People.

I venture, further, to express my strong conviction that the success of the Palace will depend entirely upon its being governed, within limits at first, but these limits constantly broadening, by the people themselves. If they think the Palace is a trap to catch them, and make them sober, good, religious and temperate, there will be an end. In the first place, therefore, there must be a real element of the working man upon the council ; there must be real working men on every sub-committee or branch ; the students must be wholly recruited from the working classes ; and gradually the council must be elected by the people who use the Palace. Fortunately, there would be no difficulty at the outset in introducing this element, because the great factories and breweries in the neighbourhood might be asked each to elect one or more representatives to sit upon the council of the new University. It "goes without saying," that the police work, the maintenance of order, the out-kicking of offenders, must be also entirely managed by a voluntary corps of efficient working men. Rows there will undoubtedly be, since we are all of us, even the working man, human ; but there need be no scandals.

I must not go on, though there is so much to be said. I see before us in the immediate future a vast University whose home is in the Mile End Road ; but it has affiliated colleges in all the suburbs, so that even poor, dismal, uncared-for Hoxton shall no longer be neglected ; the graduates of this University are the men and women whose lives, now unlovely and dismal, shall be made beautiful for them by their studies, and their heavy eyes uplifted to meet the sunlight ; the subjects of examination shall be, first, the arts of every kind : so that unless a man have neither eyes to see nor hand to work with, he may here find something or other which he may learn to do ; and next, the games, sports, and amusements with which we cheat the weariness of leisure and court the joy of exercising brain and wit and strength. From the crowded class-rooms I hear already the busy hum of those who learn and those who teach. Outside, in the street, are those—a vast multitude to be sure—who are too lazy and too sluggish of brain to learn anything : but these, too, will flock into the Palace presently to sit, talk, and argue in the smoking-rooms ; to read in the library ; to see the students' pictures upon the walls ; to listen to the students' orchestra, discoursing such music as they have never dreamed of before ; to look on while Her Majesty's Servants of the People's Palace perform a play, and to hear the bright-eyed girls sing madrigals.

WALTER BESANT.

## THE CHURCHES AND THE IDEAL OF RELIGION.

THE people of England seem to be at last awakening to the truth that to have a church or churches is not the same thing as to have a religion. Churches are that religion may be realized, but it does not follow that to multiply or enlarge churches is to realize religion. On the contrary, it is possible by having too much church to have too little religion; the most perfectly organized and administered ecclesiasticism may but effectually imprison the living Spirit of God. The churches are the means, but religion is the end; and if they, instead of being well content to be and to be held means, good in the degree of their fitness and efficiency, regard and give themselves out as ends, then they become simply the most irreligious of institutions, mischievous in the very degree of their power. Religion is too rich and varied a thing to be capable of incorporation in any one church, or even in all the churches; and the church that claims to be able to embody it, whether for a people or for humanity, but shows the poverty and impotence of its own religious ideal. It is a small thing, nay more an easy thing, for a church to make out its historical continuity and catholicity—that is only a matter of deft criticism and courageous argument; but it is a great thing for any church to have created or to be creating a society correspondent to the ideal of Christ.

Now, the truth that seems to be breaking upon the English people is this—that they have still to set about the realization of this ideal, and that to accomplish it they must take some higher and nobler way than the ancient one of founding and maintaining churches. What makes us feel so distant from the religion of Christ, is not the amount of belligerent and most audible unbelief, both of the critical and uncritical order; nor the relatively, and to many good



people dishearteningly, small number of church-goers ; nor the failure of missionary zeal to keep pace with the increase of the population and its aggregation in large towns ; but something more radical than any one or than all of these—the small degree in which the Christian ideal has been the constitutive and regulative idea of the State and society in England. We have suddenly become conscious that our legislation and civilization have been too little penetrated by the spirit of Christ, while so pervaded and dominated by the spirit of selfishness, that they have been making heathens faster and more effectually than the churches have been able to make Christians. The Church, satisfied with what the State has done for *it*, has forgotten to demand justice for the people, and so the people are being lost to the church through the action of anti-Christian principles in society and the State. It is easy to be indiscriminate, to speak without measure as to the rights of property being the wrongs of man ; but evidences, too many to be enumerated, prove that property and privilege have been so conceived and guarded as to help in the production of certain great social disasters and dangers. The idea that the men who could best assert their rights had the most rights to assert, has been too potent a factor in the creation of our social order, and may yet beget a reaction of the sort men call revolution. The converse, indeed, were more of a Christian principle—those least able to assert their rights have, if not most rights to be asserted, most need for their assertion ; for the things they claim in weakness are the duties of those in power. And as religion is most jealous about the performance of these duties, the church that neglects their enforcement abdicates its truest social function. And it is because there has been such neglect in England that we are face to face with so many grave problems—political, social, religious. We have in our midst outcast masses, multitudes who have lapsed into something worse than heathenism, into merest savagery ; and have done so not through lack of religious agencies, but simply through lack of religion, the absence or inaction of the higher Christian ideals in the mind, heart, and conscience of the body politic. The worst depravity, because the least open to reproof or change, is not the depravity of the individual, but of the class or State ; and the church, while doing zealous battle against the less, has too much forgotten the greater. And now it is seen that neglect brings the inevitable retribution. Our outcast are our lapsed classes, and it is easier to teach religion to the heathen than to restore the lapsed. There is less hope of a debased civilization than of the rudest and frankest naturalism.

The judgment expressed in these sentences may be thought too sweeping ; yet, however much he may be inclined to qualify it, no thoughtful Christian man can regard the religious condition of the English people with a light or satisfied heart. Of course, a



determined optimism can find much to say in its own behalf. It can reckon up the sums spent on building churches, supplementing stipends, founding and maintaining religious houses and institutions, prosecuting missionary enterprises at home and abroad; and may victoriously argue that these sums are so immense as to prove the spirit of faith to be a living and zealous spirit, devoted and self-sacrificing. It can also appeal to the multitude of beneficent agencies and benevolent institutions worked by the churches; and may veraciously enough affirm that without them the hand of charity and generous helpfulness would be almost, if not altogether, paralyzed. But the point is—grant these and many similar things true, ought they to satisfy the Christian conscience? or ought they not rather to fill it with deep dissatisfaction? For what does the existence of so much destitution, depravity, utter and shameless godlessness, mean? That the State is to the degree that they exist not only imperfectly Christian, but really un-Christian; that, so far as they were preventable, Church and State have alike been, where their obligations were highest, forgetful of them or unequal to their performance. To cure an evil is a less excellent thing than to prevent it; and few things fill the heart with deeper pity than the thought that evils are which ought not to have been, and would not have been, if the Christian religion had so reigned as to be sovereign in this realm. This is a sad and humiliating reflection to men who believe that Christianity is of God, instituted by Him that His will might be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Centuries indeed are little to God; but they are much to man. The thousand years that are but a moment in the presence of His Eternal Being, are a large fraction of the period allotted to humanity. Loss of good is to it an irretrievable loss; and the happiness of ages to come can never bless hapless ages that have passed and perished. And if Christianity has, in the course of its history, not done all the good it was intended to do, and so ought to have done, then the result has been an absolute loss to man; the possible best has not been reached by him, the best possible has not been done by it.

Now, it is because our religion has not prevented or remedied in the measure man had a right to expect the evils from which he suffers, that it meets with so much neglect and opposition. Our modern Socialisms, Nihilisms, Secularisms, and such-like, have a reason for their being; they have not risen without cause. In the polemical method and by the polemical spirit they can be easily dealt with; in the supple and dexterous hands of an apologetical protagonist they can be made to look void of intellectual strength, full of political and economical immoralities. But it is a small thing to expose their mental or moral crudities—that in no way ends their being or prevents their rise; it is a greater thing to inquire, Why



they are?—what are the causes and conditions of their existence?—for to ask this, may be to find a way to prevent their formation and growth. They are but symptoms of a disease; cure the disease and the symptoms will cease. Now, these Nihilisms and Secularisms of ours have been born of the sense of evils religion ought to have mitigated or remedied, but has not. In despair of help from their natural helper, men have taken counsel with despair. In our anti-religious movements there is a dangerous fanaticism, the child of passion, not of thought. The unbelief the Churches have to fear is not a thing of the critical or rebellious reason, but of the hate begotten of disappointed hopes. And because the hopes were legitimate, the disappointment is natural. The poor were right in expecting help from religion, in believing that its mission was to lift them out of their poverty, to make an end of the charities that are the luxuries of the rich and the miseries of the poor, and to create a society where freedom, justice, and plenty were to reign. But the people are wrong in making their revolt against religion, rather than against the causes and conditions which have hindered its realization. What they need is, not its destruction but its emancipation; to destroy it were to destroy the only foundation on which a society, which shall be a free and ordered brotherhood, can be built; to emancipate it were to set all its ideal principles free for creative and incorporative action in society and the State. An order that is not moral can only be one based on force and maintained by despotism; an order that is moral must be based on religion and maintained by the principles that create and work through free men.

Here, then, there is raised a question of the deepest interest: How, or under what conditions, can religion be made most active and authoritative among a people? What agencies or forms do its ideals need that they may work most creatively and towards completest embodiment? This question does not so much concern the relations of Church and State as the far more radical and determinative one as to the relations of Church and Religion. There are no controversies so wearisome and infructuous as our ecclesiastical, but no problems of so vital and universal interest as our religious; and here we so touch the heart of the matter that our ecclesiastical is sublimed into our most living religious question. In seeking the reasons why the State, the civilization, and the society of England are not so Christian as they ought to be, we cannot escape asking whether blame attaches to the churches? Proofs of historical continuity and catholicity are but sad playthings for the ingenious intellect when urged in behalf of churches confronted by such invincible evidences of failure as are the miseries, the sins, the poverty and want, the heathenisms and civilized savageries of to-day. To find the causes of this failure in the wickedness of man, were to

make it stronger than the religion; to find them in the religion were to charge it with inherent weakness. But to seek these causes in the Churches is to ask whether they have fulfilled their mission? —whether they have understood the mission they were to fulfil? In other words, whether they have been so possessed with the ideal of religion as to live for it and it only, as to interpret it in the fittest forms and speech, and work for its realization in the best possible ways? In these questions we have the problem of this paper.

## I.

The problem, as now stated, raises indeed the question of polity, but not in a form that requires detailed discussion, or any attempt at historical criticism or adjudication between the claims of the rival systems. All that is here necessary is to determine the relation between the religious ideal and the political form, which is the vehicle or medium through which it is translated into reality. The vital questions in religion relate either to theology or polity, and these form so real and living a unity that the one may be regarded as the organism or body through which the life or spirit of the other is expressed and realized in the field of personal and collective history. In theology the main matter is, how are we to conceive the truth? But in polity, how can we best translate it into concrete and living forms? In the former we are concerned with the ideal contents and aims of religion, but in the latter with the means and methods of realization. If the place and relation of ecclesiastical polity be so conceived, then its fundamental questions will touch the ideal on the one hand, and the actual on the other; will bring us face to face on the one side with the idea of religion, and on the other with the forms in which it can best be embodied, the institutions through which it can be most completely realized. For a polity to fail to understand the spirit and purpose of religion is to fail throughout; to succeed anywhere it must succeed here. To express a true theology in a living polity is, as it were, to charge a system with the quickening and plastic potencies that can make man live after the mind and as the image of God.

But if theology and polity be so related, then the one must be studied and interpreted through the other, because it is necessary that they in character and quality correspond throughout. Out of the idea of the religion the notion of the polity ought to grow; to find the one is to determine the other. This point of view will enable us the better either to appraise or comprehend the more familiar methods followed in discussions on this field. These methods, which, though distinct, do not necessarily exclude each other, may be described as the Biblical, the Philosophical, the Political, and the Historical, but each assumes or implies some underlying and deter-



minative conception which gives all their relevance or cogency to its arguments. This deeper conception indeed determines the method to be used, whether one or more is to be followed, and on which the stress is to lie. Thus the Biblical method, building on a large doctrine as to the Bible and the significance of the institutions it describes, either makes the Mosaic state the ideal which religious men ought to seek resolutely to realize in a hagiocracy or hierocracy; or it erects the apostolic churches into the perfect and permanent model which all future Christian societies ought to copy and reproduce. By this method the polities of Rome and Geneva, of the Anglican and the Independent communities, have alike been defended. The Philosophical method, implying an exactly antithetical Biblical doctrine, works constructively from a given principle or series of premisses, say the idea of law or order, which may be made to vindicate a papal, episcopal, or presbyterian polity, according as the thinker conceives the monarchical, the aristocratical, or the republican the most perfect form of government, most able to create order, to exercise and develop the noblest life. The Political method is indifferent or even hostile to all arguments that assume an absolute standard or permanent divine rule, and builds on expediency and prescriptive right. It was the characteristic creation of the eighteenth century, which, as became an age that had lost all faith in the Ideal, cultivated the happy optimism that identified the actual with the rational, and, as a consequence, resisted all change as bad, standing strong in the conviction that there was no proof of right like the fact of possession. But there are many lofty and proud spirits who hate expediency, and believe that in matters of religion the only valid rights are divine; and to them the historical method has offered a more excellent and agreeable way. They have formulated to themselves, on the one side, a narrow theory of history; and, on the other, as the mental basis of all their work, a large supernaturalism, which made light of impossibilities and turned so much of the religious society as was constituted on given political lines, and stood in a given succession, as the one church of Christ; and have then, by the help of a minute and curious, though not scientific or open-minded scholarship, laboured to represent this church of theirs as instituted of God, governed and inspired by Him, secured from the moment of creation till now in continuous being and activity by the orders and instruments, symbols, and sacraments that were the conditions of His presence and the media of His grace.

Now these differences of method are not arbitrary or accidental; they are the result of the underlying differences of thought or belief, of theology and religious ideal. As this is, so must the polity be; it is the men who have no religious ideal that have no ideal of polity, who

without any preference for what ought to be, accept what is and defend it as altogether of man, yet as good as if it were altogether of God. The men, indeed, who have most differed in method have often seemed to agree in end; those who have used, and those who have most deeply despised, the argument from expediency have stood often together within the pale of the same Church, exponents and defenders of the same polity. But the association was accidental, the agreement only apparent, masking the utmost distance and dissonance of spirit. The Church defended by arguments from expediency is no city of God, no ideal of the Eternal realized in time; the Church defended by the claims of divine right and authority must be of divine institution and guidance to be a Church at all. The man who sees in the Church a department of the State, and the man who regards it as a direct and miraculous creation of God, miraculously governed, may by the irony of circumstances be ecclesiastical brethren, but in the region of fundamental belief they are fundamentally opposed, their only possible attitude to each other being one of radical disagreement and contradiction.

This, then, brings out the point to be here emphasized: in all such discussions the really cardinal matter is the underlying conception, the determinative principle or idea, the idea of religion. The ultimate questions in ecclesiastical polity are religious. What has to be dealt with, is not so much opposed political systems as religious conceptions fundamentally different and distinct. But this position involves another: the fundamental is the creative and regulative, or constitutive idea, which means that the Church must be construed through the religion, not the religion through the Church. The one must harmonize with the other, but the creative and normative idea is the religion, the Church the created and accordant. And the latter must agree with the former, in order that it may be its interpreter, the agent or medium for its realization. But this again determines the order of our subsequent discussions: we must discover and define the idea of religion that we may find the ideal which has to be realized. And once we have found it, we shall be in a position to discuss and, if possible, determine what kind or order of polity or institution will best work its realization.

## II.

Of the idea or nature of religion an exhaustive discussion is not here possible; the doctrine and its implicates must simply be stated in the most general way. Well, then, religion is here conceived neither as knowledge, whether described with Jacobi as faith, or with Schelling as intuition, or with Hegel as thought; nor as feeling, whether it be, as with Schleiermacher, the feeling of dependence, or as



with the author of "Natural Religion," of admiration, or as with Mr. Herbert Spencer, of wonder; nor as a sort of transfigured morality, whether it be represented, as with Lessing, as a species of objective conscience meant to hasten the birth and action of the subjective, or with Kant as duty apprehended as a divine command, or with Matthew Arnold, as "morality touched by emotion." Religion is no one of these, yet it is all of these—and something more. Each of these definitions is simple only so long as there is no analysis; but under analysis they one and all become as complex as the very notion they seek to define. Religion, indeed, is too large and rich a thing to be defined by any single term or reduced to any single element, whether intellectual, emotional, or moral; it too completely covers and comprehends the whole nature of man to be denoted by a name borrowed from a section of his experience, or from one department of his rational activity. And so one may say that these definitions, taken together, would give a better idea of religion than taken singly or in isolation. There can be no religion without thought, for a man must conceive an object before he can sustain any rational relation to it; not to think is to be without reason, and where no reason is no religion can be. Nor can it be without feeling, for feeling, though distinguishable, is inseparable from thought. If we think, we must feel; if we feel, we are conscious first of ourselves as subject, and next of a not-ourselves or object, and it depends on how we conceive the object whether our feeling be one of dependence, admiration, or wonder, or an emotion higher and comprehensive of all the three. Nor can religion exist apart from conduct or conscience, for man cannot conceive himself standing in a relation to a supernatural or a supreme power without feeling himself constrained to act either in harmony with or in opposition to it, and to judge his actions either with approval or the reverse. And this involves the direct discipline of the moral nature and the exercise of the moral judgment.

Where the product includes in an equal degree intellectual, emotional, and moral elements, it cannot be traced to the sole causation of either the intellect, or the heart, or the conscience. We must find, then, a notion of religion large enough to comprehend these varied elements, able also to bind them into organic and living unity. Now, if we look out for the most general characteristic common to all faiths, we would say, that in religion man conceives and realizes himself not as a mere sensuous and mortal individual, but as spirit and conscious spirit, who has overcome, or is endeavouring to overcome, the contradictions within his own nature, and between it and the order or system under and within which he lives. But so to conceive himself is to be for himself not simply a transitory detached or isolated individual, but a unit who is a member of an organic whole, a being with universal affinities, and relations both to the seen and the

unseen, whether the unseen be conceived as the magic present in a fetish, or as collective humanity in its past and future, or as an unknown force, or as a known and living God. It is hence not necessary that religion be theistic to be so conceived; it is meanwhile only necessary to see that man so conceiving himself and his relations is religious. But so conceived, religion becomes the conscious relation of man as spirit to the creative and universal and regnant spirit, under whatever form he may conceive it; in other and homelier and more perfect words, it is the relation realized by the man who knows the love of God, loves God, and feels bound to express his love in the fittest and and surest ways. Here thought, feeling and conduct are all contained, and stand in living and inseparable unity. He who loves God knows God, lives in harmony with the will he loves, and for its ends.

But it is necessary that some of the more significant principles implied in this position be made explicit.

1. The determinative idea in religion is the idea of God. A religion always is as its deity is—indeed, the former is but the latter become explicit, as it were the explicated idea of Him. As the one is conceived, the other must be through and through. A religion is perfect in the degree that its conception of God is perfect; it is the way in which a Church thinks of God that determines its religious place and power, whether it be a standing or a falling Church. And so where God is conceived as the Absolutely Good, as if He were the personalized moral energies of the universe working beneficently on behalf of each and of all, there the religion ought to be as if it were the organized beneficence of humanity, the power that works by divine inspiration for human good. For a religion not to be as its God is, is to be a thing of falsest nature, a satire on sincerity, a contradiction to the very idea of the truth.

2. The primary and causal relation in religion is not man's to God, but God's to man. His action precedes and underlies ours. For Him to be is to act; wherever He is He is active, and His action must be silent, but is never stayed or inoperative. Hence God's relation to man is the basis of man's relation to God, and religion is but man become so conscious of this prior relation as to live in harmony with it, as to attempt to realize the life and ideals and ends that come through it. But this involves the counterpart and complement of the first principle—viz., that a religious man always is as his God is, an image or miniature of Him, a form realizing in time the thought of the Eternal. But so construed he becomes not simply a person related to God, but a vehicle of the divine ideas, an organ or agent of the divine purposes. A nature that touches the divine, and exists through it, must be penetrated and moved by it; but to be so penetrated and moved is to exist and to



work for ends that are God's, though they may be ends that can only be realized through man. The religious individual is really the minister of a universal purpose, a temporal agent of the Eternal will.

3. The function or end of the religious man is to be a minister or vehicle of the divine purposes, and so the function or office of religion is to qualify man for this work. To perform it he must have a nature more or less open to God—stand, as it were, in a relation of reciprocity with Him. There is no atheism so bad as the one which reduces all God's action in the world to interference or miracle. The supernaturalism which limits His grace and truth to a Church profanely expels Him from Nature and humanity. There is a sense in which the highest ecclesiasticism is the worst theism; it lives largely by its denial or limitation of Deity. Nature is, because God everywhere acts; religion is, because He is the ever-working Spirit. In the field of Nature He acts through forces, in the field of history He acts through persons, and the persons who best serve Him are the religious, the men who so love the divine will as to labour to bring everything in themselves and in society into harmony with it. Such men know that they are not saved for their own sakes merely, but for man's; that to be religious is simply to become a means for the ends of God. For God governs man through men; great and good personalities are the chiefest works of Providence, the agencies through which it accomplishes its noblest moral results. There is no contribution to the common good like a good man; through him the mind of the race is lifted, its progress worked, something done towards the embodiment of the divine ideas, the realization of the divine order. It is in religion as in music: Nature is full of musical voices, of simple notes that sound melodiously in every ear; but out of these the cultured and quickened imagination of the master can create harmonies such as Nature never has created or can create—can in his *Oratorio* weave sounds into symphonies so wondrous that they seem like the speech of the gods suddenly breaking articulate upon the ear of man, speaking of passions, hopes, fears, joys too tumultuous and vast for the human tongue to utter, or opening and interpreting for mortals a world where, remote from discord or dissonance, thought and being move as to the stateliest music. So in the spiritual sphere the real and holy religious person is the master spirit, making audible to others the harmonies his imagination is the first to hear. In him the truths and ideas of God, as yet indistinctly seen or partially heard by the multitude, are embodied, become as it were incarnate, articulate, assume a visible and strenuous form that they may inspire men to nobler deeds and show them how to create a higher manhood and purer society. For these two stand indissolubly together; the most distinctly personal is still a collective good,

reduces the amount of evil in the world, augments the forces that contend against it. The better a man is, the more he feels the burden and the pain of sorrow, the mightier his ambition to help in the creation of a happier and a more perfect state. And as his most individual are still universal ends, he must seek the help of the like-minded, attempt to organize the good against the evil in the world. Thus, as religious men multiply, the enthusiasm of pity is sure to increase, the energies directed against sin and suffering are certain to grow more victorious. Every man possessed of the spirit of God feels the divine passion in the presence of sin, and so in him and his society, to the degree of their capacity, the redeeming energies of God may be said to work. The end of the Church is the salvation of the world, its redemption from the pain under which it has travailed from creation till now.

Let us see, then, whither our analysis of the idea of religion has conducted us:—Religion is essentially a relation of harmonious activity with the will of God; the man who realizes this relation is a religious man, the society which exists through and for its realization is a religious society. So understood, religion may be regarded, on the one side, as God's method or way of working out His beneficent purposes; on the other, as man's following the way that he may fulfil the ends of God. Through religion God creates the order, works the progress, and achieves the good of mankind, and this agent or organ throughout is the religious man and society. From this point of view, everything that makes for human happiness and wholeness is of religion; whatever fears man's growth in freedom, in culture, in science, in everything meant by progress and civilization, may be ecclesiastical, but is not religious. The organized society that seeks to enforce respect for its orders, observance of its ritual, participation in its worship, submission to its authority by invoking the terrors of the world to come, may be a church but is not a religion. The distinctive note of the latter is that it looks at the duties of the moment in the light of eternity, the character and needs of the individual as in the presence of the universal and in relation to the imperishable; and it does so not that it may despise time and the individual, but that it may magnify both; not that it may enfeeble, but that it may enlarge and strengthen duty; not that it may weaken the worth of character or make light of human need, but that it may lend a mightier import to the one and give a vaster reach to the other. The men who live as for eternity, believing that the problem of their being is, in harmony with the will of their Creator, to work out the ultimate order and good of the universe, live under the noblest and humanest inspiration possible to man. And this is the inspiration given by religion; have it is to breathe the thoughtful breath that comes of a living



faith. But this idea of religion requires as a clear necessity that the polity which seeks to articulate and incorporate and realize it be a polity that allows the religious society to live under the inspiration of its own ideals, under the control of its own truths, obedient to its own laws, altogether as a society whose energies and ends are all religious and all of God.

### III.

But this discussion hitherto has been largely *à priori*, and so it may be as well to confirm and illustrate the conclusion from the historical side. To discuss the abstract idea of religion is a small thing; it is a greater to look at it as embodied and expressed in the supreme religious personality of the race. In Jesus Christ what we term the ideal was realized, perfect religion became a living and articulate reality. Through His only-begotten Son, God declared what He meant and what He means man to be.

1. We must interpret His idea of religion through His life. That life was one of remarkable simplicity, but still more remarkable significance. It did not conform to either of the two traditional ideals, the priest's or the scribe's. The former made the temple and the priesthood the great factors of religion; in the temple God was to be found, the way into His presence was through His priests, the method of winning His favour or obtaining pardon was by their sacrifices. The holy man was the man who came often to the temple and made generous use of its priesthood, places, articles and modes of worship. Worship, conducted by authorized persons within the sacred place and in the established way, became the same essence of religion, and the priesthood themselves are our witnesses as to how completely their ceremonial had swallowed up God's moral law. The ideal of the scribes was different, yet akin; it was made up of rules, constituted by regulations as to the doing and ordering of the sensuous things of life. It observed days and months and seasons, was great in fasts and alms, and times and modes of prayer, found great merit in phylacteries and in the reading of the Scriptures, was devotedly loyal to the unwritten law, which was formed of ancient custom, the decisions of the great synagogue or council of their church, and the wisdom of the fathers. Knowledge of this law was the most esteemed learning, and the esteem was expressed in a notable way; the man wise enough to interpret the law made laws by his interpretations. And so the holy man of the scribe forgot no sacred day or solemn time, neglected no fast, gave alms of all he had, prayed by book, worshipped according to law, and otherwise toiled and comported himself as became a man who lived by rule. Excellent men they were—honest, scrupulous, faithful in the minutest things, only forgetful that the kingdom and truth of God

were infinitely wider than their law. And here the kinship of the ideals appears; both could make scrupulous, neither could make magnanimous, men. Each had had its heroes, who had suffered, and even died, in defence of altar and ritual, or through fidelity to minute points of law; but neither had produced a man possessed of the enthusiasm of humanity, full of holy passion for the moral ends of God. The man who has the strength of fanaticism in things sacerdotal is by this very fact made a stranger to the spirit and inspiration of true religion.

For let us look at Christ in relation to the priest and the scribe. His ideal stood in so sharp antithesis to theirs that He was unintelligible to both, was regarded and treated by both as an absolute enemy. In the eye of the scribe He was a religious alien, standing outside the continuity and catholicity of Jewish tradition and doctrine; in the eye of the priest he broke the unity of the order and worship established of old by God, consecrated by law and custom, possessed of divine authority, the very symbol of the national life and condition of the people's well-being. His home was in Galilee, remote from the city of the religion where the priest was the ruler and the sacerdotal was also the civil law. When He visited their city the priests could not understand one whose temple and worship were spiritual, whose God was a Father who made sacrifices to save, who did not need incense and sacrifices and burnt-offerings to become propitious; they knew not what to do with Him, knew only how to hate Him, how to glut their hate in the infamy and death of the cross. In the province where He familiarly lived the distance of the priest and the presence of the Gentile made the atmosphere clearer, ritual law and custom less rigid, and so it was more favourable to a religious development regulated throughout by the spontaneous and normal action of His own ideal. But here He met the Pharisee and the scribe, and their relation to Him was one of radical contradiction and fretful collision, proceeding from their fanatical devotion to the traditions of the fathers and their consequent inability to understand His spirit and His truth. In His daily and familiar life they found none of the customary signs of religion—fasting, alms, the phylactery, stated forms and times and places for prayer, ceremonial cleanliness, punctilious observance of the Sabbath law and customs; nay, they found not only these absent, but a conduct that seemed studiously to offend, kindly speech to Gentiles, association with publicans and sinners, unheard-of liberty allowed to His disciples and claimed for Himself on the Sabbath, and the right to do all this vindicated by the denial of the authority of tradition and the elders, and by the assertion of His own. It was to these scrupulous and conscientious men all very sad, even awful, and so they judged Him a profane person, acting from no other purpose or motive than to destroy the



law and the prophets. As later the Christians, too religious to be understood of the heathen, were judged to be men without religion, and condemned as atheists, so Christ, without any of the notes distinctive of sacerdotal and legal piety, was deemed altogether impious and declared worthy of death.

But to the men He called and made clear of eye and open of vision, the real secret of His spirit stood disclosed. They saw that the denials were the accidents of His life; but the affirmation of a new religious ideal was its essence. Of this ideal the prophets had dreamed, but He made it an articulate reality. God was to Him what He had never yet been to man—a living Father, loving, loved—in whom He was embosomed—through whom, and to whom, He lived. He knew no moment without His presence; suffered no grief the Father did not share; tasted no joy He did not send; spoke no word that was not of Him; did no act that was not obedience to His will. Where the relation was so immediately filial and beautiful, the mediation of a priest had been an impertinence, the use of his sacrifices and forms an estrangement, the coming of a cold, dark cloud between the radiant soul of the Son and the gracious face of the Father. Where true love lives it must use its own speech, speak in its own name, and feel that it must touch, and, as it were, hold with its own hands the higher love that loved it into being. And because He stood so related to the Father, He and the Father had one love, one work, one will, one end. To see Him was to see the Father; His working was the Father's. Through Him God lived among men; the glory men beheld in Him was the glory of the only Begotten, incarnated grace and truth. And so this love of God was love of man; in the Son of Man the Father of man served His child, and humanity came to know its God and the things in which He delighted. The best service of God was a ministry that redeemed from sin, a sacrifice that saved from death. The wonderful thing in religion was not what man gave to God, but what God gave to man—the good, the truth, the love—the way in which He bore his sins and carried his sorrows, made human guilt divine passion, and the cure of hate the work of love. What God is among His worlds Jesus was among men: He is the mind and heart of God personalized for humanity; as it were, His universal ideal realized. And after what manner did this realized ideal live? As embodied compassion, beneficence, truth, love, working for the complete redemption of man. Every kind of evil was to Him a pain from which He could not but seek to save. Disease He loved to cure; poverty He pitied, doing His utmost to create the temper before which it should cease; the common afflictions of man touched Him with sympathy, subdued Him to tears. But what moved Him most was moral evil—the sight of man in the hands of sin; and in order to save

him from it, He took an altogether new way. He dismissed the venerable methods and impotent formalisms of the priest and the scribe, and went in among the guilty, that He might in the very heart of their guilt awaken the love of good and of God. He did not feel that He condescended, only that His love was a sweet compulsion to save; they did not feel His condescension, only the goodness that was too pure for their sin to sully, that so thought of their good as to win their souls for God. And the result was altogether wonderful; the laws of the scribe and the religion of the priest had only divided men—had made good and evil accidents of custom, not qualities and states of the living person, had cured no sinner, had only created fictitious sins, the more damning that they were so false; but the new spirit and way of Christ found the common manhood of men, united them, made sin moral, change from it possible, even dutiful; made religion become, as it were, the concentrated and organized moral energies of God working redemptively through men on behalf of man. There never was a grander or more fruitful revolution of thought, more needed on earth, more manifestly of heaven. He who accomplished it was indeed a Redeemer; through Him religion ceased to be an affair of the priest or the magistrate, transacted in the temple and conducted by ceremonial and according to law, and became the supreme concern of man, covering his whole life, working in every way for his amelioration, satisfied with nothing less than the perfect virtue and happiness alike of the individual and the race—in simple truth, God's own method for realizing in man His ideal of humanity.

2. As Jesus lived He taught; His teaching but articulated the ideal He embodied in His character and life. One thing in that teaching is most remarkable—the complete absence of sacerdotal ideas, the non-recognition of those customs and elements men had been wont to think essential to religion. He spoke of Himself as a teacher, never as a priest; assumed no priestly office, performed no priestly function, breathed an atmosphere that had no sacerdotal taint, that was full only of the largest and most fragrant humanity. He instituted no sacerdotal office or rite, appointed no man to any sacerdotal duty, sent His disciples forth to be teachers or preachers, made no man of them a priest, created no order of priesthood to which any man could belong. Worship to Him was a matter of the Spirit; it needed no consecrated place or person—needed only the heart of the Son to be real before the Father. The best worship was obedience; the man perfect as God is perfect was the man who pleased God. His beatitudes were all reserved for ethical qualities of mind, were never promised on any ceremonial or sacerdotal condition. His good man was "poor in spirit," "meek," "merciful," "pure in heart," "hungry after righteousness," "a peacemaker." In describing



His ideal of goodness He found its antitheses in the ideals of the temple and tradition; His example of universal benevolence was "the good Samaritan;" its contradiction the priest and the Levite; true prayer was illustrated by the penitent publican, false by the formal Pharisee. The parables that vindicated His treatment of sinners enforced the high doctrine that nothing was so agreeable to God as their salvation, that the mission of the godlike was to seek and save them. The duty that summarized all others was love to God; the man that loved most obeyed best—could not but obey. To love God was to love man, to love the Divine Spirit was to do a divine part, to be pitiful, to forgive as God forgives, to bear ill and do good, to act unto others in a godlike way that they may be won to godlike conduct. And He did not conceive good men as isolated—they formed a society, a kingdom. The citizens of His kingdom were the men who heard His voice and followed His way. God reigned in and over them, and they existed for His ends, to create good and overcome evil. The kingdom they constituted was "of heaven," opposed in source and nature to those founded in the despotisms and iniquities of earth; and also "of God," proceeded from the Creator and Sovereign of man that His own high order might be realized. Such being its nature, it could be incorporated in no polity, organized under no local forms into no national or temporal system; it was a "kingdom of the truth," and all who were of the truth belonged to it. It was a sublime idea; the good and holy of every land and race were gathered into a glorious fellowship, dwelt together, however far apart or mutually unknown, as citizens of the same Eternal City, with all their scattered energies so unified by the will of God as to be co-ordinated and co-operant factors of human progress and happiness. Men have not yet risen to the clear and full comprehension of this ideal, and the tardiest in reaching it are those organized political institutions which boast themselves sole possessors of Christ's truth and life.

3. It is hardly necessary to discuss the meaning for our thesis of Christ's person and teaching. To Christian men He is the normal and normative religious person—*i.e.*, the person whose living is their law, who made the standard to which they ought to conform, and who distributes the influences creative of conformity. Now, in Him religion was a perfect relation to God expressed in speech and action creative of a perfect humanity, a humanity made through knowledge of God, obedient to Him. As embodied in Him religion was in the presence of sin and sorrow a holy passion, a suffering unto sacrifice due to a love that identified the sinless Seeker with the sinner He sought; but in the presence of the salvability of man it was an enthusiasm of redemption, the victorious working of the Spirit that can spare no evil and can be pleased with

no good that falls short of the perfection which can alone satisfy God. So understood, religion is man's living in loving and holy harmony with the will of God, and its work the creation of a humanity that shall in all its persons, relations, and institutions express and realize this harmony.

## IV.

The discussion has hitherto been concerned with the ideal of religion; we must now, and most briefly, glance at the churches in relation to it.

1. Our fundamental principle here is this: the churches exist by the religion, and for it; the religion does not exist through the churches, or for them. The religion is the creative, the church the created idea; and here, as everywhere, the law ought to be valid, that the measure of truth for the created idea is that it shall harmonize with and truly express the creative. The churches must be construed through the religion, not the religion through the churches. It is true independently of them, but they are right only as they are throughout accordant with it in nature and character. Now this accordancy may be tested in two ways, either by comparing the two ideals, that of the church and that of the religion, or by the simple historical inquiry, Has it made, individually and collectively, the people among whom it has lived fulfil, or approximate to the fulfilment of, Christ's ideal? That latter is a grave question for all the churches. The degree in which they have worked this realization is the measure of their success; the degree in which they have not, is the measure of their failure.

It would lead into a region I am most anxious to avoid were any attempt here made at detailed comparative criticism of Church ideals and the religious. The purpose of this paper is more positive, by discussing the religious to show what the ecclesiastical ought to be. Yet it may emphasize this purpose and illustrate the idea which underlies it, if we look in the light of our previous discussions at the spirit and motives which produced the Anglican revival of fifty years ago. That revival was at its birth distinctly doctrinal or ideal, and though it used history to support and commend its idea it did so at first in faith rather than with knowledge. The success that attended its use was more due to a courage that walked fearlessly into the unknown than to any clear light of science. When one turns to the tracts and treatises of the period one wonders, when regard is had to the historical material and the method of handling it, at the extraordinary effects they produced. Keble, Newman, and Pusey are indeed illustrious names; at no time has the Church of England or the University of Oxford had names more venerated or worthier of honour. But the work they did was accomplished through what



they brought to history, not through what they found in it; at least, through what they found only so far as it was the vehicle of what they brought. The movement they inaugurated may be described as a movement for the recovery of the lost or forgotten ideal of the Anglican Church. They worked out the ideal, and then made inroads into history in search of the means of realization, though their researches and labours were, in the case of many, to have a tragic effect upon the ideal. Still the motive or spring of their endeavour was the wish to call into being a nobler faith, the belief that their Church was one of apostolic descent, of continuous life, supernatural endowment and divine authority.

In order that they might evoke and vivify this faith, they tried to enrich the church of to-day with the wealth of all her yesterdays, to adorn her age with the grace of her youth and the fruitful strength of her maturity. And so they recalled the memories of her illustrious saints and fathers, woke into speech the long silent wisdom of her divines and teachers, searched out and restored her ancient treasures of devotion, her richest and sweetest forms for the service of God, studied how to make again significant and symbolical, or, as they loved to think, beautiful with holiness, her homes and temples of worship, how to deepen the mystery and enhance the efficacy of her sacraments, how to invest with all needed virtue and authority her orders and her offices—in a word, how to make her live to the eye of the imagination as to the eye of faith arrayed in all the grace of her Lord, clothed in all the dignity and loveliness of the historical "Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." The ideal was at once winsome and majestic, well fitted to awe into reverence and inspire with the enthusiasm of devotion. It came like a revelation to an age weary of a hard and pragmatic evangelicalism, with its prosaic spirit, narrow interests and formal methods of reconciling God and man. It appealed to the imagination which romanticism had touched and quickened, doing for the Church what the poetry of Wordsworth had done for Nature, and the works of Scott for the national history. A new notion of religion came through the new idea, and the men it penetrated and held were like men possessed of a new spirit of worship, a seemlier, a more reverent and holy sense of God. We need not wonder at its victories; man would have been more ignoble than he is if he had remained insensible to its charm. Happily for human nature and progress, there is no law more sure in its operation than this—that a belief ennobles in proportion to its own nobility; what has no intrinsic goodness can never evoke enthusiasm for good.

But it is not enough to construe the Anglican ideal through the notion of the church; it is necessary to study and criticize it through the idea of the religion. This is not only to change the point of

view, but it is to assume a much higher one; for religion being greater than the church, a rich and sublime ecclesiastical may be a poor and mean religious ideal. The question here, then, is—whether the Anglican ideal did really articulate and faithfully interpret the religion of Christ? Whether it translated into visible speech and living form for the people and state of England His mind as to His society or kingdom? Here the main point of the problem does not relate to a great clerical and sacerdotal corporation, instituted for the maintenance and realization of worship, but to a society that claims to embody and to work for the completer embodiment in everything and in every one of the order and ideas of God, of the spirit and truth of Christ. This is a larger, grander and harder matter than the other, and implies two things; on the one side a clear and complete comprehension of the idea of the religion, and on the other a full and sufficient articulation of the same in the institutions and agencies needed to work its realization. Now when we analyze the principles or elements that underlie the Anglican ideal, what do we find? A singularly imperfect and narrow idea of religion, supported by an equally narrow and one-sided theory as to human nature, as to history and providence, as to God and man in themselves and in their mutual relations. On the one side, the ideal rested on the twin pillars of a great doubt and a great fear; it doubted the presence of God in humanity, the activity and reality of His grace outside the limits of a constituted church and apart from sacramental persons, instruments and symbols. It doubted the sanity of the reason He had given, thought that it had so little affinity with its Maker as to be ever tending away from Him, its bent by nature being from God rather than to God; and so it was possessed of the great fear that reason, freed from the authority and guardian care of an organized and apostolic church, would infallibly break from the control of His law and His truth. It made man, as it were, atheist by nature, and so confined divine influence to artificial and ordained channels as to make the common life, which most needs to be illumined and ennobled by the divine, either vacant of God or alien from Him. And so it enriched the church by impoverishing humanity, what it took from the one being its loftiest ideals, what it gave to the other being but their sensuous and baser counterfeits. On the other and more positive side, this ideal implied principles that had no place in the mind of Christ, or any real affinity to His free and gracious spirit. Its most beautiful quality was its reverence; it was possessed, as it were, of an enthusiasm of devotion; but it even here knew too little of His joyous and sweet spontaneity, the glad and trustful filial spirit that loved immediate speech and fellowship with the Father. Then its ideal of duty was too ecclesiastical to be His, was without His large benefi-



cence and healthful humanity. Its knowledge of Him was mediæval, not primitive; the Christ it knew was the Christ of mystery and sacraments, not the Christ of Nature and God. He did not love tradition, did not believe in the sanctity of forms, in the holiness of fasts, the sin and apostasy of all who refused to conform to the priestly law or order. And what He did not love for Himself He could not love for His people; what displeased Him in Judaism He could not be pleased to see crystallized round Himself. The living man, the conscious home and Son of God, with love breaking into spontaneous speech and filial act, was more to Him than the orderly observance of ritual, or than the stateliest worship of the temple. His ideal of worship was filial love expressed in filial speech and conduct, and this love made all places sacred, all times holy, all service religious, all actions duties done to the Father in heaven. There never was a humaner or saner ideal, one that so consecrated and elevated the whole man, so penetrated and transfigured his whole life. Its essential elements were all natural, in no degree sacerdotal, traditional, or ecclesiastical; where man knew God as the Father and himself as a son, worship could not but be; not elsewhere or in other sort was worship possible.

Now, it is by this vaster and grander yet simpler ideal that the Anglican must be measured; it must fulfil the idea of Christ to be a true ideal for a Christian church. We may not make deductions that only a detailed comparison, running along many lines, would warrant; but two sayings, an Anglican and a Christian may be compared. Here is the Anglican: "There is a well-known sect, which denies both Baptism and the Lord's Supper. A churchman must believe its members to be altogether external to the fold of Christ. Whatever benevolent work they may be able to show, still, if we receive the Church doctrine concerning the means, generally necessary to salvation, we must consider such persons to be mere heathens, except in knowledge."\* That is the Church's doctrine. Here is Christ's:† "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." In the light of the latter the former looks hard enough. A theory that has to make mere heathens of some of the most beautiful and devoted spirits that have adorned the religion and promoted the philanthropies of modern times, may be good ecclesiasticism but is bad Christianity. The difference between them is the difference between two ideals, that of the Son of Man and that of the Son of the Church. If the Anglican revival has sublimed and softened and enriched our worship, it has also narrowed and hardened and impoverished our religion. Sensuous excellence may be the most serious of spiritual defects,

\* J. H. Newman, "Via Media," vol. ii. pp. 29-30 (1877).

† Matt. xii. 50.

and a political ideal which suppresses or misconceives essential elements in the religious, wants the most distinctive note of truth.

2. We return then to our fundamental principle: the churches exist for the religion and ought to be as it is, agencies and institutions for its realization, good only as adapted to this end. The character of a religion is determined by its ideal of God; the constitution, action and ambitions of a church are determined by its idea of religion. To be unfaithful to any element in the latter is to be without the highest kind of catholicity, catholicity as regards the truth. The glory of the Christian religion is its conception of God. He is the common Father and Sovereign, benevolent and beneficent, gracious yet righteous. He loves all men, and wills their good; hates sin and contends against it with all His energies. He finds His highest beatitude in the happiness of the creature, but makes holiness the condition of happiness. To create holiness that happiness may be realized, is the aim of the divine moral government; in making for righteousness it makes for the highest good of the universe. But the religion that articulates this conception must be as it were the moral energies of the race, organized and inspired of God, for the creation of holy happiness and happy holiness. And the churches that interpret the religion must have this as their supreme end, the regnant idea that determines the range and modes of their activities. No element or province of good can be alien to them; whatever tends to bring in a more perfect order is their proper work, whatever tends to delay or defeat its coming is their proper enemy. They are associations for worship, for the societies that are to carry out God's purposes must depend on Him and stand with Him in living fellowship and sympathy; but their worship is only a means, not an end; it is meant to create a gentler and more reverent spirit, a holier passion of benevolence, a more exalted moral enthusiasm, not simply to soothe and satisfy the soul. They are homes of instruction, for men must be informed of the truth if they are to be formed by it; but the instruction is in order to better living, to nobler and more efficient action in the way of Christ and for the ends of His kingdom. In Him all the churches find their ideal religious person; to create Christlike men and to realize in society an order and law worthy of Him is their mission. To fulfil it they must work as He worked, by love, by gentleness, by speaking the truth, by creating a manhood that praises God, and a brotherhood that rejoices man, by bearing the sins and carrying the sorrows of men till the life of sorrow and the being of sin shall cease, by unweariedness in well-doing increasing the number of good men and the quality of their goodness, so making earth in an ever brighter degree the home of a redeemed humanity. Churches that do not work for these ends are not churches of the Christian



religion; those that work by fittest means, and so to best issues, are the most Christian of churches.

The range thus opened up to the activity of the churches is immense; it is coextensive with the needs of society and man. Their primary duty is to the individual; with him they must begin. Good persons are the most efficient factors of good; what makes the most good men does the most good to man. Now, religion has in a unique degree the power of conversion; we may say, indeed, is the sole possessor of this power. Any great ambition or affection may exalt, or even in a sense purify, a man; but a man must have a certain largeness and elevation of nature before he can feel it. Love of art or science, literary, political and other ambition, may persuade a man to live both purely and laboriously, but the nature to which they appeal must be already a noble nature. The arts and sciences do not so much elevate man as witness to his elevation. But religion has an altogether peculiar power: it can touch the bad man, find the good in him, so possess as to transform his nature, making him in all things the servant of righteousness. Now, this power the churches ought to labour to exercise in the highest possible degree. They ought to burn with a passion for souls, be consumed with the desire to save. This does not mean the ambition for numbers, but the enthusiasm for a religious change that is a moral regeneration. To the extent that a profession of religion does not carry with it purity, chastity, truth—in a word, integrity of moral nature—it is an evil and not a good. The churches must bring together faith and conduct, translate the ideal of their Master into the living of their disciples, if they are to live to purpose and grow in power.

This, then, is their primary duty—to save men; but their first is not their last. Saved men are means, not ends; they are saved that they may save, work out the moral regeneration of the race. The churches that convert most men, and best use the men they have converted, realize religion in the most efficient way. It is the work of these men, instructed and inspired by their churches, to carry their high principles everywhere and into everything. They are not to conserve the actual, but to create the ideal, to labour along all lines that promise the amelioration of the human lot. They may think the world bad, but it is capable of being mended, and to mend it is the very reason of their being. The churches ought to be the mothers of strenuous philanthropists, encouraging their sons to labour among the men who make crime, and against the conditions that make criminals; in the hospitals where the diseased are tended, and against the slums where they are bred; in the charities where the poor are helped, and against the poverty and the causes of the poverty that make the charities necessary. They ought to be the teachers of statesmen, and demand that the nation in all its legisla-

tion and in all its conduct, home or foreign, follow the righteousness that alone exalteth, recognizing no law as good, no action as honourable, that denies or offends Christian principle. They ought to be the weightiest preachers of economic doctrine, building on the principles of Christian brotherhood and equity an ideal industrial society, where all should work and work be honoured; where wealth, without any schemes of violent and wrongful division, should by the action of moral laws through moral men be so distributed as to create a State where poverty was unknown and charity was unneeded. They ought, too, to be the great mothers and guardians of social purity, fearing not to rebuke the sins of class and caste, of idleness and luxury, bending their energies to the creation of a loftier ideal of manhood and womanhood, a chivalrous chastity of thought and conduct that should, were it only by the courage of innocence, rebuke or shame into silence the lower passions and lusts. Were the churches to forget all their sectional jealousies in the grand remembrance of their high mission to further the common good, were they to lose the mean political and sacerdotal ambitions, that have narrowed and materialized the prouder and more historic of them, in a sublime moral enthusiasm for the realization of the religious ideal, they would become possessed of a power which could be described only as a baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire. The paralysis of the churches in the religious sphere is due to the narrowness of their spirit and aims. They have been contented with too little; they need to make a reality of their faith and its laws for the whole life of society and man.

It need not be said that this is not meant to be a plea for an extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; on the contrary, that would seem to me a simple calamity. Nor is there any argument on behalf of the supremacy of the church over the civil courts in matters ecclesiastical; on the contrary, these judicial conflicts but show to me the disastrous depravation of our idea of religion. There is nothing that has so hindered the supremacy of religion as the struggle for ecclesiastical supremacy. The ecclesiastic is not made by his function a religious man; his position rather makes him but a statesman of narrower interests, with ambitions circumscribed by the limits of his society. To allow ecclesiastics to rule the nation, as history has so often calamitously proved, is but to sacrifice the people to a class. That is the best civil polity which secures at once perfect order and perfect freedom, the highest happiness and the most happiness to its people; and that is the best ecclesiastical which develops, exercises and organizes to the highest degree, in the wisest ways, and for the most beneficent ends the moral and spiritual energies of the religion and the religious. And so what is here pleaded for is the sovereignty of religion, the reign through the reason over the con-



science of the beliefs, truths, ideas that constitute it. What is needed to this reign is a teacher who can interpret the meaning of a God, who is a moral sovereign, for the whole nature, the whole life, and the whole duty of man. Such a teacher the churches ought to be, but to be it they must be in Novalis' phrase, here used in all reverence, *Gott-trunkene*, possessed by an unresting and inextinguishable passion for His moral ends, for the creation of an order that shall in its measure fitly express or reflect His eternal ideal. Within the Christian conception of God there lies for the Christian religion a world of unexhausted possibilities; only when it has been fully construed will theology be perfected, only when it has been so applied as to order and regulate the life, individual and collective, will religion be realized. Once this idea has become the inspiration of the Church, it will look back with shame on the days of the old ecclesiasticism when it lived in bondage to the letter, and it will contrast in large joyfulness the freedom that allows its people to build by spiritual methods and through moral agencies "the City of the living God," with the liberty they knew and loved of old, the liberty of so manipulating the past as to make it approve the present. Then working, not under the belittling burden of an exhausted yet authoritative past, but for the future and under the inspiration of the sublimest of all ideals, they will become fit vehicles for the religion that alone possesses the secret for promoting without cessation human progress and human good. The abstractions of Positivism are potent and significant only to the studious enthusiast; but the moral energies of religion are for all men engines of mightiest dynamic power. They enlarge the individual life with universal ideals; they lift time into the stream of an eternal purpose and fill it with eternal issues, and they make the simplest moral act great as a real factor in the evolution of a higher order and immortal character. To the imagination that has been touched by the real ideal of religion, the fervid prophesyings of our modern Agnostics and Positivists, are but the tamest and earthliest of dreams.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

## THE GOLD TREASURE OF INDIA.

*The Gold Treasure of India.* By CLARMONT J. DANIELL  
Bengal Civil Service.

MR. CLARMONT DANIELL here lays before the English people a work which calls loudly for the closest study from statesmen and economists. It deals with a problem of supreme difficulty but also of the highest national importance. The problem deeply affects the welfare of the vast empire of India, and is closely connected with the interests and the prosperity of British trade. Mr. Clarmont Daniell has treated it with eminent ability, and in its main features with very marked success. He has brought to bear upon it great power of thought, and, from his connection with India, a large amount also of local and valuable knowledge. To handle it successfully, political economy of the widest range and the soundest character was required, and Mr. Clarmont Daniell has amply fulfilled this necessary condition for giving counsel which can be trusted. Those who are anxious to obtain a right understanding of the nature of the problem, and an assurance that may be relied on for accuracy and sound judgment in its solution, will not easily find an instructor of equal value with our author.

The problem is presented by the currency of India. The money of India is as bad in principle as any to be found in the whole civilized world, and in mischievous consequences infinitely the worst. Its one sole legal tender is silver. For serving as the tool of exchange, as the one instrument of buying and selling, silver labours under the worst of all disqualifications—unsteadiness of value. The man who sells his goods, his cotton, for money, does so in full reliance that in buying something else with that money it will possess a value equal to that of the cotton he sold. He has no other motive for giving away his cotton for money except the obtaining with it some other commodity of equal worth; if the



money bought fails in effecting such a purchase, it is untrue to the motive which made him touch money at all. In no way can money fail more entirely in fulfilling the purpose for which it was called into existence. Great permanent unsteadiness of value in buying is the worst sin that money can have.

How fares it with India's money? It is composed of silver: the metal is employed solely for the sake of its value—its power of acquiring other commodities by being exchanged; what answer does India give to the question? That silver is afflicted with the apparently incurable disease of being inherently unstable in value. That is enough to condemn it as bad legal tender money. Look at the results in India. In 1870 a sovereign was equal to 10 rupees of silver; in 1880, 12 rupees were required to be given as change for a sovereign. Generally, the silver rupee has lost 20 per cent. of its former value. Think of the harm which such falls inflict on an Indian trader making purchases in England. He must pay with sovereigns—that is, he must buy sovereigns wherewith to obtain the English goods he seeks. He must pay two prices—first, the rupee at its Indian value—that is, the goods he gave away for the rupees; and then a second price in the form of loss on the exchange—the addition to his rupees which he must make in order to acquire the sovereign or the goods he buys at the cost of a sovereign. The trade with England is diminished, the Indians buy fewer English goods, solely because their Indian money, their silver rupees, are unstable in value, in their power of buying. What greater offence can a particular system of money commit?

There are peculiarities too in the relations of India to England which swell the evil. "The English in India, not being colonists, but merely residents, have occasion to remit week by week considerable sums of money to their own country." Railway and other dividends have to be remitted; innumerable English supplies of endless kinds must be bought. Those dividends are received in rupees, and the rupees "lose 20 per cent. of their worth on being converted into English sovereigns in England. What an obstacle does the expansion of trade here find." Nay, more: that part of the cost of administering the government of India, and of the interest on the public debt, and of the interest on the capital invested in guaranteed railways which must be paid in London, amounts to £14,000,000 a year. What a tax the Government is thus compelled to raise in India when it has to turn in England its rupees of 20*d.* into rupees of 24*d.* wherewith to make up fourteen millions of sovereigns. Can a currency equally disastrous be pointed out in any other country? "A Secretary of State might as well try to stop the tide as arrest the trouble."

Further, there is an additional aggravation of the mischief by a marked quality of silver—its inveterate tendency to perpetual change

of value. A 20 per cent. fall is indisputably a great blow; still, if it was inflicted once, and then ceased, the loss would be immense, but if the metal's value became afterwards steady, it would be eventually recovered. But the value of silver never keeps quiet; it is ever on the move; and thus inflicts on all trade a harm which never ceases to excite anxiety, and to tend to diminish commercial operations. Experience made the Latin Union, whose legal tender was silver, painfully aware of this harassing quality of silver money; so it found itself compelled to correct the evil by dismissing its silver currency, and substituting a gold one in its place.

It is unnecessary to say more to demonstrate the badness of the rupee currency, the silver legal tender of India. A radical reform is needed; and it cannot be reasonably doubted that Mr. Clarmont Daniell rightly advocates the one scientific and practical plan for obtaining the best form of currency which the nature of money admits of. That plan is the coinage and circulation of gold as the real instrument of exchange, the actual money by which purchases and sales are to be made and regulated; but in combination with it subsidiary silver coins are to be employed, adjusted in their relative value to those of gold, on the basis of a ratio founded on the intrinsic value, the metallic bullion worth, of each of the two metals. If this plan is successfully established, every seller, every creditor will receive in payment of what is due to him, whether he is paid with gold or with silver coins, its full bullion value calculated in gold.

It now becomes necessary to state the plan as proposed by Mr. Clarmont Daniell.

1. The Government of India shall coin a gold coin, in all respects identical with the £1 sterling of the currency of the realm, out of the stock of gold now to be found in India, to any amount in which the metal may be brought by its owners to the mints for that purpose.

2. These gold coins shall be declared *legal tender* for the payment of any sum of money due to the Government of India, at the option of the party making the payment; and in other cases they shall be legal tender for the discharge of any obligation amounting to rupees 5000 and upwards, at the option of the party making the payment.

3. The Government of India shall from time to time declare (but not more frequently than may be necessary or convenient) the rate at which the gold coin of its currency shall be accepted as legal payment of sums contracted to be paid in silver coin; and this State conversion shall be strictly regulated by the market value of the silver rupees of the British Indian currency in these gold sovereigns.

4. The silver rupees shall continue to be legal tender for all kinds of payments, and in any amount, at the option of the party making the payment.



5. No person—the Government excepted—shall be obliged to take payment in gold of a debt due in silver which may be less in amount than rupees 5000, unless he shall previously have agreed with his debtor to do so.

Such is Mr. Clarmont Daniell's plan for constructing a new currency for India. It is abundantly clear that it is built on the one great principle which is the essence of all sound money, that a seller shall receive in exchange, by an act of true barter, a commodity of equal value with that commodity which he is giving away, commodity for commodity, each possessing the same market value. This is what good money gives to each party in an exchange, to each buyer and seller; this the manner in which it does its work. For be it most carefully remembered, to procure, with the money he gets, another article worth that he is parting with, is the sole motive, the one dominant reason, for a seller's touching money at all. In this very grave matter, so deeply affecting the interest, nay, the welfare itself, of all classes of society, there is one grand central truth which is constantly unseen or forgotten. No one seeks to get money for its own sake; no one takes it in exchange for what he gives away because he wishes to keep it. It is a pure tool—nothing more; and the work performed by this tool is to pass away from the hands of the seller, who agreed to give his wealth or his labour for it. His sole motive for taking it is to get something else with it. To hoard money is a folly, unless some very special reason can be given for so doing. If this great fundamental truth was perceived and appreciated, many a currency in the world would soon be made to pass through a revolution.

There is a second quality which possesses great importance for money being good and performing its work well. There is no article in the world which is not subject to variations of market value. That value depends first on the cost of producing the commodity, and then, secondly, on the fluctuations of its demand and supply.

The metals of which money is composed are peculiarly liable to these variations of value. The mines may easily produce more abundant and consequently cheaper ore, or they may give a scantier yield or even die away. In either case the cost of production of the money may greatly alter, and many are the causes amidst the complication of modern civilized life which may create large increases or decreases in the actual amounts of coin demanded for use. Thus the worth of money in buying and selling, its power to buy goods of every kind, is made to change very mischievously. Its action, the very thing it has to do, to obtain for wealth given away other wealth fully worth it, is thus injured at the core. Every debtor or every creditor may suffer grievous loss. Permanent payments of interest, the worth of consols and their dividends, every loan given

for a long period, the intrinsic value of every mill and all machinery, settlements made by will or otherwise—in a word, all property estimated in money—may become disastrously altered in real value by this change of money's value. Every fixed sum of money assumes a different meaning. Prices will have risen or fallen largely everywhere; the same amount of money no longer acquires the same quantity of goods. Obviously this is a calamity which calls loudly for being guarded against in every practicable way. Money must be steady in value by every means that its nature admits of.

Mr. Clarmont Daniell has fully recognized this great truth. He has constructed his plan for creating a new currency, a new form of money for India on the fundamental principle that money does its work by means of its value as a commodity. The commodity he selects is gold; he treats the sovereign as a piece of bullion. He knows what good money ought to be, and he finds good money in gold. The general belief of the whole commercial world confirms this opinion. Gold is not perfect money; it is subject, like all metals, to variations of value; but it generates the least harm in practice, and is found by civilized nations to possess the steadiest value attainable. So his plan gives India gold, in principle and valuation, as its money. He makes gold the money of India as gold is of England, as the Latin Union has aimed at having, and as other nations recognize to be really the soundest. No wiser or sounder judgment, it may be believed, could have been adopted.

Mr. Clarmont Daniell builds his proposal on the real economical foundation.

"Gold," he says, "is but a commodity. When one man sells goods for gold, the purchaser sells gold for goods; and as gold is the equivalent of the labour primarily bestowed on its production, the sale is in effect a sale of these goods for the labour which produced the gold; and because traders exchanging their wares for one another do so at such an estimate of their relative value in each case as will compensate each purchaser and seller for what he has expended on his share of them respectively, it follows that under a system of free competition in production and sale, all commodities, gold included, exchange for one another ultimately, and on the average, on the basis of their cost of production."

But, it may be said, how about paper money? A vast amount of the currency of England, as of other nations, is composed of notes—mere promises to pay. How came it to pass that a promise given is as efficient a tool for exchanging, for buying and selling, as the actual reality, the thing promised? If it is good money, what becomes of the theory that money acts by virtue of its worth as bullion, as metal? How is it that paper is as good for buying with as a piece of valuable gold? The explanation of the difficulty is easy. It flows from the fact that a seller of goods does not want for actual use the gold which he obtains in exchange for them. What he wants is not the gold itself as metal, but its worth, its value; and



if he becomes the possessor of that value, he can transfer it, in buying, to another man, who will become its owner instead of himself. A bank-note may be regarded as a ticket to a trunk in a cloak-room. The holder of the receipt owns the trunk, but so far makes no use of it. The man who sells for notes knows that they are titles to an equivalent amount of bullion, and that is enough for him, as he has no actual need for the sovereigns themselves. They give him the power of obtaining the sovereigns; that is sufficient for him, and equally sufficient for the man of whom he buys. A bank-note may effect thousands of purchases: the sovereigns have been slumbering in the Bank of England's vault; but the action of money, the transfer of the ownership of value, is complete.

But a formidable objection, in the opinion of many, now raises up its head. How can Mr. Clarmont Daniell be said to bestow a gold currency on India when avowedly his system largely employs silver? The same remark will apply with equal force to the money adopted by England. Shillings circulate in great numbers in England: is not her currency manifestly bimetallic? Certainly not, is the right answer to be given to this question. England is emphatically a monometallic country, her use of shillings notwithstanding. Shillings are not worth the value which is given to them towards the sovereign. No one contests that a sovereign is worth more than twenty shillings. Then are not shillings bad money, over-valued coins? it will be asked. Again we must fall back on the same reply. Shillings are not bad money, and English money is about the best in the whole world. Shillings are tokens—their actual value comes from their legal relation to the sovereign. The definition of a sovereign is a certain weight of gold, so many carats; the definition of a shilling is the twentieth part of a sovereign. But why is the public willing to take these shillings at their over-estimated, their really false value? Because they are not legal tender for more than two pounds; no one is obliged by law to receive payment of a debt due to him in forty-one shillings. Thus they remain as counters for small change, at their value as mere tokens. They are wanted, are indispensable for small purchases, and every man takes them because he knows that he can always get a sovereign for every twenty of them. Thus England is truly and really a monometallic country.

It is more difficult to explain Mr. Clarmont Daniell's plan for making payments in silver coins in India in combination with those made of gold. There is a certain air of bimetallism about it, and pure bimetallism, without corrections, is indefensible. Such is the bimetallism advocated with so much zeal by eminent bankers in England—silver to be the legal tender to any amount in a fixed ratio to gold of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, when the real values in the metal market are 18 to 1—a great over-valuation of silver beyond its worth as bullion. The fourth proposition of the plan declares "that the

silver rupee shall continue to be legal tender for all kinds of payments, and in any amount, at the option of the party making the payment." Such an enactment standing by itself alone would of course be fatal to the real introduction of gold into the currency of India, if the present ratio between the two metals were continued. Gold worth 18 of silver would not be used for paying debts, which it would be able by its metallic value to clear off at that rate, by being reckoned as worth only  $15\frac{1}{2}$ ; gold would disappear. Bimetallism of this kind would be practically impossible. Mr. Daniell has clearly seen and appreciated this fatal obstacle to the use of gold money; so he applies to it a correction which converts it into a bimetallism perfectly sound in principle. The two coins, the gold one and the silver, are to stand towards each other in the currency in a ratio which is strictly to correspond with their worth as metals in the metal market. In that case a buyer will give the same real price for the article he bought whichever might be the coin he gave away, and the seller would be equally rightly paid. But how to establish such a ratio, ever fluctuating and yet to be ever true, ever faithful to the intrinsic value of the two metals, is a difficulty of a very high order.

Mr. Clarmont Daniell expects to surmount it by his third proposal. It enacts "that the Government of India, from time to time, but not more frequently than may be necessary, shall declare the rate at which the gold coin of its currency shall be accepted as legal payment of sums contracted to be paid in silver coins; and this State rate of conversion shall be strictly regulated by the market value of the silver rupees of the British Indian currency in these gold sovereigns." Thus some ten years ago the rupees would have been counted as worth 2*s.* each, or ten to the sovereign; whilst at the present time they are worth intrinsically, in the metal markets of the world, 20*d.* only—that is, twelve to the sovereign. On this basis the creditor would be content to be paid in either of the two coins—he would receive the same worth of bullion in both cases alike, the same real value, and the great evils which flow from the present state of the Indian currency would be cured. The loss on exchange, which so harasses Indian commerce and inflicts such troubles on payments to England, would disappear. Both metals will circulate at their full value.

The scheme is logically sound, its principle correct. The excellent result arrived at, it would seem, must necessarily flow from such premises. Whichever of the two coins the payee receives, he procures the same fulfilment of his claim, the sum, the value he is entitled to. But will it be so in fact? Logic and right reasoning on the essence of true money say that it will; yet Mr. Daniell himself, quite unconsciously, raises a suspicion that it may not. Immediately after expounding his plan he proceeds to notice an objection raised against it in No. 63 of the *Nineteenth Century*, which brings forward



a perplexity of some importance. The writer declares that by the plan of Mr. Daniell "silver will become less, not more, stable in value." If that assertion is proved to be correct, it could not be denied that the scheme would be a failure. It would not diminish, much less sweep away, the injuries which her currency inflicts on India. In reply to the allegation of the *Review*, that his plan will increase the instability of silver, Mr. Daniell takes his stand on the assertion that "the bulk of the internal commerce of India will, under the plan proposed, continue in the future, as it has been in the past, unaffected by the gold price of silver, its stability or its variations." This assertion contains a fact which has been and is still the puzzle of the Indian currency—a puzzle which has never yet, as far as we are aware, been explained. Silver falls in intrinsic value whilst gold remains relatively steady. The rupee becomes worth 20*d.*, or even 18*d.* only, in comparison with gold, but the prices of goods in India remain unchanged. They are sold still for the same number of rupees as they were before the fall in silver. Then why do not other nations, who can buy a rupee's weight of silver with goods which cost only 20*d.*, send silver in abundance to India to purchase goods worth 24*d.*? The Americans possess large stores of silver in their mines—why does not silver stream over from their shores to India to fetch back large profits from cheaply bought Indian commodities? Herein lies the mystery—the unchanged silver prices of Indian goods, the absence of all rush of foreign possessors of silver to send it over to India with large profit.

At the same time it must be admitted that this marvellous puzzle does not necessarily contain any positive refutation of Mr. Clarmont Daniell's plan. That plan is economically sound; its general theory cannot be questioned; but the puzzle reveals that there are circumstances at work in India which bring out results that are unintelligible, and may foil the best-conceived plan for a gold standard, or may foil the economical law that prices must be higher when the metal of which the money in use is composed is worth intrinsically less.

It may be said that the Indian Government would refuse to coin the imported silver if it made its appearance in large quantities. But why should it refuse? The formidable loss on exchange incurred in making vast remittances to England would disappear, even without the help of Mr. Clarmont Daniell's plan. If it persisted in the refusal to coin the silver, a strong pressure would naturally be brought to bear upon it. There would be large quantities of silver in India seeking to buy, and offering to give better prices for the goods bought; larger quantities of Indian goods would be demanded for purchase and exportation, and more silver offered for them. Great pressure would be brought to bear on the Govern-

ment if it declined to coin, and an adequate motive for such declining would be absent. It could not persist in preventing a large increase of Indian trade. An explanation of the puzzle cannot be procured from this source: thus the mystery remains as dark as ever.

Nevertheless, the puzzle notwithstanding, Mr. Clarmont Daniell has full right to say that

"to introduce gold into circulation in a market hitherto exclusively occupied with silver, and to exchange each kind of coin with the other on the basis of their intrinsic value, does not result in making the subsidiary silver coin less stable in value, but has the effect of making its inherent instability, both as against gold and as against commodities, more apparent than before, and at the same time of substituting for it a less variable standard. And further, the variations between the relative values of the silver money of India and the gold money of England, which now act as a serious restraint on trade, will be neither so sudden, frequent, nor excessive."

Vast, too, will be the advantage to India that her measure of value for all commodities will be the same with that of the most important trading nations and markets in the world. They will all know the meaning of the prices of goods recorded in lists; little educated traders will understand at once the prices they may expect to encounter, so as to decide with ease on speculations they may feel disposed to enter into.

But it is said that this scheme will create two standards, two separate measures of value. There could not be a greater mistake. India will only have one standard whereby to declare what commodities are worth in their markets. The standard of India will be gold only, while silver will be adjusted to it in a certain ratio, according to its intrinsic worth as bullion. The only great interest India will have at stake will be steadiness or fluctuation of the value of gold: that will be all: and as gold is admitted to be subject to the smallest variations, what better standard could be found? Does any one really think that better money could be shown than the English, except pure bimetalists? England has not yet learnt to believe in their ideas, and it is to be hoped never will. England and India will be regarded as one country; that country has now two standards in two separate localities—an evil of the highest magnitude.

Mr. Clarmont Daniell now brings forward an objection felt by many that the relative values of the two kinds of coin would be subject to great fluctuations, and consequently that the legal, the State ratio for converting the gold and silver coins into each other would be never constant. He replies that a tendency of the fluctuations in the rate of exchange to diminish rather than to increase would be the natural consequence of the two metals being used indifferently for each other. "If," says he, "silver is in excess, and therefore falling in value against gold, silver will be exported, and its value will rise, or *vice versâ*. It is only when they are divorced from one another by



artificial currency regulations that gold and silver work in opposition. Allow them to work together in the order of their values, and these divergences of value must necessarily diminish, and the approximation to the attainment of a staple ratio of value will be great. The altering metal will be corrected in its changes by being more largely used or else reduced in quantity by exportation, and the action of each of these forces will be to keep its value nearer to what it had been before the change. The currency will be less exposed to that kind of fluctuation which a sudden demand excites on the particular money which cannot be easily or quickly increased."

There is good reason for believing that this expectation is well founded and will be verified by fact. The Indian trader will then have acquired a common measure whereby to compare the prices of goods with his own in most of the other markets of the world. He will know exactly what he will have to pay with Indian money in England for English goods, and what value he will get for his own merchandise when sold in England. This is a certainty of knowledge to which he has been a stranger for many generations. Unless the cost of production of gold or silver varies much from the action of natural causes, as the yield of their mines becomes larger or decreases, the necessity for the interference of the State to alter the ratio in which the coins shall exchange with each other will be diminished; and the prices of commodities on sale, so far as money is concerned, will become steadier. The call for rectification will be less frequent, as Mr. Clarmont Daniell justly remarks.

Such is the reform which Mr. Clarmont Daniell proposes for the thoroughly bad currency of India. Its principle is eminently sound. Every seller and every creditor will receive payment of what is due to them in the worth in the metal market of a certain quantity of gold. The currency, the money, of India will consist of a weight of the metal gold. But silver coins will be used in that currency to any amount; still, it will be a money consisting of the value of gold only: India will have gold only for her true currency. The worth of the silver coins will be strictly determined by the value of silver compared with that of gold, simply as two metals in the metal market. The man who receives silver will get the same identical payment as if he had been paid in gold; whilst the extent to which silver may be used will be unlimited. What greater praise can be given of any money—to have the very best metal for its determiner of value, and yet to give unlimited use of the two metals, gold and silver, without injury to the receiver? If Mr. Clarmont Daniell's reform is successfully established, will there be any better money in the whole world than the Indian?

BONAMY PRICE.

## ABOUT OLD AND NEW NOVELS.

THIS essay—the scanty fruit of a long leisure, shortened only by light reading and reflection on it—was originally to be entitled, “Why are old novels so entertaining and modern ones so tedious?” Fortunately for him, the author met in time a highly cultured, and, on the whole, unprejudiced English lady who confessed to him that she had never been able to read “Tom Jones” to the end, whilst a young diplomat of literary pretensions assured him that “The Nabob” was infinitely more entertaining than “Don Quixote.” Then only the author began to understand how relative an idea is attached to the word “entertaining,” and that perhaps the modern reader is quite as accountable as the modern novelist, if the novel of to-day is so—well, so different from the old. Let us then speak only of this difference. For why establish supervision, distribute praise and blame, by which nobody learns anything, when it is so much more instructive to investigate the what and the why of certain phenomena, and to leave every one to be judge of his pleasure and displeasure.

As, however, there has been a question of entertaining reading, be it understood from the beginning that the amusement novel, properly so called—*i.e.*, that which has no other aim but amusement, and which the French have brought to perfection in our century, shall be at present excluded from consideration, although it often shows more talent and artistic instinct than more pretentious work of the *genre*. If we thus exclude such novels it is because we wish to limit ourselves to those productions of literature which give themselves out as works of art, and which realize as well as explain to us the mode of thinking of the different periods. Let us not forget either that in all such historical comparisons dates must not be taken too



literally, and that exceptions are not to be taken into consideration. The fact that Manzoni, Jeremiah Gottholf, Gottfried Keller have written between 1820 and 1860, and have even given a voice to certain currents of the century, does not make it the less true, that, considered as artists—*i.e.*, in their way of seeing and treating their subject, they do not belong to the time which has seen the *floraison* of George Sand and Dickens, still less to the time which has produced a Freytag, George Eliot, and Octave Feuillet.\* For whatever one may think of the fact, it would be difficult to deny it; the whole literature of fiction in Europe, from Homer to Goethe, is severed by a deep abyss from that of our century, whose productions bear always, in spite of all differences, a certain family likeness; in other terms, men, authors as well as readers, for three thousand years saw the task of literature in another light from that in which we have seen it for the last hundred years.

Strangely enough, the novelists of the younger generation, who, like E. Zola, Spielhagen, Henry James, and W. D. Howells, are never weary of treating their own art in a theoretico-critical way, which would probably never have occurred to a Charles Dickens—seem to have no consciousness whatever of this difference of periods. No doubt all the theories of those practitioners rest upon the tacit, sometimes also the outspoken, supposition of the superiority of the novel of to-day over that of former times, or at least of a progress in the development of this *genre*. To this there would be little to object, if the writers in question were awake to the fact that such a progress can only concern what is technical, and consequently is of very little artistic value. The progress in technique from Benozzi Sozzoli to the Caracci is very considerable; nobody would admit as a consequence that the artistic value of the Farnese gallery is, in spite of its cleverest *raccourcis*, greater than that of a fresco in the Campo Santo, with all its defects in drawing and perspective. Now, it is difficult not to feel in these disquisitions of the specialists a consciousness of having also realized a progress. The new novel is “finer” than the old one, says Mr. Howells quite candidly, while the others plainly imply the same; and they mean not only a superiority in composition, dialogue, &c., but also a more careful study of feelings and passions, a more delicate delineation of characters, a deeper knowledge of society and its influence on the individual; for that the older writers could have no other reason for their reticence than ignorance or want of power to show their knowledge of these things, is an undoubted fact to our modern novelists, who have never learned the art of “wise omission.”

\* Bjørnsen too might be numbered among those few artists whom chance has allowed to be born in this unartistic time, were it not that he has so often, particularly in later times, let himself be carried away by the example of his contemporaries.

It is characteristic that this ignoring of the past and forgetting of all proportion show themselves most crudely in the North Americans, for whom even Dickens and Thackeray belong already to the antique. Thus, even people of an entirely European culture like Mr. H. James speak of M. Alphonse Daudet with an admiration so unlimited that one might be tempted to believe that the readers beyond the Atlantic are unaware of the existence of a Fielding. Fortunately, Mr. J. R. Lowell's beautiful speech on the author of "Tom Jones" proves that there are still Americans who know where the real models of the art of narration are to be sought for. Besides, there are people enough in the Old World also, who, like Mr. John Bright, do not hesitate to place any middling novelist or historian of our time above Homer and Thucydides, whom they ought to have had more opportunity to read than their American co-religionists. It is not uncommon to hear such *naïveté* praised as an enviable freshness of impression and judgment; but this rests on a thorough confusion of ideas. Such impressions are not received, such judgments are not given, by people who stand nearer to Nature than ourselves, but on the contrary by such as have no bridge behind them which might have brought them over from Nature to our civilization. I can with confidence place the "Vicar of Wakefield" and "Numa Roumestan" in the hands of a boy who was brought up in the country and has never seen a newspaper: he will not hesitate a moment between the two. The trial would already be more doubtful with a young man of classical culture; but as to a lad who had learned to read in leading articles and had left the professional school only to enter on the wholly artificial relations and modes of thinking of our society, one could scarcely expect from him that he should prefer the pure wine of Goldsmith to M. Daudet's intoxicating beverage. The great majority of the younger generation has come into the world as it were grown-up, has been born into the modern civilization, whilst we older ones have at least slowly grown into it, and have consequently some inkling of the fact that under the clothes there is also something like a body. Now, the clothing of our century—*i.e.*, our civilization, is perhaps more complicated and artificial than any that went before it, and those who live in it like to imagine that what is more complicated is also more valuable. Hence the accumulation of details which characterizes our literature and corresponds at the same time to our scientific habits. A microscopic anatomy of human nature—now in its coarser manifestations, as with M. Zola or Guy de Maupassant, now in its nobler organs, as with George Eliot and Ivan Turgenieff, would be vainly searched for in the older authors. The style has become more complicated; all sciences, every technic, are forced into service, all archaisms and neologisms gathered together in the dictionaries, unusual and surprising juxta-



position of words are used to make the descriptions more effective, without however attaining the wished-for effect. It is particularly the native country of taste, the home of measure and "sobriety," which pleases itself with these exercises; and on the one hand, persons with no other talent than that of corrupting language, taste and morals, weary themselves—*cauta Minerva*—with manufacturing so-called *tableaux de mœurs*, while, on the other hand, richly gifted writers trade upon their facility in order to bring all their superfluity on the market and to suffocate the readers under the weight of their adjectives. But "when the taste for simplicity is once destroyed," says Walter Scott, "it is long ere a nation recovers it." It is perhaps worth while to investigate more clearly than has been hitherto done, the essence of this new tendency of mind and taste.

## I.

The whole intellectual life of our century, and especially of the second half of it, is permeated by the scientific habits and the new morals which came into prominence shortly before the French Revolution, and which since the definitive defeat of romanticism towards the middle of our century, have attained almost absolute power. Now, both the scientific and the moral view of the world are not only insusceptible of artistic treatment—they are incompatible with it, nay, are the negation of it. Also, the novel, as far as it is an artistic *genre*, has suffered from the reign of these modern principles as much as, and more than, all other artistic *genres*, because, thanks to its form, it lends itself more easily to scientific treatment and moral jurisdiction than any other. No doubt there lived before the Revolution individual men who carried the scientific and moral standard into regions where they have no right nor currency; but they were isolated instances; now-a-days, this double point of view dominates the whole of literature, and—as our culture has become exclusively book-culture—of culture also. No doubt mankind lives on even to-day as if those principles did not exist. It would be impossible otherwise to live; but as soon as it is bent upon judging, knowing or reproducing life, it no longer uses any but those two methods.

Science aims at the knowledge of the world and its causal connection. It destroys individual life in order to find its laws—*i.e.*, what is common to individual phenomena. Art, on the contrary, seeks to know and interpret the world by seizing and reproducing the unity of individual life; it eliminates the general in order better to seize the particular, and in the particular it eliminates what is accidental that it may better see and show the essential. Now, as the general is only an abstraction of our intellect, and real life mani-

feats itself only in the particular, it follows that art, in one sense, is truer than science. This, however, does not touch our question; what I want to prove is, that the so-called scientific treatment of an object can only be harmful to art, in the same way as the artistic treatment of science on its side can give rise to the monstrosities about which scientists are fond of telling edifying stories. When however M. Zola, for instance, declines the honour of having constructed works of art, the men of science will not therefore be much disposed to ascribe to him merits in science. For his works, whatever else they may be, are productions of the imagination, and consequently utterly useless to science, which reckons only on realities and can found no laws on such phantasms. Besides, all scientific labour is collective and progressive; artistic work is individual and self-inclusive. Each new work of science supersedes its predecessor, at least in part, until it is entirely antiquated. The scientific achievement remains immortal, the scientific work must perish. Would M. Zola resign himself to that, and does he seriously imagine that "Nana" and "Potbouilli" are scientific achievements—i.e., rings in the infinite chain of science? Certainly not. At bottom, however, these gentlemen of the scientific school make their scientific pretensions in no such strict sense. What they aspire to is to create works of art by the instrument of science, and to treat of objects, which are the results of science, while they have only the instrument of art, as well as the standard for judging the artistic value of objects; and here arises the question whether such an enterprise is not from the beginning sure to be a failure.

The instrument, if I may so phrase it, which science uses to attain its aim, is understanding; that of art intuition. Science knows only a conscious knowledge of things, art only an unconscious one; and as the artist renders only what he has acquired unconsciously and directly through intuition, the artistic spectator or reader seizes what is given to him only intuitively, not consciously. Both proceed as we proceed in ordinary life and for practical purposes; art, therefore, is much nearer life than science. We know a person as a whole: often we do not even know whether his eyes are blue or brown, whether he has a high or a low forehead; and we are nevertheless surer of this our unconscious knowledge than the most accurate physiognomical analysis could make us. Language has equally formed itself unconsciously, is learned unconsciously, and is for the most part used unconsciously, particularly in emotion; but it renders our feeling more faithfully than any elaborate choice of expressions would be able to do. For the scientist, it is true, language is what numbers are for the mathematician; it gives no image, but only the abstract expression of things. The physician—we Germans call him the "artist," *Arzt*—seizes first the total impression of his patient,



without rendering to himself an account, often without being able to render to himself an account, of its components; and he relies exclusively on the thermometer and determinate symptoms, precisely because he has not the "*coup d'œil*." Now our whole cultured society, readers as well as authors, have no longer the "*coup d'œil*." The latter *see* only what they have consciously considered, and consequently give only that; the former on their side have got accustomed to be content with that, nay, to be proud of it, because they thus can give themselves an account of everything, which is no small satisfaction to the vanity of the understanding. But what is the consequence of the whole proceeding?

An author undertakes to paint the inner man and the outer world. He is to fulfil the former aim by an accurate psychological analysis; the latter by a careful description. Now, in reality those psychological qualities have no existence whatever; they are an abstraction of our intellect, and therefore even the completest enumeration can produce no living image, even if our imagination were able to reconstruct a unity out of such plurality; whereas one characteristic feature would suffice to evoke the total impression of a personality. For it is not the parts which make man, but the cohesion; as soon as this ceases, life ceases. Now, conscious intellect never seizes the cohesion; unconscious intuition alone seizes it; and to render this with conviction is art—*i.e.*, reproduction of life. As much may be said of the description of the outer world; a whole page of M. Daudet, in which he describes all the articles to be sold in the shop of a southern provision-dealer, not omitting each individual smell, and all the furniture with all the lights falling on it, is not worth the two verses in which Heine calls up to us the cavern of Uraka, as if we saw it with our bodily eyes. The former, in fact, is a faithful inventory, which we never make in life, and which consequently touches our imagination as little as the list of an upholsterer; these two verses awake in us a sensation, and so dispose our mood as to set at once our imagination to work, because there is action in them, and the action therein shown acts in turn on the reader.

Art is more economical than science; and the lavishness of authors who believe they proceed scientifically when they omit nothing of what a careful examination of an object or an action and its motives has revealed to them, is nothing but the profitless expenditure of the prodigal. Art shows us Philina, in the general confusion and despair, sitting quietly and rattling with her keys on the saved trunk, and the irresistible stands more vividly before our eyes than would have been possible by a long enumeration of her charms, or a detailed description of the means by which she has succeeded in getting off so cheaply, and a modern writer would certainly not have let pass the opportunity of both without taking advantage of it; for second to

description, explanation is his principal pleasure. It is not to be denied that in these modern novels there is a more minute observation of social and psychological facts, a closer exposition of all laws of feeling and thought, a more conscientious watching over their growth, and a more laborious analysis of the passions and their motives, than are to be found in the older novels of this, and apparently of the past, century. The whole development of a man is gone through; and if possible even that of his parents and grandparents—for this, too, passes for an application of scientific results—until finally we have forgotten the man himself, as he is. True art cares little about the genesis of character; it introduces man as a finished being, and lets him explain himself by his acts and words. Shakespeare leaves it to the German *savant* to explain how Hamlet has become what he is; he contents himself with showing him as he is. And not drama alone shows man as he is; the novel, as long as it is a work of art, is contented to do so.

" Pourquoi Manon, dans le première scène,  
Est-elle si vivante et si vraiment humaine  
Qu'il semble qu'on l'a vue et que c'est un portrait ? "

asks Musset. Is it not precisely because she is not described, analyzed and explained, but simply appears and acts? because the poet gives us in few words the impression which he has himself received, and by the rendering of his sensation our sensation is produced? We never see persons and actions in fiction; we feel the impression they exercise; this is convincing; an enumeration of qualities and circumstances, even if it were possible to make it complete, produces no disposition whatever; it produces knowledge.

Let nobody say that the older writers contented themselves with sketches and gave only the outlines. It is by no means so. What the narrator gives are the dramatic moments of an action, the characteristic features of a person. The truth and liveliness with which he gives the particulars that contain the whole *in nuce*, awake the image of that whole with its antecedents, its consequences, its secondary circumstances—*i.e.*, the cohesion. His process is similar to that of the sculptor, who renders only the plastic elements of his object; of the painter, who renders only the picturesque elements of it, and makes an abstraction of all the rest. He takes only those traits which are fitted to produce a literary effect. Now, as I just said, it is with actions as with men. A minute and methodical enumeration of all the movements of the different regiments, accurately ascertained, which have taken part in a battle, such as we have it in the history of the war by the great General Huff, may have a scientific value; from an artistic point of



view, it is without any effect, for it leaves us no intuitive image of the total action; whilst the description of the battle of Zutphen from the pen of "the poor man of Tockenburg," or that of the battle of Waterloo in Stendhal's "*Chartreuse de Parme*," are works of art, because they render faithfully the impression of such mass movements on the individual. If, on the contrary, the novelist proceeds with that scientifico-historical conscience, we get something like the struggle of the two washerwomen in the "*Assommoir*," which fills I don't know how many pages, and which nevertheless one has not before one's eyes, whereas the Homeric battle of Molly Seagrim remains unforgettable by whosoever reads it once only. Here, indeed, the total impression dominates the detail, whilst there the number of particulars forbids the forming of a total impression. M. Zola takes up his object like the man of science, destroying it in order to recompose it; Fielding, as the artist, who seeks and reproduces unity, not to speak of the art with which he renders the repulsive object attractive by irony, which alone gives such objects the passport to literature, drawing them out of common reality. This observation, however, would lead us to a controversy with the verists, realists, naturalists, or whatever their name, and I should like to defer this disquisition to another opportunity.

## II.

Equally with the scientific view, the moralizing view of the world has come into prominence; and it proves to be still more dangerous to art than the former. All modern morals aim at making men better—i.e., other—than they are. Art takes them as they are; it is content to comprehend them and to make them comprehensible. And the more mankind have abandoned the fundamental ideas of Christian charity, election by grace and predestination, which are so repulsive to rationalism, the more decisively the tendency of morals to change men has come to the foreground in literature. It is so with society; all are to become equal in virtue, as all are to become equal in possessions. These of course are Utopian views, which have little or no influence on the course of life: no moral system changes the nature of men, as no socialism is able to change the inequality of property; but they have an influence on the way of judging things; and, as judgment plays so large a part with modern writers, so it does also on literature.

Until the middle of the past century, every class and every individual accepted the world as we accept Nature, as a given order, in which there is little to be changed. People lived and acted, wrote and enjoyed naïvely, without reflection, or at least without comparing the existing world and its laws with reasoning and its norms.

A man of the people thought as little of becoming a burgher, as any of us wishes to become a prince of the blood. If any one ventured to raise himself and knew how to penetrate through his circumstances, it was because he felt himself, his strength of mind and will—*i.e.*, his individuality—and not because he thought himself justified by his quality as “man.” What he became, he became

“Et par droit de conquête et pas droit de naissance.”

His legal title was founded on his personal gifts, not on a so-called justice, which nowadays every mediocrity thinks himself entitled to invoke, and the idea of which is suggested to him by all our speeches and institutions, inasmuch as they almost directly entice him to leave his station in order to feel himself unhappy in a higher one, for which he is not fit. This eternal comparing of the actual world with the postulates of reason has “sicklied o’er” our life in more than one sense. For the whole of this so-called humane morality consists in nothing else than in exhorting us to try to put ourselves in other people’s steads, not by a direct intuition, but according to an all-levelling abstraction, which from its very nature must also mean putting other people in our stead. Both are fictions, which take place in our head alone, and have no reality. Every man feels differently, and *grosso modo* one might say that every nation and every class feels differently. This ignoring of natural limits has led in political life to pretending to and granting rights which those whom they concern do not know how to use; in social life, to a dislocating of fixed relations and wandering from the natural atmosphere, which must always be a painful sensation; in literature, to lending to their *dramatis personæ* thoughts and feelings which they cannot have, but especially to requiring them to be something different from what they really are, since they must correspond to the abstract moral type which we have constructed. Completely isolated are the writers who know how to divine to the reader the sensations of uncultivated people—as *e.g.*, Jeremiah Gottholf; the large majority of readers properly so-called, prefer ideal figures in George Sand’s style, which have nothing of the present but the certain.

In political and social life such aspirations do mischief enough, without, however, being able to change the essence of either State or society. In literature, where we treat not with live people on actual ground but with the docile creations of our imagination on much-enduring paper, the new view of the world has worked as its consequence a much deeper revolution. It is true that the pretensions of rationalism to regulate legislation according to preconceived ideas of equality and justice have not remained without influence; on the whole, however,



States have continued in our century, as in all former ones, to register and codify existing customs and to regulate newly formed interests and relations. It is true that in most countries each citizen has been recognized as of equal right and equal value, but in fact power has remained in the hands of the man of culture and property. It is true that people have tried to bestow on Egypt and Turkey the blessing of Western constitutions; but not a year was required to show that one thing does not suit all. The same is the case in society. It never enters the heads of children to find social order, in so far as they know it, unjust or even unnatural. We have seen the mason join his bricks, the peasant mow his grass, the woodcutter saw our wood, without even asking ourselves why our father had nothing of that kind to do. In this sense, almost all men before the revolution remained children, as nine-tenths of them remain children to this day. And it is good that it should be so; for the whole machine of humanity would stop if we wanted continually to put ourselves into the place of others and to endeavour to ensure for every one, according to the exigencies of an abstract equality, the same conditions of life. So in consequence we stop short at good wishes, sufficient to make men, who formerly were quite happy in this limited existence, and reflected but little upon it, discontented with their lot, but insufficient to change this lot. "For there is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so," says Hamlet. When man ceases thinking on what he has to do in order to think that he has to do it, good-by to all content. Now, this is the clearest result of principle which underlies modern philanthropy as opposed to Christian charity, although it has called into existence many things which have alleviated and improved the life of the working classes within their station, helping them in illness, old age and want of work, without spoiling their normal existence by illusive pictures of a better condition. Besides, the positive wrong is, I repeat, much less than one might suppose, precisely because the mass of mankind continues taking the world as it is and does not demand that the sun should henceforth rise in the west.

In fact, it is only with men of letters, who are in quite a different relation with the world from other people, that the new way of thinking has become predominant; but then their number has wonderfully increased in the last three hundred years. As the whole of our culture has become a literary one, a book culture, all we who call ourselves cultured (*Gebildete*) are at bottom men of letters. The cultivated man of former times, who had been formed by commerce with men, for whom a book had interest, not as a book but only in so far as it reflected life, becomes rarer and rarer. Our whole civilization is influenced by literature; readers and authors live in the same atmosphere of unreality, or, to speak more accurately, they divide-

life into two halves, that of practical activity—the bookmaking of the author is also a practical activity—and that of intellectual activity, two spheres which touch each other nowhere, not even where the intellectual one borrows its object from the practical one; for it divests them immediately of their reality and shapes them only after having falsified them.

Tocqueville has a chapter headed: “How the men of letters became, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the principal politicians.” This is now universally the case in one sense; for even in England political life has been infected with the spirit of the men of letters, through the advance of the Radical on the one hand, and the reform of Toryism by Disraeli on the other; the fact remains, however, particularly true of France, where the whole polity suffers cruelly under it. Nevertheless, art and literature are always the two activities most affected by it, and it is with them that we are here concerned.

### III.

The novels of our time in which the moral point of view does not absolutely predominate may be counted on the fingers. Even where unveiled immorality, or at least indecency, displays itself, there is from beginning to end, with or without the author's consciousness, a certain didactic tendency. In the apparently most objectionable of all modern works of fiction, in “*Madame Bovary*,” one feels that the writer has an intention which is not purely artistic, the intention to warn us against certain modes of education and kinds of readings. In M. Zola it is clear that his workmen and workwomen who perish in the mud are to serve as deterrent instances. Neither do so. The German novelists conceal the moral standard which they use in their novels, the English and North-Americans even boast of it. Certainly morals, as well as any other human interest, have their right of citizenship in art. Only it is important to know what is understood by morals: the natural and sound ones which culminate in the worship of truth, or the artificial, made up, unhealthy ones, whose mother is human vanity, whose godmother is falsehood. It is sound morals when Prince Hal leaves his pet favourite in the lurch as soon as, with the responsibility of the crown, the earnest of life begins for him; it is unhealthy morals when Victor Hugo disturbs the ideas of right and wrong by glorifying a galley-slave who has become the victim of an error of justice. This is not the place to examine at length what were the instinctive morals of men before the victory of rationalism, nor to recall to mind how Kant has scientifically established these unconscious ethics by his doctrine of the intelligible character, and Schopenhauer by his theory of compassion; suffice it to state that the morals of our authors have another origin and another aim, and that these are as incompatible with art as the older ones



are fitted to accommodate themselves to it. Now, modern morals may apparently differ as much from one another as Zola's from Howells'; but they have the same family feature—discontent with this world as it is; and the direct consequence of it is the sombre tone of all this literature.

“Ernst ist das Leben, heiter ist die Kunst,”

thought Schiller; to-day, art is to be earnest, a species of worship for Richard Wagner, a moral or political lesson for Gustav Freytag. And how could it be otherwise? If one compares unceasingly this world and human nature with a high, arbitrary, self-created *ideal*, void of all reality, they must appear very insufficient, and may well lead to bitter judgments. How morose at bottom are all the novels of George Eliot, in what one might call their key-note; how bitter Charlotte Brontë's, how infinitely sad Miss Poynter's “Among the Hills,”—to instance a little-known masterpiece of this sombre moralopsychological art. All great narrators of former times, from Homer to Cervantes, and from Chaucer to Walter Scott, unchain our hearts by their good humour; even the tragic muse has always known how to translate

“Das düstre Spiel  
Der Wahrheit in das heitre Reich der Kunst.”

Here, on the contrary, we always feel oppressed by the long face and the lugubrious tone which our authors take when they relate things our ancestors were prone to laugh over. Sensuality even, which formerly used to present itself with ingenuousness, healthy and naked, or forced its entrance into literature by a smile, is now grave, reflective, a product of corrupt intelligence rather than of overstreaming force and fulness. In deference to truth it must, however, be said that the modern novel has on the whole kept itself freer than poetry from this unwholesome and over-refined sensuality. On the other hand, it has become more sentimentally charitable towards all those phenomena and types which were formerly the object of mirth. Who would dare nowadays to treat comically poor stammering Bridgson? Compassion for his infirmity would get the better of us; full of human tenderness, we should “put ourselves in his stead,” and forthwith make a tragical figure of him. The dry *savant* whom the world has laughed at for centuries as an awkward or vain bookworm, becomes in George Eliot's hands an unfortunate, who sighing for a false ideal, is on the other hand seen by the noblest of women herself as an ideal. For whatever is comical objectively becomes tragical when it is taken subjectively: our tender little self suffers, and no wonder it pities itself.

How rudely would all the serene figures which live in our imagi-

nation be destroyed, if we were to put them under the discipline of our conscientious authors! Only fancy poor Manon under the birch-rod of Jane Eyre, the schoolmistress! Imagine Squire Western in M. Zola's *clinique*: "If you continue getting drunk every night, whilst your daughter is playing the harpischord, a terrible end is awaiting you, Mr. Western. Shall I describe it to you? I have accurately studied several cases of *delirium tremens potatorum*, the punishment which is in store for all alcoholized persons as you are." And our old friend Falstaff, whom that losel Shakspeare treated so indulgently, what lessons George Eliot would have read to him; "for really, Sir John, you have no excuse whatever. If you were a poor devil who had never had any but bad examples before your eyes; but you have had all the advantages which destiny can give to man on his way through life! Are you not born of a good family? have not you had, at Oxford, the best education England is able to give to her children? have you not had the highest connections? And, nevertheless, how low you are fallen! Do you know why? I have warned my Tito over and over against it: because you have always done that only which was agreeable to you, and have shunned everything that was unpleasant." "And you, Miss Phillis," Mr. Howells would say, "if you go on being naughty I shall write a writ against you, as I did against my hero Bartley, who, too, won everybody's heart, but at bottom was a very frivolous fellow; or I shall deliver you up to my friend James, who will analyze you until nobody knows you again. That will teach you to enter into yourself and to become another." "Become another," is that not the first requirement of a novel hero of our days? Fielding would have rather expected that the adder should lose her venom, than that Bliffl should cease to be a scoundrel.

I spoke of Howells taking part against his own hero in the most perfect of his works. You will find something similar in almost every novel of our time. It seems as if the authors could not refrain from persecuting in an odious type certain persons whom they have learned to know and to hate in life—a disposition of mind which is the most contrary to the artist's disposition which could be thought out; for he neither hates nor loves his objects personally, and to him Richard III. is as interesting as Antonio, "one in whom the ancient Roman honour more appears than any that draws breath in Italy." Remember only George Eliot's character, Rosamond, and with what really feminine perfidy she tries to discredit her. How differently Abbé Prévost treats his Manon! Even if Richardson, and, in our time, Jer. Gottholf, do take a moralizing tone, and begin with ever so many preachments and good lessons, the artist runs away with them; they forget that they wanted to teach and paint their objects with artistic indifference: *sine ira*



*nec studio*, not to speak of their morals being of a kind which have nothing in them rebellious to art. With George Eliot and W. D. Howells it is the contrary: they want to be objective, but the moralist soon gets the better of the artist.

I hope the reader has observed that I choose only novels and novelists of first rank, in order to compare them with those of former times, such indeed as might, perhaps, come out victoriously from such a comparison, if they were not infected by the moral epidemic of our time. How deeply our generation is steeped in it we generally forget, because habit makes appear as nature what is only a moral convention. Other times have advocated more severe conventions, but they remained on the surface; ours seem lighter, more accommodating, but they penetrate to our marrow. It is incredible how great a mass of artificial feelings, interests, and duties we carry about, how our language and our actions are dominated by them. Fine scenery, fine arts, philanthropy, &c., without any inner want, fill our intellectual life; we believe in the reality of sensations we never experienced; or we drive out Nature by culture. Shakespeare would not be able nowadays to create an Othello who would listen to Iago's insinuations, because no gentleman nowadays would allow such calumnies, and the gentleman has driven out the man. Language has suffered so much under this rule of conventionalism, that to the cultivated it has become quite insufficient for the direct translation of sensation. Let a lady to-day speak like the Queen of Cortanza or Margaret of Anjou, and how the public would protest against the coarseness of her language and feeling. This, by the way, is also the real reason why all our dramas are and must be so lifeless, as well as of the striking fact that all the more important works of fiction of our time move, with few exceptions, among the lower spheres of the people, where alone there still survives a direct relation between language and sensation. Even in America, which is always lauded as the virgin soil of a society without an inheritance, convention rules unconditionally, particularly in moral views; for this society has not yet even known how to free itself from the absurdest and most tyrannical of religions—puritanism, on whose inheritance it has grown and developed. Only a remnant of puritanism can give the key to the stilted tune of Hawthorne's adumbration, or explain how a writer of the taste and talent of Mr. W. D. Howells, who besides does not lack a keen sense of humour, has been able to create a comical figure like that of Ben Hallack, without as much as an inkling of the comicality of it.

People are never weary of inveighing against the prosaicism of our time—the yelling whistle of the locomotive, which has superseded the musical post-horn, the ungraceful chimney-pot, &c.: nobody thinks of the unnaturalness of our sensations. Where, however, is the

source of all poetry, in the truth of our sensations or in the decoration of the stage on which we move? In the cut of our coat or in the heart which beats beneath it? Let us only learn again how to feel naturally, to think naturally, above all, to see naturally, and art will not fail to reappear. But "the spirit of history" takes good care that *we* should no more learn it, carrying us off irresistibly, and for a long while, I am afraid, in totally different tracks. And, who would demur against it? Only we must not imagine that art, too, can meet us on these tracks. The novel of the future will remain what the novel of the present is: a work of edification, of instruction, of amusement—perhaps, also, of the contrary; it will be long before it becomes a work of art.

KARL HILLEBRAND.



## THE BALKAN PROVINCES IN 1883.

WHEN on the 13th of July, 1878, the Treaty of Berlin was signed by the representatives of the Contracting Powers, most persons in this country regarded that agreement merely as an instrument drawn up with a view of limiting and defining the extent of Russian conquests. As Russia and Turkey had been the chief parties to the war, so it was supposed must they also be the nations most concerned in the terms of the peace.

That this was the case is plain from the satisfaction with which the reduction of the boundary line of the St. Stefano Treaty to the frontier sanctioned by the Congress was received. The division of the two portions of Bulgaria was considered, and not altogether without reason, as a triumph for Western diplomacy, and a guarantee against Russian extension. A very slight acquaintance with the present condition of the peninsula would, however, probably convince the most determined enemy of Russian influence that a more effectual method of counteracting the advances of that Power than a strict adherence to the line of the St. Stefano Treaty could not well have been devised. It is easy to be wise after the event, and there is no reason why we should blame the Berlin diplomatists for a failure to foresee results which, judging from the facts then before them, seemed improbable in the last degree. That Russia was anxious to obtain control of the Trans-Danubian Slavs was known; that the natives of the Bulgarian provinces had long been subject to a crushing and cruel despotism was known; that this subject population possessed the hitherto unrecognized qualities essential to the existence of a constitutional government was not known; that they possessed in an eminent degree a desire for independence and a capacity for managing their own affairs, it was wholly impossible to anticipate. The contracting

parties acted with a view to the dangers which were apparent, and may be pardoned for not having recognized the safeguards of which time alone could demonstrate the existence. It is intended in this paper to draw attention to some of the more important respects in which the liberated provinces have falsified the fears of their friends and the hopes of their enemies.

With regard to the Treaty of Berlin itself, few probably have realized how vast is the change which it has effected in the arrangements of Eastern Europe. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that no diplomatic instrument of the last fifty years has been more important or has achieved more definite results. For, however far the new arrangement may be from finality, as against Turkey at any rate, the terms of the Treaty are irrevocable. Roughly speaking, the decision of the Congress deprived the Sultan of one-half of his European territory. The addition of Greece alone involved an advance of the frontier line of that kingdom of from thirty to forty miles on either coast. But the extent of Slav country released from Ottoman domination was infinitely greater. By the liberation of the two Bulgarian provinces alone an area of 41,000 square miles and a population of 2,800,000 souls were delivered from barbarism and the rule of the Turks. If to this be added the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have a total deduction from the Ottoman Empire north of Constantinople of 68,000 square miles of territory, and a population of nearly 4,000,000. Those who have observed the absolute regularity with which each successive nation has fallen into line with the civilization of Europe as soon as it has been released from Turkish rule, must perceive the enormous value of such a wholesale emancipation as this. That the people last freed will eventually follow the example of those who received their liberty at an earlier date, is certain. It might, however, be reasonably anticipated that those who had been longest enslaved would have the greatest difficulty in developing and asserting the rights of free citizens. There are fortunately signs that such an anticipation is not well-founded, and that the Bulgarians are recovering the ground they have lost with a rapidity and completeness not excelled by either Servia or Roumania.

A recent visit to Eastern Roumelia and the Principality, and frequent opportunities for learning on the spot the opinions of qualified observers as to the progress of the two portions of the Bulgarian State, afford the justification for attempting to lay before English readers some account of the actual condition of affairs in that little-studied corner of Europe.

The approach to Bulgaria is practically confined to two routes—that descending southwards from Lom Palanka on the Danube to Sophia, and that which enters it from Constantinople in a northerly direction by way of the railway to Adrianople and Philippopolis. The



latter was the route adopted by the writer, and in some respects the features of the journey are so remarkable, and throw light so directly upon the condition of the country traversed that some mention of its details is not out of place.

On leaving Constantinople for Philippopolis the traveller first takes the railway to Adrianople. One train in the twenty-four hours is considered sufficient to maintain the intercourse between the two chief cities of the Turkish Empire. The line was constructed by Baron Hirsch under a concession from the Porte. The principle of payment by results was adopted in a somewhat singular form. The concessionaire was to receive a certain amount for every kilometre completed. As a natural result of this remarkable method, the line meanders along the almost level plain in a fashion that would do credit to a Warwickshire brook. The actual distance between Constantinople and Adrianople is 130 miles; the length of the railway is 200 miles.

Fourteen hours are required to complete the journey. Starting and stopping seem to be regulated merely by the convenience of the officials. For mile after mile the train creeps along through an apparently deserted country. Only here and there, at long intervals, are there to be seen small cultivated patches; no sign of energy, no sign of industry, is anywhere visible. At the small wooden sheds that do duty for wayside stations, are to be seen the representatives of Turkish authority—the ill-clothed, ill-fed, but magnificently armed gendarmes. Their Winchester carbines are the only improvement which the Porte has borrowed from the civilization of the West.

Adrianople is situated at the junction of three rivers—the Arda, Maritza, and Tunja, and the volume of water brought down by these streams is doubtless fully sufficient, if properly controlled, to render feasible the project of canalization which has frequently been put forward. Plans for the navigation of the Maritza alone have also been warmly supported in some quarters; but the difficulties and expense involved in opening a waterway to Philippopolis would undoubtedly be great; and in view of the forthcoming railway between Belgrade and Constantinople, it is not clear that any very decided advantage would be gained.

Leaving Adrianople on the following day, the traveller again takes the railway northward. Within two hours after starting, the frontier of Eastern Roumelia is reached. Here at once it becomes evident that a new civilization and a new nationality have been reached. The Turkish Zaptiehs are replaced by the Roumelian gendarmes, clothed and equipped precisely after the latest fashion of the Russian army—long greatcoat, round Astrakhan cap, and the sword slung over the shoulder. The marvellous Turkish hieroglyphics representing the

names of the stations, give way to the simpler but scarcely less puzzling Slavonic characters; and everything points to a transference of the centre of activity from south to north. It is extraordinary even here to note how slight a hold the Turkish supremacy has had on the country, how purely it has been an armed occupation, and how little the two races have really amalgamated. Here and there the minarets of a mosque are to be seen on the horizon, here and there a stray figure wearing the fez is visible; while every now and again a mournful procession of country waggons drawn by creeping oxen comes into view winding over the plain, bearing a convoy of Turks, voluntary exiles from a land where they have long been rulers, and in which they will not consent to remain on equal terms with their neighbours. But with the exception of these rare evidences of the former *régime*, it is possible to travel from end to end of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria, and scarcely to realize that barely seven years ago the crescent waved from the Bosphorus to the Danube, and that the sturdy, rough-looking peasants, with their half-Russian dress and their Slavonic tongue, were the absolute subjects of the Sultan, existing merely to contribute the money required to pay the Turkish soldiery who held them down. The religion of the conquerors itself was the most potent element in preventing the amalgamation of races, and bringing about the result which has been referred to. Unlike other dominant races, the Turks refused to enrol the populations which they subjected in their armies. Hewers of wood and drawers of water the Bulgarians might be, but rarely if ever were they allowed to hope for or to obtain any share in the administration of their country. But this rule, inexorable as far as the higher functions of government were concerned, was relaxed with regard to the regulation of small questions of local interest. The extent to which the State permitted the existence of the small village assemblies common to the Slav races is little realized; but there can be no doubt that to their indulgence or carelessness in this respect much of the aptitude for self-government which the Bulgarians have shown since their liberation is due. In speaking of the Turks in Europe, it is more true to regard them as a dominant caste than as the exponents of a religious faith. The Mohammedan population must be dominant in the territory which it occupied, or it must cease to exist. And herein lies the natural explanation of the long caravans of emigrants, who by slow stages are to be seen making their way across Roumelia on their way to Constantinople, or even further, to a home among their co-religionists in Asia Minor.

All testimony unites in declaring that neither in Eastern Roumelia nor in Bulgaria is there any injustice practised by either Government or people against the remaining Turks; on the contrary, special efforts are being made to retain in the country a population as honest and



as orderly as the poorer and unofficial Turks have always been. But no efforts, no persuasion, will avail.

The Turk must either rule or he must go. He can no longer insist on the former alternative, he therefore accepts the latter. Some will doubtless remain under the new conditions, but it is almost certain that another generation will witness at any rate their nominal conversion to the faith of their neighbours.

Throughout the Balkan Peninsula the rule has been the same; in the train of the Turkish officials have gone the Mohammedan inhabitants. But for this fact it would be almost impossible to account for such an absolute blotting out of all traces of centuries of occupation as the recently liberated provinces bear witness to.

As has been said, the contrast between the external conditions of Turkish and Bulgarian rule is apparent from the moment the frontier dividing Turkey from Eastern Roumelia is passed. But it is not till Philippopolis is approached that the difference, as observed by the eye, becomes marked. As, however, the line traverses the rich valley of the Maritza and nears the capital, cultivation becomes everywhere more abundant and more complete, and the absolute desolation which marks the Turkish province is relieved by small villages scattered over the plain or sheltered under the Rhodope mountains, which here form a well-defined boundary to the valley. Philippopolis itself is a pretty and, to all appearances, busy town of more than 40,000 inhabitants. Its situation at the foot of four bold crags rising out of the plain, is striking and picturesque. In every direction there are signs of improvement, both in the external arrangements of the town and in the creation and maintenance of schools and other State establishments.

A former Turkish Bath, which has been converted into a Parliament House, is the scene of active and practical debates. The library attached to the assembly is well stocked with works upon constitutional history, and among them are to be found a large selection of English Blue-book literature, which is valued, and rightly valued, for the excellence of its arrangement and the accuracy of the information it contains. It must be borne in mind that both in Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria there are a considerable number of active and leading politicians, to whom the English language is perfectly familiar. Those who know Constantinople are acquainted with the Robert College, situated on the Bosphorus a few miles outside the city. This great institution already plays no unimportant part in influencing the fortunes of the Balkan Peninsula, and there is every probability that for the next few years, at any rate, its influence will increase rather than diminish. Although the College contains both Greeks and Armenians, the majority of the students

are Bulgarians. Instruction is given in English; the library is furnished almost exclusively with English books, for of Bulgarian literature there is practically none, and for three or four years English is the language through which the pupils receive the ideas which are to form their character.

It is hardly possible to doubt that such an institution, under the conduct of Dr. Washburn, its present head, must be a thoroughly good influence as far as its activity extends; and it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the College, being presided over by an American, is relieved from any possible charge of political proselytizing which might, however unfairly, be attributed to an English institution. But besides the moral value of the College as an educational establishment, its work possesses some features which are of special and unique interest to Englishmen. Both in Philippopolis and in Sophia there are already many young men who have received their education at the College, and who are now occupying posts of importance in their respective countries. The fact is important in itself, but it becomes doubly so when we reflect that this is the first occasion on which a newly formed European State has borrowed its ideas, or any of them, directly from Anglo-Saxon sources. Hitherto young men and coming politicians of the nations who were compelled to seek their education outside their own country, have as a rule turned their steps to Paris, Berlin and Vienna, and in the great Universities of those cities have learnt much that was of profit to themselves and likely to be of service to their fellow-countrymen. But in none of these capitals—not even in Paris—have they come in contact with what may be called the purely Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to the Continental, method of looking at political questions. It is not necessary to pretend that one attitude of mind is necessarily better than another, though both we and the Americans are somewhat prone to think otherwise. But that a difference of a very marked kind exists is not to be denied. Frequent conversations with men who had devoted the information they had acquired at Robert College to the services of the State in Eastern Roumelia or Bulgaria, certainly confirm the impression that there is likely to be an element in the government of these countries which is Western and not Continental; and that there is a peculiar ring in the tone in which the relations of the governing classes to the governed is discussed by those who view the question from an English or American standpoint, which is never to be heard even in the case of the most educated and well-intentioned students of French or German politics.

This peculiarity, as has been said, is possessed by these two Balkan States alone out of the many newly created European countries. The fact must needs lead us in England to look with



special and sympathetic interest upon the development of a people who are capable, to some extent at any rate, of understanding the conditions of our political life. For Bulgaria it may possibly be of great value. The population is democratic, and capable of self-government; at the same time the dangers by which it is surrounded make it essential that a popular government should be conducted with that spirit of moderation and mutual concession which are the characteristics of the English-speaking communities.

The pupils of the Robert College are to be found both in Roumelia and in Bulgaria, and in the latter province their influence may be reinforced by the active work which is being done by the large American schools at Samakov.

The circumstances of the two divisions of Bulgaria are in many respects so similar, that much that may be said about the one is true about the other. But the strict relations existing between the Porte and Eastern Roumelia, create for that province certain special difficulties from which its more fortunate neighbour is free. It may be laid down as a general proposition, to which there is no exception, that every provision which is made for the extension of the Turkish authority over a non-Turkish population is a step in the wrong direction, and certain to produce bad consequences.

Unfortunately, by the Treaty of Berlin the rights reserved to the Porte with regard to Eastern Roumelia were considerable, and equally of course they have been used to the detriment of that province. In the first place, the Porte possesses a right of veto over the enactments of the assembly, which is exercised to the serious inconvenience of the Government, and with not even a pretence of advantage to the Sultan. The external relations of the province are also strictly under the control of the Porte, and under skilful management are found capable of affording an efficacious method of injuring the interests of the Bulgarians. For instance, few things are of more importance to the newly constituted province than a complete system of railway communication, and the first and most essential link must obviously be that connecting the capital with the sea. Roumelia is ready and anxious to construct a railway from Philippopolis to Bourgas; the money is forthcoming, and nothing is required but the sanction of the Porte. The sanction of the Porte is withheld, and the ostensible reason for its refusal is droll enough. A line to Bourgas is a line to the sea—the sea is an international highway; to connect the capital with the sea, therefore, is to open a great international question. This is a complication which Turkey cannot permit, and consequently the railway is not made, and the only seaport of the province is rendered absolutely useless.

It is fortunate for Eastern Roumelia that its first years of quasi-

independence have been passed under the guidance of so politic a Governor-General as Aleko Pasha, or Prince Vogorides as he is more correctly called. There is no regular army in Eastern Roumelia, an immense advantage for its people; but the gendarmerie under an English commandant, and drilled for the most part by Russian officers, is an effective and useful force. The absolute extirpation of brigandage in this once perturbed district, is the best evidence of its usefulness. As has been said, the southern division of Bulgaria has some peculiar difficulties of its own to contend with; it is the more creditable to its rulers that, in spite of these drawbacks, it is even in advance of the northern division in the path of moral and material improvement. There is already much in common between the two provinces, and in the future there is no doubt that the union will become even more pronounced than it is at present. Until the completion of a direct railway from Constantinople to Belgrade there must, however, remain a certain amount of divergence, the result of the physical characteristics of the country. From Philippopolis to the rest of Europe the road lies southward by the Adrianople Railway; from Sophia it lies north over the greater Balkans to the Danube and Vienna. What may be called the watershed of these two diverging lines of departure lies in the small range of mountains which separates Philippopolis from Sophia.

The fact that the wretched road which connects the two capitals is allowed to become almost impassable in summer, and for most purposes wholly impracticable in winter, is evidence that there is still room for a further amalgamation between the two Slav populations.

It is by the road referred to that the traveller enters Sophia from the south. The town is barely half the size of Philippopolis, and certainly is not as attractive as far as appearances go. In the first place, the strange mixture of the old buildings of the town with the innumerable prim-looking stuccoed offices of the various Government departments, is not as picturesque as it is remarkable. Moreover, the great "princely Schloss," which rises in the centre of the town, looks as if it would be much more in its place in Munich or Vienna. However, it is impossible to complain very seriously of the outward appearance of the Government offices, when it is remembered that they are at any rate the evidence of an entirely new *régime* which is already conferring upon Bulgaria benefits which ten years ago were undreamt of.

The most important work which is being done in the newly formed provinces, is undoubtedly that of education. In this respect, in both provinces the progress is as astonishing as the need was great. The chief attention is directed, and rightly directed, to primary instruction. Already, in almost every town and village, there is a well-attended school. Since 1879 the number of pupils has very nearly



doubled. In one district, which in 1880 was among the most backward, the number of boys attending school has risen from 1,600 to 3,000, and of girls from 200 to over 300. It is true that there is still great ignorance to overcome, which, indeed, is only saying that centuries of Turkish rule have done their work. For instance, in the Sophia district there is but one literate man to every 132; in that of Isker, 1 to 233. On the other hand, both the amount of instruction and the proportion of school attendance vary greatly in different parts of the country. As a rule, the western districts are the least enlightened. For instance, in the Kustendil district the average school attendance is only 28 per cent., in that of Shumla it reaches the high figure of 82 per cent. Besides the national or popular schools, the Government supports twelve high schools, in which there are no less than 2,457 pupils, of whom 369 are girls.

Great efforts are also being made by the Government to provide properly instructed teachers, and for this purpose money is granted for the support of intending teachers, both in the Bulgarian seminaries and in foreign institutions.

In Eastern Roumelia educational progress is still more remarkable. According to the last report of the Minister of Instruction, presented a year ago, there were 931 schools, of which 841 were already open; 39,000 boys and 11,000 girls were in attendance, and the average of absentees was not more than 25 per cent. There were no less than 31 high schools, of which 25 were Bulgarian, 4 Greek, and 1 Turkish. The amount paid in salaries to teachers was 3,867,000 piastres. Compared with many European countries, these figures are remarkable; when it is remembered that they refer to a district which eight years ago was under Turkish rule, they are simply astonishing.

It must not be forgotten in considering the affairs of the sub-Balkan States, that only one-half of the Bulgarian question lies within Bulgaria itself. It is in Macedonia that at the present moment the future of the Bulgarian population is in the greatest danger; it is to Macedonia that the already liberated Bulgarians are turning their anxious attention; it is in Macedonia that are being transacted the endless intrigues, plots, and counterplots, which have within them the materials for a war, which, if it comes, will shake Europe.

Nothing is harder for the traveller to ascertain than the actual proportions of Bulgarians, Greeks, and Turks in Macedonia. According as the informant is a Greek or a Bulgarian, the numbers of either nationality will increase to the most astonishing proportions. The extent of the variations is a measure of the importance of the questions which depend upon the accuracy of either estimate. In what purports to be a statement of the ethnography of the province,

published in 1881, and coming from a Bulgarian source, the population is given as follows:—Bulgarians, 1,251,385; Mussulmans, 463,837; Greeks, 57,480. The estimate is doubtless very far from representing the actual state of things, and the Greek population is probably set at too low a figure. The Greek population is for the most part to be found along the coast and in the towns, northward and inland it is exceedingly small. The prestige given to the Greek Church, and the natural ability of the Greeks themselves, have probably given to the Hellenic population a greater prominence than they were entitled to by virtue of their numbers. Whether in reality they do not constitute a thirtieth part of the whole, it is not easy to say until a proper census of the province be taken; but, whether more or less, there can be no doubt that the Bulgarian element is in a vast majority.

At the time of the constitution of the Bulgarian Exarch by the Porte in 1870, a provision was added to the Imperial Firman declaring that in districts outside the provinces named in the instrument, wherever the whole or at least two-thirds of the inhabitants should express a desire to place themselves under the Bulgarian exarchate with regard to their religious affairs, they should be at liberty to do so after a census of the population had been taken. The permission greatly alarmed the Greek Patriarch, the more so when it became obvious from the results of the census in the neighbouring districts of Eastern Roumelia that a very large portion of Macedonia and of the Adrianople Vilayet would fall within the terms of the Imperial concession. The census has in fact never been made in Macedonia, and the Bulgarian population are still, sorely against their will, subjected to the spiritual authority of the Greek Patriarch, whom they decline to recognize as the representative of their national church.

The influence which the Greek hierarchy long exercised over the Bulgarians in the liberated provinces, it still maintains over their brethren in the territory still under Turkish rule, and the fact of its existence, and of its being exercised by the representatives of a small minority, forms in itself a serious and deeply-felt grievance to the Bulgarians throughout the Peninsula. Moreover, the situation is aggravated by the fact that throughout Macedonia there is a party—namely, the Roman Catholic party—ready to take full advantage of the difficulties of the situation. Rather than submit to the authority of the Greek Patriarch, many of the Macedonian Bulgarians prefer to conform temporarily to the doctrines of the Romish Church, and it is said and believed that Austrian influence is not foreign to the spread of Catholicism, accompanied, of course, by the disorganization of the native church.

At the present moment, in addition to the difficulties arising out of ecclesiastical questions, Macedonia is suffering from a renewal of per-



secution on the part of the Turks, the existence of which appears not to have been realized in this country, but which bids fair to rival in some of its worst features the well-known cruelties which preceded the late war. Aware that the Bulgarian element in Macedonia is in a large majority, and alarmed lest these Slavs, encouraged by the prosperity of their happier brethren in Eastern Roumelia, should become inconvenient to their alien rulers, the Turks are at this moment inflicting a series of the grossest cruelties and acts of injustice upon their suffering subjects. Every day men and women are being arrested, and, without trial, without offence, are being sent to exile in Asia Minor. The leading men in the province are for obvious reasons chiefly made the victims of these barbarities; and the whole country is kept in a state of terrorism by bands of armed Bashibazouks who roam through the country unchecked by the authorities. It will be seen from these statements with regard to the condition of the Bulgarian population still under Turkish rule, that the work of the late war is not yet thoroughly done, and that in Macedonia especially there are the elements of almost unavoidable trouble in the future.

But to return to the affairs of Bulgaria proper. It has been said that in their educational system the Bulgarians possess a most valuable and hopeful organization. As if by way of compensation, however, they are saddled with another institution of which the benefits are much more problematical. It would not be true to say that the country has not gained from the appointment of the reigning Prince. The establishment of personal rule in some shape or other was probably essential to the success of the newly formed State, and fortune might easily have been less kind in the selection of the particular individual who was to hold the office. But in so far as Bulgaria owes to Prince Alexander its existing army, it has little reason to be grateful. At present there is a standing army of 18,000 men, well organized, fairly equipped, and composed of admirable material, but which might well be reduced by one-half with unqualified advantage to the State. In the first place, a Bulgarian army, save for the purposes of police, is in itself a purely useless luxury. Any war in which the country may be engaged must of necessity be a war between two of the great Powers fighting for or over her territory.

It is hardly probable that a Bulgarian contingent could much affect the issue of such a struggle; there is abundant reason why it should not try. A war made on Bulgarian territory against the will of Bulgaria will be begun, continued and ended, independently of any opposition which Bulgarian troops may offer. Moreover, the existing force involves the continuance in the country of a large number of Russian officers who fill all the superior

military posts. Russian assistance is not required in Bulgaria, that which Russian officers whose livelihood depends on war, can afford least of all.

There is no question here of uniting a nation in the ranks, as in the case of the Italian army. The Bulgarians are already united in sympathy and in aspirations, and require no artificial stimulus of this kind. It must be said in justice to them that the existence of the army on its present footing appears distasteful to many, and is regarded in the light of a concession to the feelings of the Prince.

Reference has been made to the presence of Russians in Bulgaria, and the question naturally arises, what are the feelings of the Bulgarians toward their liberators? As far as can be judged from general expressions of opinion, they are precisely the feelings which gratitude and common sense together should dictate. The Russians came into Bulgaria with the expressed intention of liberating its suffering people from the tyranny of the Turk and restoring to them their national life. They did get rid of the Turks, and they made enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure to do so; they have restored to Bulgaria its national independence. For this the Bulgarians are deeply grateful, and are perfectly frank in the expression of their gratitude. Their feelings towards the Russians, whom they understand, and whose kinsmen they are, is probably more favourable than towards any other nationality. But beyond this they are not ready to go. If Russia came, as she said she did, to rescue Bulgaria, well and good. She deserves and obtains Bulgarian gratitude. If, on the other hand, she came to establish beyond the Balkans a Russian outpost to check Austria at Salonica, and to hold the road to Constantinople, she came to please herself and to benefit herself. In that case no thanks are due to her, and she should expect none.

This appears to be the attitude of Bulgaria towards Russia; it cannot be denied that it is a justifiable one. And let it be said emphatically that with the exception of her protection, a doubtful boon, Bulgaria can gain nothing from Russia. Neither in education, in the method of self-government, in the pursuit of business, have the Balkan Slavs anything whatever to learn from their northern relatives. In everything but the possession of brute force Bulgaria is already a long way ahead of Russia. Everything that strengthens Bulgaria, and makes her more capable of standing alone, removes her a step further from the dreadful possibility of becoming a Russian province. It is the duty and the interest alike of Western politicians to secure a fair field for a people who, if only left alone, are emphatically capable of governing themselves.

The attitude of the Bulgarians towards Austria is another matter.



Austria is not wanted in the Balkan Peninsula by any considerable section of the population, whether Greek, Slav or Turkish. The only possible way in which Austria could usefully control the destinies of the Southern Slavs would be if Austria herself transferred her centre of government to Constantinople, and became in fact as well as in name the Empire of the East. But the probabilities of the House of Hapsburg severing its connection with the ancient German provinces of the West are so remote, and the difficulties which must attend such a transfer of power are so enormous, that such an eventuality, though not altogether to be condemned, need hardly be taken into serious calculation. So long as Austria elects to remain German she cannot hope to add to her Slav territories with safety. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that there is at this moment a gigantic rivalry going on in the East between Russia and Austria, and that in Bulgaria and Macedonia there is at this moment a serious and increasing danger of a conflict arising. For the present the position of Austria is exceedingly strong from a strategical point of view. Already Bukovina and Roumania threaten the advance of a Russian army into the Peninsula, and lay its flank open to attack for many days' march. The completion of the railroad, which will shortly connect Vienna with Constantinople, by way of Belgrade, Nisch, Sophia and Adrianople, must enormously strengthen the position both for attack and defence. The first direct communication with Constantinople will be on the west and not on the east. The railway forming it will join the Austrian system at a point where it is perfectly safe from a hostile movement. Just now there is peace, and as long as Germany preserves her present attitude, and France continues her present follies, it is likely to continue. But no one who is at all familiar with the politics of Eastern Europe, above all no one who has realized the condition of feeling between Russians and Austrians, and still more between Russians and Hungarians, can doubt that the great danger which now menaces Europe is on the Austrian frontier; and that if any proposition with regard to the future should ever be hazarded in politics, there is none which can be ventured on with greater certainty than that war between Russia and Austria is near. If such a war should take place, it is not hard to decide with which of the combatants our sympathies should be.

It is the fashion to say hard things of Austria, though many who say them forget that, make what rearrangement we will, no common denominator can be found for the varied races which occupy her territory, and that no substitute could take the place of the Hapsburg dynasty, which alone preserves order, peace, and a fair measure of contentment among its subjects. Moreover, though it is easy to pick holes in Austrian administration, there is much to be said in its favour. Parliamentary government in Austro-Hungary is by no

means a sham, as witness the strong representation of Austrian Poland in the Imperial Chamber. But indeed Austrian rule would have to be deplorably bad not to be preferable to the alternative of the deadly despotism of Russia. Moreover, a Russian success would almost inevitably mean annexation; an Austrian victory, on the other hand, need not of necessity imply it; for Austria must make terms with the South Slavs to ensure her own existence. But there is another alternative which implies neither Russian nor Austrian supremacy, and which it is impossible not to hope may be the ultimate solution of the problem. As has been shown, Bulgaria, even at this early stage, is energetic, capable, progressive. Eastern Roumelia is in advance of Bulgaria, and the union of the two provinces is only a question of time. It has been pointed out that in Macedonia there is a large Bulgarian majority, and that nothing now interferes with Macedonia becoming part of Bulgaria save the barrier raised by the miserable domination of the Porte. Turkey in Europe must inevitably before long be an historical expression only. It is reasonable therefore to expect, as it is politic to hope, that at a not very distant date we may see a Bulgarian State south of the Balkans capable of holding its own against all comers. Whether such a State would eventually include other Slav populations—whether, for instance, Sérvia and Montenegro might not with advantage enter with some form of federation or alliance—is another question. At present the respective countries are not on the best of terms one with another, and therein lies the chief strength of their enemies. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the solution pointed to, and which consists in a federation of the Slav races of the Balkan Peninsula, is the one which, if realized, would be the safest for Europe, and the best for the populations concerned.

It is idle to pretend that the newly formed Bulgarian State is an ideal community, or that its people or its rulers are not liable to make many and serious mistakes. But when it is considered that it is not a decade since Bulgaria was under the most degrading despotism of modern times, that she began her political life in the midst of a struggle the wounds left by which are still open; and lastly, that the experiment of constitutional government which she is making, is a new one not only for her people but for the race to which they belong, it will be admitted that her career should be watched, not only with interest but with sympathy by all Englishmen.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.



## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION :

### A PRACTICAL PROPOSAL.

I DO not intend on this occasion to repeat the arguments in favour of proportional representation, which have been urged with conclusive force by so many writers, from Mr. Hare to Mr. Seebohm's article in the December number of this REVIEW. The actual situation is this: First, that while the greatest interest centres in the parliamentary question, in which the principle is under controversy, a minor, but important, application of the principle to School Board elections is well established, but needs reform in detail; secondly, that if such reform can be effected in the minor case, the spectacle of its working must influence the controversy as to the parliamentary application.

I have ventured to say that in School Board elections the proportional principle is well established, for just consider what are the alternatives. There are but two. One is that the members of each School Board out of London, and those for each London division, should be elected in one list by the majority. But no one will seriously propose that the working of the boards should be handed over bodily, as the majority in any place sways to and fro—for three years to the partizans of secular education and for the next three to those of religious; for three years to Churchmen and for the next three to Dissenters; for three years to the friends of industrial schools and for the next three to those who disapprove of them or who think they should be disconnected from the School Boards, and so forth. The other alternative is that each London division, and each other large town, should be divided into districts electing single members. But whatever may be the chances of the one-member system for parliamentary elections, there is a fatal difficulty in its way for School Board purposes. The task of dividing, and of remodelling the scheme of division as the rapid expansion and shifting of population within town areas would

continually require, would have to be entrusted to the Education Department. Now neither Lord Carlingford, nor Mr. Mundella, nor any other man enjoying common sanity, would undertake to meet the howl which any possible scheme of division would excite. Imagine the outcry which would be raised on all sides that the boundaries had been gerrymandered in order to swamp this church, that chapel, this rich district, that poor district! Parliament might make such a division, and for the purposes of parliamentary elections, for which such frequent remodelling would not be necessary, it perhaps may; for Parliament would disperse and leave no one in particular to face the odium. But that the head of a department should consent to offer himself up as the sacrifice is inconceivable.

Assuming then that the proportional principle will have to be maintained for School Board elections, let us consider what, as now applied in them, it has done, and what it has failed to do. At this point it will be worth while to quote the rule for the cumulative vote as it stands in the Elementary Education Act, 1870:—

“At every such election every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of members of the School Board to be elected, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit” (sect. 29). There is a similar rule in sect. 37 (5), for the election of the members for the London divisions.

The cumulative vote, applied even with this rudimentary simplicity, has furnished each large School Board with a representation of all shades of opinion held by any numerous body of electors. Taking the frequent case of parties, AB and AC, more like each other than either is to party D, and of which, though all are numerous, we will suppose AC to be less numerous than AB, the mere majority system has one of two results. If party AC is weak in spirit, it is effaced, being dragged at the heels of AB to make up the majority over D. But if party AC is strong in spirit, it imposes its candidates on AB as the price of its aid in making up the majority over D, and it is AB that is effaced. The cumulative vote has given separate representation to all three, and on the boards AB and AC have acted together so far as they agreed, which is as far as it was right or desirable for them to act together. Under the cumulative vote there has been no lack of committees which have run candidates, as, indeed, it would be a pity that there ever should be a lack, for co-operation in such committees is a necessary feature of healthy public opinion. But there has been also another no less healthy feature, which must otherwise have been very rare—namely, candidates who have originated committees—persons who have come forward in the belief, justified by the event, that large bodies of opinion would rally round them, which would not have found adequate expression in the usual committees. And the net result has been that the working of the



School Board system has been much more stable than it could have been if the shifting majority of every three years had had its way uncontrolled.

Let us turn now to what the rudimentary cumulative vote has failed to do. Each shade of opinion held by a numerous body of electors, though represented, has not had its proportional representation. It is evident that a party which runs more candidates than in proportion to its numbers risks returning fewer candidates than in proportion to its numbers, and not only has this risk been often realized, but often also the fear of it has prevented a party from running its due number of candidates. Again, even when the due number, and that only, has been run, all have not been returned, because the votes of their supporters have not been evenly divided among them. It would seem as if those who established the cumulative vote had greater faith in the power of organizing than the event has justified. I will give a few instances of the waste of votes, drawn from the last two general elections for the London School Board, because nine years' practice had preceded even the first of the two, and it may therefore be supposed that the power of organizing had reached as full a development as can be expected. In order to appreciate them thoroughly, it is necessary to explain what is meant by a quota. If 10,000 votes are given at an election, and three members are to be elected, the proportional principle requires that any candidate who has received 2,501 votes should be elected, because the remaining 7,499 votes cannot be so distributed as to give as many as 2,501 to more than two others. A little reflection on this example will show the truth of the following rule:—Divide the number of votes given by the number of members to be elected, plus one: the quotient, plus one, is the quota, that is, the number of votes which on the proportional principle will entitle a candidate to be elected. If the quotient is fractional, the quota is the next higher integer.

Now, in the City of London, in 1879, there were four members to elect, and 23,591 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 4,719; but the highest on the poll got 7,153 votes, and one member was elected with 2,089, or considerably less than half the quota.

In the Hackney division, in 1879, there were five members to elect and 60,992 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 10,166; but the highest on the poll had 13,727 votes, and one member was elected with 4,728, or again less than half the quota.

In the Lambeth division, in 1882, there were eight members to elect, and 153,142 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 17,016, but the highest on the poll had 34,896 votes, or more than twice the quota, while two members were elected with 8,888 and 8,190, or about half the quota.

It is important to observe that the wasteful accumulation of votes on some candidates leads to the election of others with a very small number of votes, because this is the second point in which the working of the actual School Board system is open to objection. It is desirable that each shade of opinion held by a numerous body of electors should be represented, but it is not desirable that very small bodies should have the power of returning candidates. If a very small group is composed of the partizans of a real shade of opinion, their exclusion will not shake public confidence in the representative assembly, as that of a large group would do, and they can still propagate their views in the press and at meetings. More often, however, a very small group is composed of the partizans of a candidate; and he, again, is often one whose personal qualifications have not recommended him for selection to the great body of those with whom his opinions, so far as he has any, would connect him. Now few who know anything of the working of assemblies will doubt the importance of keeping bad members out, if possible. Their power for mischief is increased by their election tenfold more than the power of an average candidate for good is increased by his election, while an exceptionally good candidate can generally impress himself on a large body of supporters. It is therefore an additional evil, incidental to the wasteful accumulation of votes on some candidates, that it facilitates the success of small combinations in favour of others. I must not be misunderstood as hinting that all members who have been returned to School Boards by small fractions of quotas, or even most who are in that case, have proved themselves to be objectionable members. Many worthy candidates, who represented considerable bodies of opinion, have been left with small fractions of quotas through the undue accumulation of votes on other representatives of the same opinions; and in the instances I have quoted I have had no reference at all to the worthiness or otherwise of the persons concerned. I have selected them only to show, by striking examples, that election by too few votes is the necessary accompaniment of election by too many; and then I leave it to every one's knowledge of human nature to assure him that, among the elections made by too few votes, many must be such as he would regret.

The direction, then, in which the actual School Board system of election has to be improved is that of giving some assistance to the power of organizing, which has been found insufficient, while adding as little as possible that is novel to a system which has the great advantage that all are now familiar with it. Let the reader imagine that the rule of cumulative voting, which has been quoted on page 418, from the Elementary Education Act, 1870, is numbered (1), and, without changing it at all, let him consider the following rules proposed as additional:—



(2.) Any two or more candidates may be nominated together as a list, in which their names appear in a certain order. The name of no candidate can appear on more than one list.

(3.) Any voter may give all or any of his votes to any list so formed, and may also give all or any of his votes to any candidates on any list, just as if they had stood separately.

(4.) The number obtained by dividing the whole number of good votes given at the election by the number of members to be elected, plus one, and increasing the quotient, or the integral part of the quotient, by one, shall be called the quota.

(5.) The votes given to any list shall be attributed to the first candidate on it until thereby, together with any votes given to him singly, he has obtained the quota. They shall then be attributed to the second candidate on the list, until he has similarly obtained the quota, and so on.

(6.) Any residue of the votes given for a list which is insufficient to make up the quota for the last candidate on it reached under the preceding rule, shall be attributed to the next lower candidate on the list, if any, for whom it can make up the quota, until his quota is made up, and so on. Any final residue, which is insufficient to make up the quota for any candidate remaining on the list, shall be attributed to the candidate remaining on it to whom the most votes have been given singly, and, in case of equality, to the first such candidate.

(7.) Those candidates shall be declared to have been elected to whom the largest numbers of votes shall have been given or attributed.

To illustrate these rules, suppose that nine members are to be elected, and that 100,000 good votes are given. Then the quota is 10,001, and every candidate who gets that number of votes is entitled to be elected, because not more than eight others can get as many each out of the remaining 89,999. We may suppose that there are the three parties or bodies of opinion which have been above designated as AB, AC, and D; and that on behalf of each a list is nominated containing the full number of nine names, while there are other candidates who stand singly. Each elector will have nine votes, which he may dispose of in a great variety of ways. He may give them all to any one of the lists. If his predilections are not only confined to one of the lists, but do not even extend to all the candidates on that list, he may give his votes to those alone of the candidates on it of whom he approves. He may divide his votes among certain candidates on different lists, and indeed it is probable that many will select candidates from each of the two cognate lists, AB and AC; or he may give all or any of his votes to one or more candidates standing alone.

In whatever way an elector votes, the returning officer will have to perform no operation on his voting paper but that of counting it. All the operations necessary for bringing out the result of the election will be arithmetical ones, performed, after the counting, on the numbers of the votes given for the several lists and candidates. They will therefore be performed in a few minutes, and may always be easily verified.

For example, suppose that 30,000 votes have been counted for the

list AB, and 1,000 separately for the first candidate on it. That candidate requires 9,001 of the list votes to make up his quota, and 20,999 of them are left. The second candidate may have no separate votes, and the third 500, so that these two take between them 19,502 of the list votes, and 1,497 are passed on, which we will suppose are insufficient to make up the quota for the fourth name. But the fifth name may be that of a candidate who has received a large number of separate votes, either for personal reasons, or because his opinions may verge on those designated as AC, and many electors may consequently have split their votes between him and certain names on the list AC. He may therefore require only 1,000 votes to make up his quota, and these he will get under rule 6. The remaining 497 we will suppose to be the final residue mentioned in the same rule, which cannot make up a quota for any of the five candidates who remain on the list—namely, number 4 and numbers 6 to 9. Clearly they must be attributed to that one of the five who has the most separate votes, in order that they may have the best chance of not being thrown away. If numbers 4 and 6 have the most separate votes, and are equal as between themselves, number 4 will get the 497 from the priority of his position on the list. And when this process has been gone through with all the lists, the members remaining to be elected will be taken, by the simple majority of votes, from those candidates who stood alone, and those candidates on the lists who have not obtained quotas.

The amendment thus proposed, which may be described as *combining free lists with the cumulative vote*, appears to secure that each great body of opinion shall have a representation nearly proportional to the number of its adherents, as tested by the total number of votes given for the list nominated on its behalf and for the several candidates on that list. It frees parties from the necessity of running fewer candidates than there are members to be returned, on pain of missing their due share of representation, and consequently also from the uncertainty attending the estimate of the number they should run. And it does this while preserving the liberty of any candidate to stand alone, and the liberty of every elector to vote only for those candidates of whom he approves. The list, for those electors who approve it, operates as a mode of transferring their votes to those who need them, in accordance with Mr. Hare's principle. With regard to the election of the remaining members by simple majority, after the quotas have been made up, this will be confined within narrow limits by the completeness with which the several parties will be able to make up the quotas they are entitled to. There will seldom, in any constituency, be more than one or two members to be so elected. And since the independent candidates will have to compete for those places with the remaining names on the lists, for



which all the list votes will have been given, in fact, though it may not have been possible to attribute many to them, the combination of a small number of electors in favour of an objectionable individual will rarely succeed.

The necessary adaptation of the voting-paper is of the simplest kind. We all know its present form, a column of names with ruled spaces on the right for the numbers of votes given to them respectively. This may remain unaltered, but the names composing each list must follow one another and be united by a bracket on the left, with a space on the left for the number of votes given to the list. All the figures written by an elector, whether on the right or on the left of the column of names, must not together exceed the number of members to be elected, just as is now the rule for the figures which he places on the right only.

I will close this paper as it was begun, by pointing out that if the amendment is found to work well in School Board elections, for which I conceive it to be necessary, the scheme it embodies will so enable all large parliamentary constituencies to elect all their members without the gerrymandering of boundaries, and the loss of a large public spirit, which must accompany the one-member system.

J. WESTLAKE.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE.

THE Ferry Ministry has come out wonderfully strengthened from the struggles of the last few months—strong enough, indeed, to suggest the possibility of its being destined to a longer life than any of our Ministries have had as yet—perhaps strong enough to last till the next elections, and create, both in the Chamber and in the country, a real governmental party. M. Ferry has succeeded in acquiring a political status and authority such as none of his predecessors enjoyed, not even M. Gambetta. And yet we cannot even now call him a great statesman. He has, indeed, shown some of the most indispensable qualities of a statesman, skill and courage; but we are still unable clearly to discern the leading ideas of his policy, whether at home or abroad. Except in the matter of public instruction, where no one can dispute the magnitude and solidity of his work, he seems rather to have allowed himself to be led by circumstances, and, while avoiding extreme measures, to have gone with the current of Republican opinion. So far, Gambetta remains the only Republican statesman who has had a definite programme. But M. Ferry will of course, by the very exercise of power, be brought to frame one, which will be the result of practical experience worked out by a singularly clear and impartial mind.

Experiences, both trying and instructive, have not been wanting to him these last months, and he has come out of them with credit. He has fairly disabled the two parties leagued to oppose him—the coterie of M. Wilson and M. de Freycinet,\* and the Radicals of the Extreme Left. These two parties have invented a useful cry, which represents no substantial fact, and which they reiterate with more perseverance than conviction. M. Ferry and his partisans, according to them, are Absolutists. They themselves are Liberals. Under this pretext they claim to unite for common action Moderates like M. de Freycinet,

\* M. de Freycinet, however, has lately changed his tactics. He is flattering the Republican Union, trying to gain partisans by exciting an appetite for office, and endeavouring to supplant M. Ferry, not by opposing him, but simply by taking his place.



Jacobins like M. Clemenceau and M. Madier de Montjau, and semi-Anarchists like M. Clovis Hugues and M. de Lanessan. This pretended opposition of principles, the theory of which is solemnly set forth in the *Nouvelle Revue*, and hotly advocated in the *France*, simply covers a low ambition for power, and a sham coalition in which the Moderates are playing into the hands of the Radicals. M. Ferry has twice given battle to this coalition, and twice come off victorious—once by his dismissal of General Thibaudin from the Ministry of War, and again by the splendid majority he obtained in support of his policy in Tonquin.

We have already pointed out the mistake he committed in ever accepting M. Thibaudin as a colleague. A man of moderate abilities, and disliked in the army, M. Thibaudin was fain to surround himself with sycophants, to administer by favouritism, and to act in the council as the representative, if not the secret agent, of the Radicals. The Ministry of War fell into a state of total disorganisation. The Radical journals contained a series of indiscreet revelations, which came straight from the cabinet of M. Thibaudin. Other indiscretions appeared at the same time in the *Petite France*, the organ of M. Wilson. These emanated from a higher source. The information M. Wilson obtained as a member of the President's family he used as a journalist. It became every day more evident that a conspiracy was being formed against the Ministry, and that the Radicals gained their chief support, on the one hand from the Ministry of War, on the other from the son-in-law of the President. The visit of the King of Spain accentuated the situation, and led to its speedy solution.

Looking at M. Ferry's conduct in this matter by itself, we may find him guilty of some imprudence in not insisting that the visit to France should precede the visit to Germany, and in not taking stronger measures for the preservation of order when it was known that the coming guest bore the title of Colonel of the Uhlans of Strasbourg. His mistake lay in his inability to believe the Parisian populace capable of an act of stupid and childish unreasonableness. Bismarck was a better psychologist. But patriotic feeling had little to do with the hisses which greeted King Alfonso on the 29th of September. They were really intended for M. Ferry. From the moment the King's arrival was known, the journals of the Extreme Left, and those which followed the lead of M. Wilson, joined in a chorus of abuse against the unpatriotic Ministry which was humiliating France before a royal guest come only to insult her; they implied that M. Grévy had consented against his will to receive the King; they dwelt on the noisy demonstrations in the streets, and stirred up new ones by the violence of their language; they declared that M. Thibaudin had no part in the policy of his colleagues. M. Thibaudin submitted to the pressure of his Radical friends to such an extent that he not only declined to figure in the *cortège* of the King of Spain, but refused to furnish the military escort and band, whose presence would have done much to diminish the scandal and mitigate the gravity of the situation. This time the measure was full, and M. Ferry took occasion to rid himself both of General Thibaudin and of M. Wilson. M. Grévy, reduced to the necessity of painfully excusing himself to the King of Spain and accepting a frigidly polite reply, felt that his son-in-law had compro-



mised him, and found it necessary to require from him greater reserve in the future, and also to consent to the dismissal of M. Thibaudin. M. Thibaudin gave in his resignation in terms which amply justified M. Ferry in exacting it, and was replaced by General Campenon, whose energy and ability had been universally recognized when he held office in the Gambetta Ministry. The danger of international difficulties arising from the incident was quickly dispelled by the moderation of the King and of the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Fernand Nuñez; and this miserable escapade, which gave rise to so many unpleasant comments on French character in the foreign press, was allowed to remain—what it really was—a mere matter of internal politics.

The retirement of M. Thibaudin was received with a burst of invective from the Radical press. It seems never to have occurred to them that the more they made common cause with him the more evident it became that M. Ferry was justified in removing from his camp an opponent of his policy. These attacks did some service to the Ministry by defining its position. It had come into office at the moment when the expulsion of the princes was the burning question, and when the Radicals, being noisier than the rest, seemed to take the lead of the Republican party. The time had now come for repudiating this compromising association. M. Ferry used the opportunity afforded by a visit to Rouen and Havre, under pretext of inspecting the works of the Lower Seine, to emphasise the separation. He declared that the ministerial policy was one of progress and reform, but he also declared that what France needed most of all was rest, stability, and labour; he ridiculed the extravagant promises held out by the Radicals, and defied them to formulate a programme of government. Some passages in his speech even recalled the statesmen of the time of Louis Philippe, and seemed to imply that he regarded the government of France less as a democratic government than as a bourgeois government of democratic tendencies. From that time it was open war; and the Radical press spared neither taunt nor calumny. In several bye-elections the candidates of the Extreme Left carried seats hitherto held by members of the Republican Union. But the violence and partial success of the Radicals only served to rally the majority more closely round its chief. It was indeed carried away by its old anti-clerical antipathies into some acts contrary to the wishes of the Ministry—such as the suppression of the vote for the seminaries, and the reduction of the salary of the Archbishop of Paris by 15,000 francs; but when the Senate replaced these items and sent the budget back to the Chamber of Deputies, the Chamber, at M. Ferry's request, reconsidered the votes and reversed its former decision. The most significant incident of all was the vote for maintaining the French embassy to the Papal See, and the speech of M. Spuller which preceded that vote. M. Spuller, Gambetta's most intimate friend, ignoring the saying of his old chief, "Clericalism,—that is the enemy we have to face," spoke eloquently not only of the great social and moral interests represented by Catholicism, but of the necessity of securing religious peace in France. This politic language corresponds, I am sure, with the private convictions of the majority of Republicans, but they have been long in adopting it, and one may still question whether they will be able steadily to act in accordance with it. On this point the Radicals will have many allies in the heart of the Repub-



lican Union; and the religious question must remain one of the chief embarrassments and dangers of the Republic. It is not, however, the only one. Last year, at the last sitting of the Chamber, M. Ferry announced that in 1884 he would propose a revision of the Constitution. There was little need to explain that he understood revision in a very different sense from that of the Extreme Left, and thus bring down on himself a gross insult from M. Clovis Hugues, a deputy of Marseilles; but it is none the less true that the question involves an equivocation and a misunderstanding. The moderate Republican party accepted the idea of revision only to deprive the Radicals of the power of using it as an election cry; it would assuredly prefer to do without revision altogether; and in any case it does not mean what the Radicals mean by it. While the Radicals wish to overhaul the Constitution from top to bottom, and to destroy the Senate, if not the Presidency of the Republic itself, the Moderates are only prepared to introduce some modifications into the mode of electing the senators, and to regulate their powers in matters of finance in such a manner as to prevent conflicts between the two Chambers. Is it worth while, for this, to open up the whole question of the Constitution, to assemble the Congress, and stir the country from one end to the other? If the results are tolerably satisfactory, what does it signify that the method of recruiting the Senate is somewhat absurd? And as to the question of the budget, it had far better be left to settle itself according to usage. If the deputies would cease to settle legislative questions, and suppress public services created by law, by the short and easy method of refusing the credits required for them, the Senate on its side would willingly give up reinstating the rejected credits in the form of amendments; but it is better that this should be done by tacit agreement, and that the Senate should be allowed to retain a weapon which may be useful, for instance, when the Chamber attempts to decide a question like that of the separation of Church and State by simply refusing to vote the budget of Public Worship. The result of this curious situation is, that the journals friendly to the Ministry almost all oppose revision, and that the Radical papers take advantage of M. Ferry's declarations, and warn him that he will have to go through with it and frame an entirely new Constitution. The Gambetta Cabinet fell on this question of revision; it remains to be seen whether the Ferry Cabinet will be more fortunate. It has, at least, the immense advantage of not having been required to face this question at starting, and of having had time to consolidate, before dealing with it, what appears to be a staunch majority.

The firmness of this majority was shown in the debate on Tonquin. So far as one can judge, the Republican majority had no great liking for the expedition, and they had a real dread of war with China. At the bottom of their hearts they had a good deal against the Ministry—for not having called the Chambers earlier, for not having supported M. Bourée, and so on. But they did clearly understand that you must not upset a Ministry because you disagree with it on points of detail; and after the remarkable report of M. Léon Renault, the votes of the 10th and 18th of December secured to the Ministry the moral and material support of which it stood in need. This was so much the more fortunate, because the fears and anxieties of the



Chamber were quite groundless, and sprang from ignorance of Asiatic concerns. To abandon the delta of Tonquin would have been not only to give up a most promising commercial route, but to lose all credit in the East, and justify the Chinese diplomacy, which has all along been threatening us with war without ever having the slightest intention of undertaking it. M. Bourée had, as we have already said, deserved his recall by entering, without authority from his Government, into negotiations with China, thus implying a recognition of her rights over Tonquin, and by sending home, as a treaty accepted by China, a draft which really only represented the ideas of M. Bourée. The Ministry acted wisely in going resolutely forward, attributing but little importance to the warnings of the Marquis T'seng and the articles he contributed to the *Gaulois*, and adopting with regard to China that determined attitude which has always been so successfully used by England. It cannot be denied that, owing to past mistakes, the whole affair is and must be onerous and difficult; but the Ministry cannot repudiate the task it has inherited, and must make the best that can be made of it.

These distant foreign and colonial questions would not seem to us so serious as they do, if it were not that in Europe itself France is not only isolated but threatened; so that she can never feel safe in diverting either money or men from the necessities of her own defence on the old Continent. The threatening articles which appeared last October in the journals supposed to derive their inspiration directly from the German Chancellor, created serious uneasiness in France. The charge of entertaining bellicose projects, of using arrogant and injurious language, and of even endangering the safety of Germans resident in France, was so remote from the truth that it seemed to have been purposely devised to prepare public opinion in Germany for an approaching war. The journalists of Cologne and Berlin are surely not so ignorant and inexperienced as to take a scurrilous newspaper like the *Anti-Prussian* as representing French opinion. They must know that if there is a fault chargeable upon the mass of the French nation at this moment, it is that of being peaceable and apathetic to excess. That we should show some ill-humour at finding ourselves everywhere surrounded by suspicion and hostility, is not to be wondered at; and it certainly is a long way from wishing to go to war. For the rest, the uneasiness of the French public was exaggerated. Its general ignorance of European affairs makes it a very incompetent judge in these matters.

It is very evident that Germany feels herself always on the defensive against France, and the moment she believes herself about to be attacked, she will forestall the blow; but she has no interest in making war—it serves her purpose better to isolate France, to prevent her contracting any useful alliance, and to form, meanwhile, a vast alliance of European States under the leadership of Germany. In order to attain this object, it is useful to represent France as a restless, quarrelsome nation, a nursery of revolutions and childish ambitions, a menace now to Spain, now to Italy, now to Germany. Above all, it is necessary to reiterate this theme in order to keep up to a sufficient pitch the passion for German unity among Germans, who, in ceasing to fear the common foe, might cease to regard Prussia with tender deference. This is why the German press strikes up such a martial



strain from time to time. It does not at all imply that M. de Bismarck is planning a fresh invasion. What he most cares for is to prevent any *rapprochement* between France and Russia—though he himself, as early as 1854, spoke of such a *rapprochement* as being among the inevitable events of the future. His whole policy during these last months has been directed to this object; and he has succeeded in re-establishing cordial relations between Russia and Austria, as well as between Russia and Prussia. It is said that some time ago he was trying, on the contrary, to bring about a rupture between Austria and Russia; but it is difficult to believe it. The chances are too uncertain. Besides, however real the hostility of Russia towards Germany, is it possible, at the present moment, to dream of an alliance between the Autocrat of all the Russias and the French Republic? We must wait till Europe is a little more accustomed to the existence of a great Republic in her midst. At present she is to the nations a paradox, and to the dynasties a chimera. The triple alliance—in which Spain is perhaps to be included—is to a great extent a sort of mutual assurance society against democracy—a means of giving a more solid basis to the internal policy of the States of which it is composed.

For the same reason they have fostered in France these groundless fears from which we are now beginning to recover. Spain may be fairly set aside. The insulting reception of the King in Paris is certainly much to be regretted; but the internal affairs of Spain are far too unstable for her friendship to be very useful, or her enmity very terrible. With Italy it is quite otherwise. Italy is now a homogeneous nation, animated by sincere and ardent patriotism. Her two oppositions, Republican and Ultramontane, have no real force, and constitute no menace to her stability. She has succeeded, within the space of a few years, in creating a regular administration, in establishing financial order and prosperity, and in laying the foundations of a vast system of public instruction. From an agricultural and industrial, and, above all, from a commercial point of view, she has before her the prospect of a magnificent future. Her vast stretch of sea-board, and her splendid sailor population, give her the first place among the Mediterranean Powers; and at the same time, her rapid numerical increase keeps up a supply of emigrants who will create commercial colonies for her all the world over. It is one of the first interests of France to maintain a good understanding with a country which, if it wields at present no great military force, will nevertheless, in no very distant future, have become equally formidable in its economical and in its military and naval aspect. It is no less the interest of Italy to secure the friendship of France, whose opposition on the Mediterranean might seriously hinder her development. Unfortunately, for the last fifteen years misunderstandings have gone on multiplying between them. France has treated Italy with indifference, mingled with suspicion and contempt; and Italy on her side—generosity not being her most prominent national virtue—has lavished her attentions on conquering Prussia, and kept all her kicks for conquered France. At Tunis, in particular, she began with a series of intrigues and provocations which obliged France to lay hands on a country where her own safety required that her authority should be paramount. The Tunisian affair completed the estrangement between the two Governments, and hastened



the conclusion of the triple alliance. The visit of the Prince Imperial to Rome on his return from Spain was a sufficiently open manifestation of the personal friendship which unites the reigning families of Italy and Prussia.

At first sight this triple alliance may seem a direct menace to France; and it did in fact cause considerable irritation and uneasiness in France from the first; but, looked at a little closer, it will be seen to be not altogether to her disadvantage, and it may even be the starting-point of better relations with Italy. It has, in fact, been doubly useful to her. In the first place, it has rendered it impossible for her to dream of entertaining a warlike policy, and forced upon her a juster appreciation of the political importance of Italy. In the second place, Italy herself, having gained a considerable access of strength, and not caring to be the slave of her relations with a too powerful ally, is beginning to show a new friendliness in her dealings with France. Public opinion had been in rather too great a hurry in supposing that the alliance was offensive as well as defensive. The Italians had the good sense to reserve full liberty of action in case of a war being undertaken by either of their allies; the compact was only for mutual defence in case of attack by some other Power, and at the same time included the mutual guarantee by Italy and Austria of each other's actual possessions. The alliance has no such great military importance; but it does two things for Italy—it obliges Austria (though at the risk of vexing the Irredentists) to change her attitude of cold disdain for one of friendly regard; and it gives to the Ministry of Depretis and Mancini a strength such as no Ministry has had before, since no one would care, by overthrowing it, to break the link between Italy and Germany. Thus the entrance of Italy into the triple alliance seems on the whole to be much less a combination for purposes of foreign policy than a very astute manœuvre for securing parliamentary stability at home. There is nothing to prevent the establishment of friendly relations between France and Italy; especially now that Italy, following the example of the other Powers, has consented to the abolition of her consular jurisdiction in Tunis, in return for some wise concessions on the part of France.

With regard to Austria, the situation is equally satisfactory. Austria, like Italy, is by no means disposed to let herself be drawn into an aggressive policy, and if circumstances have brought her to consent to a *mariage de raison* with Germany, she has not lost her distrust of an ally who may at any moment be seized with an irresistible longing to swallow up her German provinces. The triple alliance, therefore, while it forces France to maintain a purely pacific attitude, leaves her so much the more at liberty to carry on friendly relations with the European Powers, and to pursue her colonial policy in the East.

This pacific attitude is the more necessary, because at the present moment financial and economical considerations must hold the first place in French policy. The excessive expenditure on school buildings and public works has brought about a state of gratuitous financial embarrassment. With their habitual thoughtlessness, and with the one idea of gratifying the electors, the deputies have at once lightened taxation and multiplied expenses; the extraordinary budget has



increased every year, till several hundred millions of francs have been added to the national debt. We are now drawing in and trying to economize; and something has been effected by the conversion of the Rente and the arrangement made with the railway companies; but it is impossible to rectify the situation at a stroke without breaking positive engagements; and it will take years of prudence to restore our finance to its former prosperity. The matter would be less serious if it were not that French industry—and in particular Parisian industry—is at this moment passing through a severe crisis, aggravated by anarchist, and even to some extent by royalist, agitations. Parliament itself was affected by the movement, and the Chamber gave itself up for five days to idle disputes, and to economic dissertations which only gave lamentable proof of the ignorance and want of common sense with which some of our representatives are afflicted. Happily M. Ferry intervened, and closed the oratorical tourney with a capital speech, which brought things back to their true proportions, and showed that the solution of the problem is to be found only in prudence, labour, and a sound economic policy. We certainly shall owe much to the Ministry which shall succeed in giving a firm direction to the economic policy of France. For fourteen years we have been tossing to and fro between free-trade and protection; and our industries never know what efforts may be required of them, nor what protection they may count upon. They suffer from the excessive pressure of public business, and from the provisional character which, so far, has always attached to Republican government. Social agitations also have their part in the crisis; and, above all, the improvident and exacting spirit of the working classes. Little by little the workmen of Paris have obtained a really unreasonable increase of wages; and at the same time they have been constantly diminishing the number of working hours, and even of working days. We can hardly be surprised, under the circumstances, that German and Belgian industry is everywhere supplanting ours. The workmen complain of the greed of employers who go abroad for cheaper labour; but is it the fault of the employers that the Parisian workman asks 10 francs a day and works four or five days a week? Building in Paris costs nearly half as much again to-day as it did ten years ago, because the wages of all the men employed have risen half as much again. The result is, that the builder cannot get a reasonable interest on his capital, that building is at a standstill, and that the men are starving. In addition to these discontents, we have been threatened with a strike in the police force, in consequence of a recent law relating to the prefecture of police; and the new regulations with regard to the sweeping of the streets have deprived thousands of ragmen of their means of subsistence. All this has gone to increase the general distress; but it has, on the other hand, also sufficed to prove the total inability of all the efforts of the anarchists to stir up the working classes to acts of violence. If the liberty we now enjoy has its dangers, we see that it carries the remedy along with it. The disintegration and discredit into which the reactionary parties—especially those of Prince Jerome and his son—have fallen, is a striking illustration of this.

Thanks to the comparative calm of political life, the last six months



have been marked by considerable activity in the world of literature, science, and art.

The plastic arts must always hold the foremost place in public appreciation. Exhibitions may multiply as they will, but Paris will go to all of them. The triennial exhibition got up by the State could hardly be expected to succeed, by the side of the annual exhibition which for the last three years has been left to the free initiative of the artists themselves. Yet, contrary to expectation, and in spite of the unfavourable time of the year (September to November), it was a very great success indeed. It was arranged with exquisite taste; the works of art were not too many to be studied without fatigue; and, the number of exhibits allowed to be sent in by a single artist being unlimited, each master could give a much more complete idea of the real character of his genius than in the annual exhibition, where two works only are allowed to each. The only fault that can be found with the triennial exhibition is that it contained too many things which had already appeared in the Salon of 1883, and were still fresh in our recollection. The first thing that struck the eye on entering was the immense superiority of the sculptures over the paintings. A school of sculpture which counts among its members such men as Dubois, Chapu, Mercié, Falguière, Saint Marceaux, Frémiet, Idrac, Delaplanche, Barrias, Suchetet, and Guillaume, cannot but hold a distinguished place in the history of art. Never before has France possessed such a number of eminent sculptors; and it is to the honour of our time that an art so grave, so little appreciated by the masses, and so far from lucrative, should have risen to its present height. It proves that there are many for whom an honest and disinterested quest of the beautiful has attraction enough. Amongst the paintings, on the contrary, it was curious to see how many painters lost by the collocation of so large a number of their works. Faults and mannerisms stood out with inexorable distinctness. Here you had M. Cabanel; you felt the charm of his grace and delicacy; but you were disappointed at his soft and insipid painting, and the barren commonplaceness of his large historical compositions. You came to M. Bonnat, and his colouring shocked you by its harshness and unreality. M. Cabanel softens and rounds his forms; M. Bonnat brings them out as if with a hammer-stroke; M. Cabanel steeps his figures in cream and pomade; M. Bonnat paints them a good brick red, and drowns them in anchovy sauce. He is a vigorous artist, but he exaggerates as much as M. Cabanel attenuates. The portrait of M. Engel Dollfus, by M. Wencker, a masterpiece of delicate execution and artistic insight, alone eclipses all the Bonnats. It is the same with Bastien Lepage. You admire his strong and noble qualities; but you feel their incompleteness, and realize how much he leaves to be desired in the way of perspective and composition. On the whole, there are only three painters who have really gained by this exhibition of their work—M. Meissonier, M. Henner, and M. Emile Lévy. M. Meissonier had not been exhibiting anything for a good while; but, by way of preparing the public for his own collection in April, he sent seven new works to the triennial exhibition. Their variety of subject and execution attracted notice at once. "The Visit to the Château" was painted with a clear, delicate, and somewhat dry touch, and contained



a number of small figures executed with the utmost precision; "The Guide" was almost like a water-colour in tone, and the medium-sized figures of the peasant guide and of the soldiers he is leading through the wood are wonderful studies of type and attitude. The same transparency of tone characterizes a fine study of the ruins of the Tuileries; while a picture called "Le Chant" had the warmth of a Venetian canvas. The two finest things in the whole exhibition were a portrait of Mme. Mackay, a triumph of truthful and finely rendered form; and an Interior of St. Mark's at Venice, where a woman in deep black, overwhelmed with sorrow, is seen kissing the image of the *Madonna del Baccio*. There is a passionate eloquence in the gesture; and the dim lighting of the church is given with masterly skill. It is really delightful to see a man of M. Meissonier's age, who has already touched the summit of fame, seeking with indefatigable earnestness new spheres of toil, and actually succeeding in renewing his youth by sheer hard work. M. Henner, for his part, does not attempt new things; his gamut is not very varied; but he has such masterliness of execution, that when you see five or six of his works together you are overcome by their consummate charm; you forget your most reasonable criticisms, and give yourself up to the pleasure of admiring. His kneeling "Nun" is a work which might fearlessly be placed side by side with those of the greatest of the great colourists. M. Emile Lévy sends nothing but crayons—life-size crayon portraits; but no oil painting could surpass them in vigour, and they have a brightness and freshness and vivacity such as oil cannot give. M. de Nittis had already introduced this style of portraiture on a large scale; and even before him M. Galbrund had shown that the crayon can produce effects no less forcible than those of the brush. M. Lévy has profited by the example, and placed himself at a single bound in the first rank of crayon portraiture.

The charming crayonists of the eighteenth century might indeed complain that we are losing sight of the true character of the crayon, which subordinates every other quality to those of grace and lightness; but the whole artistic ideal of the eighteenth century was different from ours. We may enjoy the pleasant things of a Boucher, a Fragonard, or a Watteau; but we neither see nor feel like them. Their very charm for us is, that they belong to another world than ours. It was a happy idea to bring together in the Rue de Sèze an eighteenth-century exhibition, in which the pictures were seen surrounded by artistic objects of all sorts characteristic of the ordinary life of the period—furniture and stuffs, snuff-boxes and miniatures—and thus the artist's conception was replaced, so to speak, amidst the social surroundings out of which it sprang and to which it was adapted. The collection was not open long enough to satisfy the connoisseur; it had to give way to the water-colour exhibition, from which some of the best names are missing this year, including those of Heilbuth and Cazin; but where, on the other hand, we find M. Tissot, who has acquired in England so curious and original a manner, and M. Zuber, the true successor of Jacquemart, who will worthily take his place between Français and Harpignies.

The Water-colour Society has just lost one of its most brilliant members, one of the most delightful of our younger painters, Louis Leloir.



There was something in him both of Regnault and of Fortuny. He had not, of course, the genial fire, the powerful imagination, of the first, nor the keen vision and dazzling fancy of the second; but he was in the highest degree graceful, elegant, poetic, *spirituel*. A distinctively French character marks the work of the gifted illustrator of Molière, the painter of the "Fiancés," of the "Grandfather's Name-day," and of those fascinating fans in which butterflies, flowers, and women seemed to flit by as in a dream. A faultless draughtsman, a refined and original colourist, his individuality stood out distinctly enough amongst the crowd of painters, and in his chosen branch of art he had attained a high pitch of perfection. Leloir died at forty. A little while before, a still younger artist had passed away, one of the most robust and wholesome painters of his generation, Ulysse Butin. He loved to represent the wild life of seafaring populations; he had the art of portraying with masculine simplicity all that is most tragic, touching, stirring in the destinies of the fisher-folk. His last works had given him a high place amongst our artists; but the death of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, broke his heart and shortened his life. These conscientious and earnest painters, who recognized that art is long, and who found life so short, cannot be called masters or leaders of a school, and yet we rank them far higher than the clumsy and conceited painter whose works have just been exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, M. Manet. The exhibition will at any rate have had the effect of reducing this overrated artist to his proper level. Ignorant of his craft, and hardly master, to the last, of his own brush, M. Manet, who was a very astute Parisian, less devoted to art than eager for fame, tried to pass off his incapacity and his mistakes as the wilful and forceful negligence of genius. A man whose best works are but imitations of Velasquez, of Rembrandt, of Franz Hals, or of Goya, successfully posed as an innovator, the inventor of open-air painting. By the help of a few blustering critics, he succeeded for some time in passing for the founder of a school, and exercised a real and lamentable influence on contemporary painters, who would have done better to learn from the true masters, the Florentines, the Venetians, and Velasquez. Happily, the school properly called that of M. Manet, the Impressionist school, has brought to light the feebleness and trickery covered by these pretended innovations, and all that remains of the experiments of which M. Zola made himself the apostle is an effort to obtain harmony of colouring by the opposition of crude tints—an effort in which many of M. Manet's followers have succeeded a good deal better than he did himself. In any case, the praise M. Manet merits least of all is that of being a *realist*. Nothing could be more conventional or more artificial than his methods; and to call him a realist is to confound the *real* with the ugly, the trivial, and the indecent.

But there is little meaning in these futile distinctions and disputes as to idealism and realism. I appeal to the readers of M. Sully Prudhomme's newly published book on "Expression in the Fine Arts" (Lemene), a piece of profound and penetrative analysis, formulated in terms of almost mathematical precision, yet rich in thought, and instinct with the genius of the poet. He discriminates with great ingenuity the part played by sympathy in every work of art—sympathy between the artist and his work, between the work and the spectator. No artist



can boast a purely objective creation: he must reveal in his work his own ideal; he gives, and cannot but give, himself. The ideal may be a vulgar or a stupid one, but it is always there. M. Sully Prudhomme conducts an extremely delicate analysis of the emotions which the artist can excite by the mere combination of material elements,—of line, colour, and sound,—rendered interpretative through the medium of his refined sensitive organisation and his technical skill. He shows how the study of language throws light on the manner in which sensation awakens in us a whole series of physical and moral impressions, of an agreeable or disagreeable kind, which serve as the material of art. Finally, he shows us the finished artist, himself strongly stirred by what he sees, and keenly responsive to the objective character of all he represents, mingling his own soul with his work, and thus adding to the charm of the material elements he has chosen, and whose objective expression he conveys, the subjective expression which flows from his own personal emotion. One must turn to the book itself for a wonderfully fine analysis of the constituents of expression in architecture, sculpture and painting, in music and in the dance. One sees here how impossible it is to contrast idealism with realism, the expression of thought with technical skill. The perfection of the artist consists in his use of a full mastery of the technical detail of his art as a means of uttering noble feeling and comprehensive thought; and in his faithful rendering of the expression proper to the objects he represents, while he penetrates and transfigures them by the communication of his own individuality.

If the subtle and abstract analysis of M. Sully Prudhomme makes his book somewhat hard reading, the same fault certainly cannot be found with M. P. Bourget's "Essays in Contemporary Psychology" (Lemene), which nevertheless bear the stamp of a truly philosophic mind. The peculiar value of these studies lies in this,—that instead of judging every work according to certain more or less arbitrary canons of literary taste, M. Bourget turns his scrutiny upon the minds of the authors themselves, considered as representatives of the society of their day. He deals only with those authors who have exerted a real influence on our time—Stendhal, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Taine, Dumas, Renan. It is tantamount to a psychological analysis of the modern French mind; and it is the work of a man evidently destined to be himself a creator in fiction. He has just contributed to the *Nouvelle Revue* a story full of exquisite feeling, called "Second Love."

M. Bourget might have added some interesting touches to his study of Flaubert if he had had access to those "Letters to George Sand" (Lévy) which have since appeared. He would probably have laid more stress on the weak points of that great writer—the cynical contempt for his fellow-creatures which parched and narrowed his nature, and the absence of any moral ideal whatever. He spent his life in hating the *bourgeois*, and in writing about them. The composition of these outbursts of scorn and dislike caused him desperate weariness; he groans over it in his letters, and in his last novels, "Sentimental Education," and "Souvard et Péarchet," he fairly communicates it to his reader. What he really enjoyed was work which involved learning as well as imagination, such as "Salammbô," and "The Temptation of St. Anthony." Perhaps, after all, he was really a born scholar



and historian, gone astray into fiction. One is almost led to think so, when one reads his really profound observations on the task and uses of science, and on the evils arising in France from the want of a solid higher education. In his letters he shows himself with all his faults, his affectations of vulgarity, his familiarities and mischievous pranks, his narrow theories on art, his coarse and extravagant pessimism; but also with his great qualities, his independence of character, his disinterestedness, his devotion to literature, and his astonishingly profound and vigorous opinions on history, politics, and society.

M. Flaubert founded no school. The one who takes after him the most of all our younger writers, M. Guy de Maupassant, has not his exaggerated artistic scrupulousness, and on the other hand has far more force. He has talents of the first order; and it is a pity that his morbid desire for sensuous or repulsive scenes renders his books almost unreadable to delicate minds. The recollections of his Algerian travels, which he has just published under the title "*In the Sun*" (Havard), are wonderful in colouring, and worthy of a place beside the travels of Fromentin.

Among recent works of imagination there is only one which can lay claim to real originality—"Mon Frère Yves," by Pierre Loti. Pierre Loti is the pseudonym of M. Viau, an officer of marine, who, without the least idea of ever becoming a novelist, wrote for his own amusement, in the form of a story called "*Le Mariage de Loti*," his recollections of Tahiti, and produced quite a sensation in the literary world by his extraordinary descriptive power, and by the originality of a certain curt, clipped, somewhat incoherent style, not in the least like any one else's. He afterwards published, under the title "*Fleurs d'Ennui*," a series of sketches of maritime life on the Adriatic and in Algeria; in the "*Spahi*" he described the life of the soldiers in Senegal; and finally, in "*Mon Frère Yves*" (Lévy) he gives us that of the Breton sailors. There is something very touching and natural in the love of the simple Breton seaman for Pierre Loti, and a most tragic pathos in the conflict between the passion of drink, to which his temperament and habits have enslaved him, and which continually returns upon him, and the gentle influence of a loving and unselfish wife. Side by side with lovely bits of Breton scenery we have pictures of the tropic seas, the storms and calms of the Pacific, which raise Pierre Loti to a place among our best living writers. Few works of fiction deserve to be spoken of in the same breath with "*Mon Frère Yves*," but we must nevertheless mention "*L'Idéal*," by M. J. de Glouvet, the magistrate, who has risen to distinction by his studies of forest life. There is much to praise in the high moral tone of this novel, and in its charming pictures of the idle country life of the nobility. M. Octave Feuillet's "*Widow*" (Lévy) shows that his genius has kept its freshness in spite of years and suffering. The plot of "*The Widow*" is very original, and the first part is vigorously treated, though it falls off towards the end. M. Rabusson is a bolder and more modern, a more alert and humorous, Feuillet. His first works gave offence by their shameless immorality; but "*Madame de Givré*" is free from faults of this kind; its two heroes have real originality of character, and retain their integrity in the midst of the most passionate conflicts. M. Rabusson's style is easy, graceful, and



harmonious. Amongst these works of imagination we must perhaps reckon O'Rell's witty and amusing pamphlet, "John Bull and his Island." On the whole, notwithstanding all it has to say against them, it presents a rather flattering portrait of the English people—or rather of good society in England, for he paints the populace in terrible colours. Hardly so terrible, however, as those of M. H. France's "London Barefeet" ("Va-nu-pieds de Londres"), a bitter and brutal book, the accuracy of which a foreigner may be hardly able to estimate, but which gives an impression of wild exaggeration. It is not easy to give a truthful picture of any people or any society. A book on "Berlin Society" has just come out, by one Paul Vasili (we suspect that this is only the *nom-de-plume* of some Russian lady), in which truth and falsehood, flattery and backbiting, are so cleverly mingled as to be hardly distinguishable. It is too full of minute and accurate detail for us to accuse the author of speaking of things he does not personally know; but many of its conclusions seem to be dictated by a spirit of blind hostility.

Turning to history, we find some really remarkable works which call for notice. To the examinations for the *doctorat ès lettres* we owe a monograph by M. de la Blanchère on Terracina, one by M. Loth on the establishment of the Bretons in Armorica—in which he maintains that it was no peaceful colonisation of unoccupied territory, but the violent conquest of an inhabited country; and one by M. Flammermont on the Chancellor Maupeou and the Parliaments, in which that important episode in the history of the eighteenth century is elucidated by the help of a mass of unpublished documents. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has opened its series of historical publications with M. A. Sorel's collection of Instructions addressed to French Ambassadors in Vienna from 1648 to 1789. M. E. Forgues has brought out the first volume of his "Memoirs of the Baron de Vitrolles" (Charpentier), one of the most active agents of the Royalist party towards the end of the Empire and under the Restoration—a singular character, uniting the most intelligent scepticism and the most original opinions with an extreme Legitimist fanaticism. M. P. de Rémusat gives us two volumes of exceptional interest, the "Correspondence of Ch. de Rémusat and his Mother" (Lévy). The mother was at Toulouse, the son in Paris; both were keen and independent observers; both wrote in a charming style; and their letters give us a lively picture of Parisian and provincial society at the time of the Restoration. They are real pages of history, and at the same time they bring us into delightful contact with this gifted mother and son. We have another admirable little book, which throws into a form accessible to all classes of readers the life and work of M. Pasteur. This "Histoire d'un Savant par un Ignorant" (Hetzel) will soon be in every one's hands, and will help to give shape and definiteness to the somewhat vague and exaggerated popular idea of his teaching. It will be read with a sense of lively gratitude to the man who has not only saved important industries—beer, silkworms, sheep—but who has been indefatigable in his efforts to attack at their very source the diseases which desolate humanity.

One of the most remarkable of our recent historical works is the sixth volume of the "History of Florence," by M. Perrens (Hachette). This volume brings us down to the time of the Medicean rule. Never has



the history of the celebrated Republic been made the object of such deep and wide research. M. Perrens may be said to have been the first to understand in all its details the development of the Florentine Constitution. He has fairly restored the old Republic, with its commerce, its arts, its social and religious agitations; and his work is, beyond dispute, one of the most considerable contributions of these last years to modern history. M. Luchaire is still a young man, but he has gained at a single bound a place among the masters. His "Essay on the Political Institutions of France under the Early Capetians" (Picard) is a model of sound criticism and right method, and embodies the results of very extensive research. It is written in support of a very interesting, just, and to a great extent new, theory on the institutions of that epoch. Far from seeing in the accession of Hugh Capet a violent rupture with the institutions of Carolingian France, and the inauguration of the new era of the feudal monarchy, he shows that the Capetian monarchy was regarded as an uninterrupted continuation of the Carolingian, and that the institutions of the earlier period were slowly transformed into those of the later. M. P. Viollet, the able editor of the "Etablissements de St. Louis," has undertaken a work which will be equally useful to the historian and the jurist—a manual of the old French jurisprudence ("Manuel du Droit Français"). The first volume, which deals with the sources of law and the condition of persons, is a marvel of conciseness and lucidity. Every page bears evidence that we have to do with no mere compiler, but with one who has studied every point on which he speaks at first hand, and who compresses into a few significant sentences the fruit of long and laborious research. His work leaves all former treatises on the subject far behind, and marks a new stage in the study of the history of law. Investigations of this kind have come more and more into favour of late. M. Glasson has just published six volumes on the "History of the Political and Judicial Institutions of England," in which the judicial part of the subject, in particular, is treated with great learning and ability.

If now we turn from the world of study, where we have seen of late years the signs of such encouraging progress, to that of amusement, we shall find many interesting experiments crowned by unequal success. Whether in "Froufrou" or in the "Dame aux Camélias," Mme. Sarah Bernhardt succeeds by the mere charm of her genius in filling the vast hall of the Théâtre St. Martin; yet some of her audience, as they mark the forced tones of her voice, the exaggeration of her acting, and the ever-increasing nervous tension of an over-strained system, cannot but foresee the near approach of the time when the admiration of the public will be worn out, and turned to irritation. She has lately started a new piece, "Nana Sahib," by M. Richepin, which contains some fine passages that take the ear, but which seems by its strangeness of conception to belong rather to the fairy scene of a pantomime than to sober drama, and which, though M. Richepin appealed to the interest of the public by himself acting the part of the hero, had a run of but few nights comparatively. We may just mention the "Parisian Drama" of M. Octave Feuillet, and the "Maître de Forge" of M. Ohnet, both of which drew crowds to the Gymnase. They are good plays, made on the ordinary pattern, but they teach us nothing new. It is



the same with the clever drollery given at the Palais Royal by MM. Meilhac and Gille, "Ma Camarade." The "Rois en Exil" of Alphonse Daudet failed at the Vaudeville, not only because a cabal had been started against it, but because M. Daudet's story, however charming as a novel, does not afford the materials for theatrical representation. The principal persons are all either absurd or odious. The "Mau-croix" of M. Delpit, at the Théâtre Français, is a series of startling and improbable effects, which cause the spectator more surprise than emotion. Am I to speak of "Pot-Bouilli," the *bourgeois* drama taken by M. Busnach from the dullest and most disagreeable of M. Zola's novels? Except a few coarse expressions never before heard on the stage, there was nothing of novelty in it, nor any sign of an attempt at originality. Three other pieces seem to deserve special mention—M. Jannet's "Bel Armand," M. T. Coppée's "Severo Torelli," and M. J. Aicard's "Smilis." The most striking thing in the "Bel Armand," which was played with success at the Odéon, is its union of moral elevation—a feature all too rare on the stage at present—with a degree of scenic skill extremely remarkable in a first attempt. M. Jannet is not only an inventor of dramatic situations but a painter of character, and this first success of his seems to promise him a brilliant future. "Severo Torelli" is, so far, M. Coppée's greatest success on the stage, and no doubt the Odéon company, including Mme. Tessandier, M. Albert Lambert, and M. Paul Mounet, has largely contributed to the result. It is a romantic drama of the school of Victor Hugo, and the plot is open to somewhat severe criticism on the ground of moral verisimilitude. It is the end of the fifteenth century; Pisa is groaning under the tyrant's dominion. The young Severo Torelli, whose father had long before been engaged in an abortive conspiracy and had been pardoned, conceives the project of assassinating the tyrant, when he learns from his mother that she had bought her husband's life at the price of her honour, and that he is the son of the man whose death he is contriving. Then comes the struggle in the young man's mind between his horror of parricide on the one hand, and on the other his hatred of the tyrant and his oath to his comrades. His scruples are overcome at last, and he is about to accomplish the murder, when his mother forestalls him, kills the tyrant, and then destroys herself. The last scene, in which she snatches the poniard from her son's hand and deals the blow herself, is admirable as a stage effect; but it must be admitted that the young man's hesitation makes no great claim on our sympathy. The tyrant is so little his father, and has become so in such an odious manner, that parricide in such a case loses its horror. It would be almost more natural for the conflict to take place in the heart of the mother, who would hesitate as much to reveal her dishonour to her son as to leave him to commit an unwitting parricide. A pious mother would dread such a crime for her son more than he would for himself. But however this may be, the improbability of the subject is redeemed by the beauty and poetry of the form. M. Coppée's versification is admirable, and never has his language been more supple, more sonorous, more rich in thrilling words and striking imagery. Everything that goes to form the framework of the piece is handled in a masterly style; the local colouring is both truthful and agreeable. If it were possible to forget all that is unreal and unpleasant in the subject itself,



there would be much to enjoy in this consummate expression of a fine dramatic situation. "Smilis," by Jean Aicard, played with rare perfection by the artists of the Comédie Française—Got, Febvre, Worms, Laroche, and Mlle. Reichemberg—has excited, wrongly we think, far more unfavourable comment in the press than "Severo Torelli." Of course the plot of "Smilis" is quite outside the sphere of ordinary reality; the whole piece belongs to the realm of poetry, and must be accepted to begin with on this understanding; but the moral probabilities are always respected, and the psychological study which forms the basis of the whole is at once new and profound. Smilis is a Greek foundling, adopted and brought up by an officer of marine, who has risen by his merits to the rank of admiral. She loves him as a father, but with entire and exclusive devotion; his whole affection is concentrated on her, and as she grows up his fear of losing her becomes so acute that he ends by proposing to marry her. She agrees at once, for the simple reason that his wish is always hers, and without at all realizing the nature of the pledge. But the ceremony is scarcely over before the admiral perceives, from the simple answers of the girl, who does not understand his altered tone, that he has been guilty of more than a mistake, and that the filial relation which he has allowed to grow up between them forbids the substitution of a different tie. Months pass, revealing to him more and more of her life and character; he has to watch the innocent awakening of her heart; he sees that she loves and is loved; and he dies, in such a manner as to simulate a natural death, confiding her to the care of the man whom she loves. The situation is a difficult, perhaps a questionable one; but it is treated with exquisite purity and delicacy. M. Aicard, in his prose, has never forgotten that he is a poet; and the very poetry of his work redeems what is startling and exceptional in it. "Smilis" has nothing in common with the modern conventional type. It is a literary and dramatic attempt of a perfectly original kind; and many of the critics, disconcerted by its very originality, too illiterate to feel the beauty of its form, too unrefined in sentiment to understand the loftiness of its inspiration, have pitilessly maltreated it. But the public, whose tears have flowed over it, have felt its beauty; and even if it is not to obtain the full success it deserves, it does none the less honour to the young poet in the eyes of all true men of taste. At the same time that "Smilis" was being produced he was republishing, with splendid illustrations, one of his most beautiful volumes of verse, the "Chanson de l'Enfant." He has now fairly entered on the path of fame, where he moves on beside his older peers, Sully Prudhomme, Coppée, Theuriot, who has just given us, in the "Journal de Tristram," a delightful collection of his impressions of travel; A. Lemoyne, one of our most finished poets, whose two volumes contain not a single negligent or imperfect piece; and G. Lafenestre, who has just now forsaken poetry for the history of art.

The history of art has given rise of late to a number of books remarkable for merit of one sort or another; it is no longer left to the dabbling of the amateur and the dilettante; it has become the study of specialists who combine taste with learning. M. Müntz is one of those who have most contributed to the advance in this direction. Whilst giving us an excellent bibliography of everything which has



been written on Raphael, from Passavant downwards, he constantly enriches his "*Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art*" with works of the highest order. I may mention in particular the two last that have appeared—the "*Claude Lorrain*" of Mrs. Mark Pattison, and the "*Della Robbias*" of MM. Cavallucci and E. Molinier. Quantin is publishing the useful "*Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux Arts*," containing some little popular books which are really scientific compendia drawn up by men of the highest authority. Such are M. Collignon's book on Greek Archæology and Mythology, M. Bayat's on Byzantine Art, M. Müntz's on Tapestry, and M. F. Lenormant's on Coins and Medals. Then, alongside of these elegant little volumes we have M. Rayet's splendid publication, the "*Monuments of Ancient Art*," where admirable reproductions of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art are accompanied by dissertations which throw a flood of light on some important points in the history of art and civilisation. M. Rayet has just been chosen to succeed M. Lenormant in the Archæological chair of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and no choice could have been more satisfactory. He has not, of course, the versatility and the inexhaustible variety of learning which distinguished his predecessor, who could turn with incredible facility from the study of cuneiform inscriptions to that of ancient coins, and from the history of Egypt to that of the Greco-Norman civilization of the South of Italy; but his solid learning, sound critical methods, and uprightness of character, inspire a respect and confidence which unfortunately cannot always be accorded to the work of M. Lenormant.

The loss of M. Lenormant has undoubtedly left a gap in the ranks of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, but this loss is amply made up for by its recent acquisitions. M. Paul Meyer, the happy discoverer of so many important mediæval documents; M. Maspéro, the director of the Boulak Museum, who scents an Egyptian monument with the keenness of a Mariette, runs it down with the same relentless energy, and then deciphers it with the learning and ingenuity of a Lepsius or a Rougé; and finally, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, who, after acquiring a great reputation as a mediævalist by his history of the Counts of Champagne, has just established himself as an authority in a new domain, by his "*Introduction to Celtic History and Literature*," and his "*Catalogue of the Epic Literature of Ireland*."

The French Academy has also had its vacant chairs, and has had to fill them by new elections. The place of Jules Sandeau has been filled, after a sharp contest, by M. Edmond About, who, if he plays no very important part in the literary movement of to-day, at least was once, in the days when he wrote his "*Contemporary Greece*" and his "*King of the Mountains*," one of our best and most characteristically French writers—a true son of Voltaire. M. Coppée, his unsuccessful rival, has since had his turn. He succeeds M. de Laprade, the Lyonnais poet—a poet of the second rank, but with a really original vein, and some fine inspirations. He was at once a Catholic and a pantheist, and in such poems as "*Psyche*" and the "*Poem of the Tree*" he speaks of Nature with the harmonious eloquence of a Lamartine. His chief fault was his monotony; his verses had a sustained and even majestic serenity, but they were wanting in life, movement, and colour. Towards the end of his life he wrote some pretty and touching



verses in a more familiar style, such as "Pernette" and the "Livre d'un Père." We are also indebted to him for having been the first to attack the boarding system of the French lycées, in his eloquent and indignant book, "L'Education Homicide."

On the very same day with M. de Laprade died M. Henri Martin. He was not a great writer, but the nobility of his character, and the conscientiousness which he carried into all his work, give him a title to our respect second to that of few French authors. Strictly speaking, his whole career is summed up in one work—the "History of France"—which he was all his life furbishing, correcting, retouching, in order to leave it as perfect as possible. No other history of France is so elaborated and so complete. As a politician, M. Martin leaves behind him an irreproachable character. He was the incarnation of patriotism, of uprightness, of disinterestedness. Every useful and generous movement might count him beforehand among its supporters. He had the most genial nature, the warmest and the purest heart. He did nothing but good during his life, and, dying, left not a single enemy.

If the Academy has had its days of mourning it has also had its festivals—the day when M. Rousse read his eloquent report on the rewards of merit; the day when M. Mézières, welcoming M. de Mazade, pronounced beneath the astonished dome of the Institute a eulogy on Gambetta; and, above all, the day when M. Pailleron told, with characteristic cleverness, the story of the life of Charles Blanc. But, after all, these Academic meetings, even the most brilliant of them, are not unmingled enjoyment. It is pleasanter to read the speeches by your own fireside than to stand freezing in the crowd at the doors of the Academy for a couple of hours and then sit stifling inside to hear then spoken. But what would you have? It is the fashion; and there are a good many pretty women who would think themselves wanting to the whole duty of woman if the Academy had a reception and they were not there.

The resuscitation of the Italian theatre is the fashion too. The tenor Maurel has succeeded in forming a capital company, has taken the old Théâtre des Nations, and persuaded the best society in Paris that it is good form to subscribe, at exorbitant prices. Will he succeed? He may, if he resolutely aims at bringing out new works, like the "Hérodiade" of Massenet, which was received with great and legitimate enthusiasm, and especially if he has the courage to attempt Wagner's operas—say "Lohengrin," to begin with. But he will not succeed if he confines himself to the old Italian repertory, and gives us superannuated works like Verdi's "Simon Boccanegra," and Bellini's "I Puritani," and Donizetti's "La Favorita." It must be confessed that the Italian music of the early part of the century is no longer to our taste. The symphonic concerts have educated the public, and we must now have either modern or pure classical music. We are weary of "Il Trovatore" and "Robert le Diable;" we want "Fidelio" or "Tannhäuser."

At the same time that M. Massenet's "Hérodiade" was carrying off one victory at the Théâtre Italien, his "Manon Lescaut" was carrying off another at the Opéra Comique. It is by his grace and tenderness that M. Massenet conquers, and this lively and impassioned subject has given him some of his happiest inspirations. We are glad to see our own composers represented more and more on the French stage.



It is painful to see B. Godard obliged to produce his operas in Belgium, and Saint Saens driven into Germany with his "Samson and Dalilah." A new operatic venture, the Opéra Populaire, under the management of M. de Lagrené, may perhaps facilitate the production of new work, at the same time that it brings the great operas within reach of those who cannot afford the prices of the Opéra or of the Théâtre Italien.

Before concluding we must refer to the death of M. Eugène Rouher, who was known during the last ten years of the Empire as "the Vice-Emperor." M. Rouher entered the political arena as a Republican in 1848, when he was thirty-four years old; but from his first entrance into the Chamber he attached himself decisively to the party of Prince Louis Napoleon, and threw in his lot, once for all, with the Bonapartists. The 2nd of December made him a Minister, and thenceforward he was always in high office, either in the Council of State or in the successive ministries of the Empire. His special merit consisted in his extraordinary financial and commercial ability. He was the prime author of the treaties of commerce, and the chief defender of freedom of trade. This constitutes his most solid title to fame. After the death of M. Billaut he had to become the champion-in-ordinary of the Imperial policy in the Chamber. He filled his post with true forensic skill, but with the unscrupulousness of a pleader to whom all causes are equally defensible. He was the apologist of the Mexican campaign, of the occupation of Rome, of the insane policy with regard to Germany which in 1866 and 1867 was paving the road to Sedan; of the Imperial despotism of the years between 1852 and 1860, and of the Liberal reforms of the next nine years. Clearly as we may see that he was too intelligent to approve of the foreign policy of Napoleon III., he must nevertheless bear his share of the responsibility, since he always found sophistries to justify it, and used his influence to carry it with the Parliament. His boasted fidelity to the Emperor was rather that of an obedient humble servant than of a sincere friend and far-seeing adviser. We are reminded of his private virtues, the simplicity of his manners, the laboriousness of his life—and these praises are deserved; but yet he seems to us rather an industrious man of business, selfishly occupied in doing the best he could for himself, than a statesman whose first interests were the interests of the country. But, from a financial point of view at any rate, he leaves the reputation of an honest man—which is no small praise for a familiar of Napoleon III. As a speaker, he had vigour and perspicacity, with a wonderful power of handling figures; but he was wanting in elegance and correctness of form, and cannot be called eloquent. "He is a wild boar wallowing in the mire," said M. Thiers; "but he can deal a famous blow with his snout." The death of the Emperor left M. Rouher discouraged and hopeless; he had no longer any faith in the Empire. The fact does honour to his penetration.

G. MONOD.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

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### I.—NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM :

#### WEISS'S "LIFE OF CHRIST."

THE fact that "Lives of Christ" have been multiplied to an extraordinary extent in Germany, in France, in England, and in Italy, and that in those countries where they have not been specially written—as, for instance, in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia—translations of works composed in French and English have been very widely disseminated, is a sufficient proof of the existence of a religious need. It may be urged with truth that no Life of Christ can add any essential circumstances to those which are detailed in the Gospels. But the Gospels present numberless problems to the developed powers of modern criticism, and they admit also of boundless illustration. The minute and exhaustive search to which they have been subjected has enabled us to understand many essential details with a clearness heretofore unknown, and vividly to realize the teaching of Jesus by studying it in the light of the historical and religious conditions which necessarily influenced its outward form.

In the course of the long discussions which have arisen around this subject the conflict between Christian orthodoxy and sceptical rationalism has often seemed to be swaying to and fro with no decisive results; but while there has been of late years an undoubted modification of the old theological inflexibility on many points of criticism, it is certain that at this moment the final results of the closest and most scientific inquiry are tending to strengthen the ordinary faith of thoughtful English Christians in its most vital particulars.

The "Life of Christ" by Dr. Bernhard Weiss,\* Professor of Theology in Berlin, is in many ways important. While it professes to be, and is, the outcome of lifelong, elaborate, and independent study, it yet ratifies in all the most important respects the conclusions which have prevailed almost undisturbed in the Christian Church from the first to the middle of the eighteenth century.

For "the one-sided critical school in theology which claims for itself alone the glory of being scientific," there can be no such thing as a Life of Christ. It cuts away the ground beneath its own feet. Leaving no possibility of building upon the ruins it has caused, it reduces Christianity and Christendom to the condition of problems hopelessly insoluble. No one can accept as an adequate explanation of these two stupendous facts—which are themselves the most indisputable evidences of the truth of the Gospels—a few meagre fragments pieced out

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by endless private hypotheses. Dr. Weiss builds his superstructure on foundations and not on ruins. To him the sacredness of the New Testament and its binding authority rests not upon "a dogmatic construction of the doctrine of inspiration which has in principle been given up by the strictest scientific school of theology," but upon historical investigation. His view of the life of Jesus, whether right or wrong, is yet derived from "unprejudiced testing of the sources."

His manner of handling the Gospels is entirely free. He disbelieves in the possibility of a complete harmony, and thinks that there are many discrepancies and many coincidences in the Gospels which are unintelligible on the theory of "plenary" and "verbal" inspiration. He therefore treats them as human compositions of which the origin and significance must be ascertained by historical methods. As regards their origin, he rejects the views of Storr, Lessing, and Eichhorn, but accepts to a certain extent that of Gieseler and Herder. He thinks that they originated in oral tradition, supplemented by a primitive Gospel, which, with Weisse, he considers to have been the original form of the Gospel of St. Matthew. This primitive Gospel has been lost through the indifference of the earliest Church to documentary evidence, during the period in which it still preserved the fulness of tradition. Relying on Matt. xxiv. 15, he fixes the date of St. Matthew's original work in A.D. 67, and holds it to be a fact of inestimable significance that we thus have the testimony of an Apostolic eyewitness, some seven-and-thirty years after the death of Jesus. He regards our present St. Matthew's Gospel as being due to the redaction of some learned Jew who was not even a Palestinian (Matt. i. 23; xxvii. 33). He looks on St. Mark's Gospel as representing the memoirs of St. Peter, though by no means exclusively based on what Peter communicated. We observe in passing his opinion that "the present conclusion of the Gospel (xvi. 9-20), according to the testimony of the Codices, as well as from its peculiarity of idiom and method of delineation, did not belong to the original Gospels;" and he says that this view may now be regarded as universally granted (i. 50). St. Luke's Gospel gives general expression to the views of St. Paul, though obviously it cannot reflect his special information. Dr. Weiss infers (from Luke xix. 43, 44) that it was written after the fall of Jerusalem.

The reader will naturally turn with anxiety to Dr. Weiss's views about the crucial questions which affect the Gospel of St. John. He may happily be claimed as one of the many scholars who have been led by the closest examination to maintain the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. Among the external evidences he reckons the allusions of Polycarp, Papias, and Justin, the *Philosophumena*, the *Clementines*, and the now demonstrated fact that the Gospel was used in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. He shows that the Gospel, if not genuine, could only have been meant for an unblushing forgery, and by internal evidences of style and allusion he demonstrates its Apostolic authorship. Without deciding whether the title of Christ as "the Word" was borrowed from Alexandria or from the Palestinian *Targums*, he shows that St. John's view is entirely alien from that of Philo. Dr. Weiss, with all the best critics, accepts the conclusion that the *Apocalypse* can only have been a much earlier work of



the Apostle. "The Gospel," he says, "is the spiritual Apocalypse, not because a spiritual hero of the second century imitated St. John, but because the Son of Thunder of the Apocalypse became, through the training of the Spirit and divine guidance, refined and matured into a mystic in whom the flames of youth had died down into the glow of a holy love."

Turning from the question of the genuineness of the Gospel to its historicity, Dr. Weiss points out with force and candour the profound differences between St. John and the Synoptists which constitute the wonderful individuality of the Fourth Gospel. He admits that recollections which had partly lost their colour from distance of time, might be influenced by new points of view in the mind of the Apostle; but he thinks that the new historical covering was didactically intended to bring into clearer light a real and abiding significance. He maintains that the historic groundwork of Christ's teaching is the same in St. John and the Synoptists, and that the apparent change is only due to the subjective method of conception and delineation. St. John represented the words of Christ with perfect freedom, because he felt that whatever was best in his own spiritual life had been gained immediately from Christ, and that his ripest fruits of thought sprang only from germs which the Lord had planted. If regarded as "an intellectual playing with speculative ideas," the Gospel becomes "a delusive will-o'-the-wisp—in truth, a gigantic lie." But Dr. Weiss accepts it as the testimony of an eyewitness, and holds that it is only its historic trustworthiness that gives value to its ideal elevation and essentially spiritual form.

In subsequent chapters the author shows that the narrative of the Evangelists can neither be regarded as mythical, nor even as legendary—views which are refuted by every clear idea of what legend and myth really are. He excludes from the Gospels all conscious invention, and emphasises his conclusions by contrasting them with the worthless fictions in the Apocryphal writings. While admitting that the First Gospel is Jewish-Christian, and the Third Gentile-Christian, he denies that they are "Tendency-writings," and shows that the antagonism of early Church parties only finds in them a limited and incidental expression. At the same time he holds that the essential credibility of the Gospels cannot possibly answer for the historical exactitude of every detail.

Turning to the question of miracles, Dr. Weiss approaches it from the right point of view, by showing that the religious and moral ideal of humanity realized in Jesus, at once excludes the experiential view of human history. The facts established by the Christian tradition render unavoidable the assumption of a divine interference. The miracle of Jesus' appearance is not isolated, but only the highest point in a series of divine revelations; and since He is only comprehensible through a divine intervention in the course of human development, it is arbitrary to assert that similar interventions may not also have occurred in His ministry. The naturalistic explanation of miracles was exploded finally by Strauss himself. At the same time, Dr. Weiss adds, "it is evident that not every miraculous narrative of the Gospels can at once be proved credible by these considerations." Dr. Weiss closes his first book with the remark, that the Gospel history belongs,



not to one time only, but to all the present and all the past. "A life pulsates in it, the heart-beats of which can even now be felt, and which consciously and unconsciously nourishes all that is Christian. Here is the central point of human history so far as it rests on an eternal decree of God's love. In its effects it reaches as far as the goal of that perfection which we await; but its first beginnings were hidden in the depths of eternity. It is a history which in every part of it must be considered in the light of Him who transcends all history."

Having thus deeply and carefully laid his foundations, Dr. Weiss proceeds to the Life itself. Without pledging himself to the exact details of the genealogies, he holds that the Davidic descent of Christ is certain, and accepts His immaculate conception. The writer's arguments on this subject are very weighty, and do not admit of summary; but he refers to Keim's remark, that "we are not just to the greatness of Jesus if we do not take up the position that the creative action of God in regard to His origination was unique and specific." Dr. Weiss decides unreservedly that James, Judas, Joses, Simon, were actually "brothers" of Jesus, as the Gospels call them; "only the later worship of Mary, which transferred its ascetic ideals to her who was 'blessed among women,' had any interest in making that house childless" (i. 281).

In the treatment of the miracle of Cana we have the first specimen of the author's independent method of dealing with miracles. He rejects "the accelerated natural process which was discovered by the faint-hearted supernaturalism of Olshausen," and the purely natural view of Schenkel, as well as the transference of the miracle, by Ewald, Lange, and others, to the *minds* of the guests: but he thinks that the event was in some way providential rather than supernatural, and that in this instance "the wondrous impression of Jesus' whole life threw a radiance over an isolated experience." It is our present duty rather to indicate than to combat or criticize the writer's views; but it is almost as easy to accept some of the errors which he rejects, and to regard the narrative as "a free didactic fiction," as it is to accept so lame and vague a rejection of an event which must either be regarded as a miracle or has no significance at all.

Throughout the second volume we find the application of similar principles. Miraculous power is regarded as a divine endowment which Jesus could mediate to the people. The small number of miracles specifically recorded is attributed to the fact that the Evangelists only dealt with such instances as possessed some special interest. As regards the treatment of special miracles, we observe that in the story of the Gadarene demoniac the explanation as to the loss of the swine is regarded as the subjective conception of the Evangelist in explanation of an outward fact. The miracle of feeding the multitude is frankly accepted. The walking on the sea is somewhat vaguely dealt with, and Peter's walking on the sea is declared to be "a transparent allegory of Peter's denial." The miracle of the *stater* in the fish's mouth is regarded as "superhuman knowledge of a miraculous dispensation," though "not a syllable is said of the result which followed, in which lay the whole actual point of the narrative if Jesus really promised a miracle."

Dr. Weiss's free handling of the Gospels will hardly be satisfactory

to many English theologians. He never scruples to treat any particular detail as added by the narrator, and the door is thus opened to the endless and arbitrary combinations of German theologians, which in most instances are convincing only to themselves.\* Thus, in the miracle of stilling the winds he sets aside St. Mark's statement that Jesus said to the winds and waves, "Peace, be still," and he attributes the sudden calm to the reward granted by God to the trustful confidence of Jesus. In the cure of the man afflicted with dropsy, he says that Luke has "transferred" the incident to a feast in the house of a Pharisee, and "has probably inserted the feature of the ambuscade of the Pharisees." He thinks that the parable of Dives and Lazarus may have been a little modified by St. Luke, "who was not far from thinking that wealth was sinful in itself, and that poverty was possessed of some meritoriousness." These may serve by way of specimens of the writer's treatment of his sources, and it is a method which must generally fail to carry conviction. On the other hand, the book abounds in valuable thoughts and suggestions. The Parables are treated with brevity and strong good sense, and are explained with immediate reference to the circumstances which called them forth. Dr. Weiss draws a distinction between the interpretation of the Parables and their instructive application. If no attention is paid to this, he says "the explanation of the Parables will become an unbridled play of fancy, the transparent perspicacity of these word-pictures a constant puzzle to an antiquated interest in mysteries, and the most popular of Jesus' addresses a perpetual offence to the first of didactic rules which requires the possibility of an undoubted agreement."

We have no space to dwell further on these volumes, but have endeavoured to indicate their method and point of view. They contain much that might be challenged and refuted, but they give many important results of the lifelong labour of a ripe and earnest scholar; and readers who are not repelled by the writer's somewhat heavy and unimaginative style will find that their labour has, on the whole, been well bestowed.

F. W. FARRAR.

\* By way of specimen, see ii. 132, 136, 221, 237, 250, 255.



## II.—FICTION.

THE critic who attempts to follow the development of English and American fiction must be greatly impressed with, and not particularly delighted by, the luxuriance of one particular branch, which we will call the photographic school. We will open the first volume that turns up, and give a specimen at hazard. "Loving and Serving," by Holme Lee,\* is a bright, readable little story, and we make our extract in no ill-nature, but from a conscientious desire to show the reader what clever writers think it worth while to write. This is how we are told that the heroine undertakes to cover some books. "Mary Martha takes her hands full and goes; there is half a year's supply of books, and she makes several journeys between the table and the window-seat. 'Now these are my business, don't let anybody else meddle with them,' says she, and stands, feeling after what next. 'Thimble, needle, and thread,' says Jane, who is watching her. 'Oh yes, thimble, needle, and thread,' M.M. echoes. 'And the big scissors, here they are,' Jane adds, and holds them out. The little cousin takes the big scissors, and poises them airily; there is still something wanting, &c." It would be unfair to cite this as a characteristic specimen of this particular novel, but it is a perfectly fair specimen of what may be described as the photographic school. Such of us as have the ill luck to be old enough remember how we used to look at the first specimens of photography. "Look at the mittens on her hands! how wonderfully natural; and see! the very buttons in the leather chair behind her. How wonderfully like—" Nature, we always began to say. This is the spirit in which now a days people seem to read and write novels. The writers of the past never sought for the interest that is to be attained by imitating the commonplace intercourse of life. For life does not show character at every turn. If you wrote down quite accurately the scraps of talk you overheard at an evening party you would preserve much information about the most superficial topics of the hour, and that sort of fashion of dialect which makes the superficial talk of one decade not exactly like the superficial talk of another; but you would not paint the character of the speakers. Nevertheless, if you had been accurate in your record (it is more difficult than it seems), you would have written what would be rather entertaining to read, even when it was not the least entertaining to hear. The *reproduction* of trivial talk and circumstance has its own interest, and it is one of a very popular kind. The more need that the critic should remember that fiction is the opportunity of translating great ideas into a dialect that all can understand, of bringing forth, in the only form in which they can ever be given to the public, some of the most valuable lessons of experience, and enlarging the mental horizon of the reader.

Some of these requirements are fulfilled, in a high degree, by John

\* "Loving and Serving." By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Herring.\* The book is inartistic, crowded, bewildering, wanting in temperance and in repose. Still, to open it after the productions with which this taste for literary photography floods our tables is like hearing a master sit down to the piano after listening to the performance of a girls' school. How a set of people who have lingered on in pristine savagery among the wilds of Devon talk and act, cannot be pronounced either natural or unnatural in the same sense as we may allow the schoolgirl chatter we have cited from another novel to be natural. We do not know the nature it describes. Nothing that is perfectly original strikes the reader at once as natural, and the picture of the Cobbledicks is entirely original. What does not adhere to their part of the story is violent, crude, and sometimes even poor; but the father and daughter alone are enough to give character to the book. This strange pair, whose only dwelling-place is a cromlech on a Devonshire moor, are introduced to us as members of a wild tribe, which we learn from the preface to be no mere creation of imagination—"literally a clan of half-naked savages"—the man having been alive ten years ago. A post-chaise upset on the road brings the pair in contact with civilized life, and illustrates the opposite influences that civilization exercises on barbarism. The father absorbs its vices, and becomes a whining, lying, boozing beggar; while his daughter is lifted into womanhood, and shines forth as a humbler Undine, made human by a purer and more disinterested love. What is most striking in the romance is its purity. John Herring is an attractive young officer, and Joyce Cobbledick is a savage; but every word referring to their relation might be read aloud in a nunnery. Purity, in a certain sense, may indeed be ascribed to most English novels, but they have the purity as of snow, which disappears when it is brought into contact with anything that opposes it; John Herring has the purity as of fire, which causes anything that opposes it to disappear. We are taken into the masculine world, the world of robust animal development, of the vigour for which we pardon coarseness, and we meet with nothing that would hurt a girl of sixteen. Still the book rather rouses than satisfies the reader's expectations. What has been said applies only to a small part of the story, and the rest is disappointing. Nothing (except that small part which concerns the Rev. Israel Flamank and his brethren) is quite worthless; much is vivid and brilliant; but the story leaves no impression of unity on the reader. Joyce's love for Herring has the distinctness of every originally conceived relation; but the rest of the story—and it is much the larger part—leaves the reader with a sense of profound dreariness, almost with the sense of moral ugliness that we feel on closing "*Candide*," though it is, perhaps, unfair to mention in the same sentence with Voltaire's celebrated romance one which may be singled out for its purity. But it is almost equally hard and hopeless; it is a picture of life in which goodness is baffled—not defeated as the world sees defeat; but baffled in all that is worth effort; smitten back from the endeavour to enrich and heal the lives of the struggling and the needy. Art should not mirror the *futility* of experience. There is no passion which

\* "*John Herring, a West of England Romance*," By the Author of "*Mehalah*," London: Smith, Elder & Co.



that mirror may not reflect without its painfulness, but a representation of mere failure revives and does not ease the painfulness of reality. It is just here that we need that fiction should fulfil the noble description Bacon gives of poetry, "satisfying the soul with some shadow of satisfaction, and being so far nobler than the world." We do not want to see a John Herring succeed to a peerage and ten thousand a year; but when we see his efforts to defend the weak issue in failure, we feel that the expression "poetical justice" has an important meaning. Doubtless those efforts are more like a part of life for issuing in failure. But this is not the lesson of the whole of life. And it is the very meaning of Art to make a part of life repeat and intensify the lesson of the whole.

No contrast can be greater than that between this sparkling cynical fiction and the last work, or any work, of Dr. Macdonald.\* The two authors have hardly any quality in common, though some of their defects are similar. What is weak in the author of *John Herring* is his lack of moral conviction. What is strong in Dr. Macdonald is the power of expressing, through fiction, the influence exercised on the whole of life and its relations by a strong moral conviction. It would come out more forcibly if it were preached less obtrusively, but even as it is it gives unity of colouring to the whole picture, and supplies a certain force lacking to the purely dramatic side. However, it must be confessed that in laying down "*Donald Grant*" the most grateful of readers—and surely the author of "*Sir Gibbie*" and "*Within and Without*" has many grateful readers—is obliged to confess that Dr. Macdonald has been suffering from an attack of kleptomania, and does not supply us with such good material as when he came by it lawfully. Nothing need be said of his pilferings from Mrs. Radclyffe. He might inform us that in helping himself to her "properties" he is only following the example of Sir Walter Scott, whose "*Woodstock*" was found on search to be stuffed with her paste jewels, and who, instead of showing any penitence, gloried in the cleverness of the theft. But the counsel for the prosecution, after citing the sound though startling critical maxim that literary robbery can be justified only when accompanied by murder, produces a witness who has survived being robbed by Dr. Macdonald—Mr. Sheridan Le Fanu to wit, the plot of whose "*Uncle Silas*" is bodily transferred to the pages of "*Donald Grant*." Ill-gotten gains never prosper. Dr. Macdonald finds his pillage as much in his way as Lady Cork did a hedgehog she once carried off from a garden for want of better prey, and his story pursues its mild path almost oblivious of the incident that his villain has tried to murder his heroine for the sake of her fortune. In the exigencies of theft this episode is wrenched away from all that gave it appropriateness, and then in the exigencies of packing the brittle ware has been forced into damaging contact with Dr. Macdonald's heavy valuables, so that altogether the result is more favourable to the interests of honesty than of literature. Nor do his borrowings from what a brother novelist—Julian Hawthorne—has called the "crude and improbable realm of reality," strike us as more fortunate than his thefts. All such material, before it is ripe for fiction, needs to have lain long in

\* "*Donald Grant*." By George Macdonald. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.



the remote chambers of unvisited recollection, and to be mellowed through association with the past. Then he has wrapped up his material in an amount of explanatory information which to one of his readers at all events appeared the most exasperatingly unreadable stuff ever met with in a long course of novel-reading. We have actually to construct an ideal plan of an old house and remember our way about it. His stories all belong more or less to the realm of allegory, and there is a real meaning in his suggestion of a hidden chamber in the house the inhabitant thinks himself to know best; but this particular form of the parable is quite worn out, and cannot be furnished up again by ransacking the stores of contemporary history, and finding a really mysterious old Scotch castle, with all its ghastly horrors—not one word of which shall our readers glean from our pages! They must go to Dr. Macdonald for them—though we fear the boys and girls whom they attract will not read anything he has to say that is worth reading. How much that is, it is happily not needful for his critic to mention. Some critics may regard it as a mistake in art to bind up so much theology with his narrative, but he will probably feel that he answers them in merely stating the undeniable fact that he thus brings the most important truth he knows to the ears of many who would receive it in no other form. As a certain class of authors, forty years ago, translated the High Church doctrine of that day into fictions which were by no means without influence in popularizing that form of doctrine, so Dr. Macdonald has made it his speciality to set forth in a homely and realistic form the views of Divine truth taught by Frederick Maurice. Those who think that these views are true and important will feel this a task of great value, those who think them false and important will concede that there is a certain interest in writings which popularize and define what has to be opposed; only those who think them unimportant will consider that Dr. Macdonald has wasted his time over them. And it is not likely that he could write what they would read in any case.

Mrs. Oliphant is a wonderful writer. The last of her productions\* is one of a more numerous family than we are able to reckon, counting only those which belong to our subject, and she has done good work elsewhere. Yet this latest born of her pen impresses the reader with its freshness and distinctness almost as the work of a new writer does. It is a delicate, miniature-like sketch of life in a little country town, and owes its interest to the bond between the actual heroine, a rich old maid, and the adopted son whose treachery breaks her heart. Their relation is as distinctly conceived, and almost as uncommonplace, as that of John Herring to Joyce Cobbledick; and inasmuch as it is not, like that, an isolated sketch, detaching the reader's attention from heterogeneous surroundings, but part of a thoroughly harmonious and well-toned picture, it must be placed higher as a work of art, though it is not quite so interesting. The story, though perfectly artistic, has what is often thought incompatible with Art—a fine moral. We see a large, magnanimous, yet cynical nature, full of distrust and contempt for human nature, punished in its centre of trust, deceived where it gives

\* "Hester: a Story of Contemporary Life." By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co.



faith, because the faith is something exceptional, and undisciplined by gradation. Catherine Vernon has allowed herself to look on the circle of dependants her careless bounty has gathered round her, with a kindly, amused contempt; she has treated her band of curious hypocritical pensioners as a set of puppets whose antics she watches with a scornful smile; and the strong womanly instincts, missing their exercise abroad, rush with blind confidence towards the object, they have somehow managed to detach from the puppet world, and invest with a heart and a conscience. Blindness to need elsewhere becomes blindness to failure here, and pure hypocrisy baffles the keen eyes that have been too busy in detecting its subtle intermixture with varying shades of gratitude and selfishness. But the relation is touched so delicately, that perhaps this account of it will strike the reader as exaggerated; it has all the subtlety of an actual reminiscence where we constantly feel, if we have explained all, that we have suggested too much. The fault of the book indeed is, that this part is rather too faintly coloured in comparison with the rest. We are not made to feel enough sympathy with Catherine Vernon in her delusion. Mrs. Oliphant has not ventured to be so original as she could have been. "The fools!" she says, speaking, apparently in the person of Catherine Vernon, of those who mean only one thing by *love*, "as if the appropriation of the name to one kind of affection, and that the most selfish of all, were not a scorn to love the real, the all-enduring." The story would have been more perfect if that had been its key-note. We look to Mrs. Oliphant to trust herself to her own originality, to rest satisfied with her past success among those feeling to all fiction as the French lady who closed M. Renan's "*Vie de Jésus*," with the remark, "*Quel dommage que tout ça ne finit pas par un mariage!*" and to give something to readers who are at once less and more exacting. Let her be satisfied with her numerous and various studies of the love of man to woman, and turn to that almost untouched and far more pathetic love—the love of age for youth. Let it not be supposed that a King Lear, a Père Goriot, affords a delineation of such a love. All affection may be abject, but true love is neither abject nor blind, and an infinite forbearance is capable of an infinite severity. If Mrs. Oliphant works out the ideal too faintly indicated in "*Hester*," and teaches us how well the theme she has made her episode will bear the stress of her reader's main attention, she will give us an even more interesting study than this original and delicate fiction, full as it is of the nicest painting of character, and touched throughout with a delicate humour.

A novel by Miss Broughton,\* whatever else it may be, is sure to be readable, and "*Belinda*" will find as many readers as any of her predecessors. It is difficult to be as severe with it as it deserves. There is something about the riotous good spirits exhaling from its pages, the sense of swing and rush in the story, the general "redolence of hope and youth," that makes the critic lenient; but to paint age and infirmity as despicable; to make the imbecility of decay an object of mirth, and find something ludicrous in the love of an elderly son for an aged mother, this is to make fiction a channel for all that we should strive to keep from the minds of the young. "*Belinda*" takes us

\* "*Belinda: a Novel.*" By Rhoda Broughton. London: Richard Bentley & Son.



into the atmosphere of a comedy of the Restoration—a drama adapted to the taste of our day by checking the wife on the edge of infidelity, but still full of that spirit that blinds the eye to duty, and provides no mellow evening for the hot noon of passion. The writing which paints passion with such force should be exercised with the sense of responsibility, for certainly it will meet many eyes, and do something to mould the young hearts behind them.

Lastly, we have to notice two translations, one from the Dutch, and one from the French. Mdlle. Wallis is a spiritual daughter of Ebers,\* she has chosen the same subject (the Dutch war of independence) as that we noticed last time from his pen, and has produced a work which gives us the highest expectations for her future fame, from the mere fact that at the time of her writing it she was not even of age. The book is a marvellous production for a girl of twenty, and leads us to hope that its author will take place hereafter among those who make past times real to us. To say (as has been said) that "In Troubled Times," has already that effect is to confuse promise with fulfilment, but that is a critical fault on the right side. M. Zola's translator† cannot do him exactly the same kind of injury as Mdlle. Wallis's. It need not be mentioned that he has no trite sentiment to deaden by translation, but we can hardly conceive a French novel which more needs the grace of its own tongue. The translator brings to his work a spirit of warm but partial patriotism. We read of *Mr. and Mrs. Baudu, Lady De Boves, &c.* (all Parisians), while the money is English (sometimes, we are tempted to suspect, on the principles of exchange of Glaucus and Diomed, but that may be ignorance). However, the ungrateful English reader is not mollified by this catering for patriotic feeling, and wishes to know why these would-be John Bulls should exclaim "ma foi," "tenez" "voilà," and above all, why they should "*commence* to blush." Surely, surely people who like this sort of thing can find native produce sufficient. However, on turning to the title-page we read the astounding words, "translated with the special approbation of the author," and charitably hope M. Zola does not read English. The novel is prosaic, painful, full of a strange pathos which English novels wonderfully lack in comparison with French; and profoundly moral, if rightly understood. It is the story of a great Parisian monster shop, and the exhibition of the spirit of hard brutal worldliness expressed in its colossal success, ruining all little shops in its neighbourhood, and casting off scores of workpeople to starve at a moment's notice; of the demoralizing influence of the vast *culte* of luxury, and the magnetic power—sensuous and deadening at once—which it exercises over all who have to take part in it. There is something in the picture of a pure hard-working girl sitting up at night to supply the necessities of a brother of seventeen, who invents fresh tales of profligacy to bear out his demands on her, and boasts of the advantage his youth gives him with his mistresses, which opens an instructive vista into the true

\* "In Troubled Times." By A. S. C. Wallis. Translated from the Dutch by E. W. Irving. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

† "The Ladies' Paradise." By Emile Zola. Translated by Frank Belmont. London: Tinsley Brothers.



meaning of the worship of luxury, and the tendency of a sensuous materialism. It need hardly be added to the fact of its being a translation that the book is just decent. It would be rather more harmonious as a whole if it were otherwise, for the life it paints is foul; but perhaps it could hardly be presented in even very bad English with more frankness of expression. It contains a few passages more odious than indecency, but no sermon is more instructive than such as these. They make the reader pause to ask himself whether that which we are in the habit of calling specifically *immorality* be, not, as generally imagined, a peculiar and exceptional kind of temptation, but rather the exceptional distinctness with which in one moral region we are forced to recognize the tendency of all temptation that inverts the appointed rule of our being, and sets the visible above the invisible. And there is no question in the highest interests of our civilization that it is more needful for us to have answered.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

## III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—In “More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands from 1862 to 1882” (Smith, Elder & Co.), the Queen once more gives her people some glimpses of her private life, and they will probably be struck to find how like she is to the homeliest of themselves, only better and simpler. The book is artless and unpretending in its literary form, but every page has the charm of naturalness and sincerity of womanly feeling. It is confined to passages from her life in the Scotch Highlands, towards which she feels almost like a Stuart. One of the most interesting chapters is an account of her visit to some of the scenes of the Rebellion under the guidance of Lochiel, the descendant of the Jacobite leader; and she describes the “sort of reverence” and pride she had in going over these scenes, “where there was such devoted loyalty to the family of my ancestors—for Stuart blood is in my veins, and I am *now* their representative, and the people are as devoted and loyal to me as they were to that unhappy race.” And in speaking of Dr. Norman Macleod, on whom she leant much in her great trial, and who receives here abundant gratitude, she says: “Since my great sorrow in 1861, I had found no natures so sympathetic and so soothing as those of the Highlanders.” To them, accordingly, she dedicates the book, and to the memory of John Brown, who, with many other favourite servants, receives frequent and grateful mention. The book appeals throughout to simple human interests; it is full of heart, and will awaken a responsive note in the heart of the nation. One of the visits described in these “Leaves” is to Abbotsford, where the Queen shows her reverence for Sir Walter Scott by saying she felt it a presumption to write her name, as asked, in his journal. She was received there by its proprietor, Mr. Hope-Scott, Q.C., who had married Sir Walter’s granddaughter, and of whom a biography has just appeared from the pen of Professor Ornsby.\* Mr. Hope-Scott seems to have been a man of very rare intellectual quality. Mr. Gladstone, who gives a careful and fine portrait of his friend in this biography, says he always felt himself Hope-Scott’s mental as well as moral inferior; he was as eloquent as he was able and as fascinating as he was eloquent; yet his career fell far short of the expectations entertained of him for the simple want of ambition, and of the continuity and concentration of aim that come from ambition. Professor Ornsby tells his story well, leaving much to be learnt from Mr. Scott’s own letters and diaries. The chief interest in the book is ecclesiastical, through Mr. Scott’s connection with the Tractarian movement and his subsequent secession to Rome.—A much less important but equally devoted person, who also came up from

\* “Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott of Abbotsford, Q.C.” By Robert Ornsby, M.A. London: John Murray.



Scotland and joined the Tractarian party, was the Rev. James Skinner, of whom the authoress of "Charles Lowder" has just published a memoir.\* He was a grandson of the author of "Tullochgorum" which Burns declared to be the best Scotch song ever written; and being bred in the inner circle of Scotch Episcopalianism, High Church sympathies were his native breath. He was prevented by ill-health from gaining any prominent position in life, but he was an excellent type of the scholarly, pious, Anglican divine. The book contains much correspondence with Dr. Pusey, a close friend of Mr. Skinner's, mainly on points of moral theology or personal religion, and unlike the biography of Mr. Hope-Scott, it is furnished with an excellent portrait. Like Mr. Skinner, Sir David Wedderburn was a man of fine quality, whose career was marred by broken health; but, though he has little claim on public remembrance for the work he was able to do, most readers of his life, now compiled from his letters and journals by his sister, Mrs. E. H. Perceval,† will feel grateful for becoming better acquainted with such a bright, sincere, open-minded nature. He was a great traveller, and much of the volume is taken up with extracts from journals kept by him during his many travels, and full of interesting observation and reflection. Mrs. Perceval has performed her pious task with judgment and literary taste.—General Skobelev's career was briefer even than Sir David Wedderburn's, but it was long enough for him to stamp himself as a hero in the mind of Europe. The personal reminiscences of him, written by a Russian newspaper correspondent, and now translated for us by Mr. Hodgetts,‡ supply many evidences not only of the dæmonic energy of the man, but of his complete originality of mind and character. There is perhaps too much bookmaking in the work, but it is most interesting, as well as in many ways instructive, throughout.—Mr. Courthope's "Addison,"§ is a piece of careful and well-finished work. He takes as his key-note in his estimate of Addison, Macaulay's description of him as having "reconciled wit and virtue, after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy and virtue by fanaticism." He represents him as "the chief architect of public opinion in the eighteenth century," and after showing, with much knowledge of the period, the state of society and letters before Addison's time, builds a strong, but, perhaps many will think, too exclusive, claim for him as the worker, "without inflicting a wound," of a great social reform.—Mr. Haweis's autobiographic narrative in "My Musical Life,"|| is mostly a thread to connect together some musical essays which he has collected as a companion volume to his well-known "Music and Morals," and, like all he writes, it is bright and interesting. He gives us recollections of many famous persons

\* "James Skinner." By the Author of "Charles Lowder." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

† "Life of Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P." By Mrs. E. H. Perceval. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

‡ "Personal Reminiscences of General Skobelev." By V. J. Nemirovitch-Daritchenko. Translated from the Russian by E. A. Brayley Hodgetts. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

§ "Addison." By W. J. Courthope. London: Macmillan & Co.

|| "My Musical Life." By H. R. Haweis, M.A. London: W. Allen & Co.



with whom his musical accomplishments brought him into association, Tennyson, Garibaldi, Liszt, Dr. Whewell, who, without the least ear for music, strove strenuously to learn it as he did everything else; and though he confines himself mainly to music, Mr. Haweis varies his narrative with many fresh remarks and experiences about ecclesiastical and literary work.

TRAVELS.—In 1878 Sir James Caird was sent out to India as member of the Famine Commission to inquire into the whole circumstances of the famine of 1876-7, with a view to the adoption of the best means of meeting the periodical recurrence of such calamities in that country, and he now publishes the notes he made as he went from place to place.\* The work, though slighter than might have been expected, has a special value, as containing the personal observations of so eminent an agricultural authority on the systems of cultivation practised in India, and their bearings on the prosperity of the people. On good land he thinks the native agriculturists have little to learn; they cultivate their ground well, and are quick to introduce more paying crops, and are generally comfortable. The difficulty is with the poor land, on which three-fourths of the cultivators live, and from want of capital exhaust the soil and become mere debt-bondmen to the Bunya. Sir James seems in favour of remedying this by a return to the old plan of Government taking its rent in a share of the produce. His suggestions on famines are very instructive, and his chapter on Egypt deserves attention at present.—“Old Mexico and her Lost Provinces,” by William Henry Bishop (Chatto and Windus), is a charming description of a journey in Mexico, South California, and Arizona, by way of Cuba, and it is abundantly and beautifully illustrated. Mr. Bishop’s lively narrative touches on the most varied aspects of life in Mexico, social, political, commercial, and gives one a very good idea of it all. He marks many signs of improvement in the country, and is especially pleased with the liberal public provisions made for education, which he thinks put the United States to shame. Its chief want is a public opinion; the people take no interest in their affairs; out of nine millions of population only 12,000 voted for President at last election. But this anomaly in a republic will probably be removed by the progress of education.—Mr. Henry James’s “Portraits of Places” (Macmillan and Co.), takes us to more familiar scenes, and if his impressions contain little that is new or striking, they are at least freshly and pleasantly described. Some of his incidental little social pictures are very pretty indeed. Much of the book treats of English life, of London, and Oxford, and the Derby, and Stratford-on-Avon; and though the author explains that his views have undergone modification and enlargement under better acquaintance with the country, they are interesting as the first impressions of a keen and sympathetic American observer. The book is extremely readable.—Mr. Alfred St. Johnston’s “Camping among Cannibals” (Macmillan and Co.) is an entertaining and animated account of a visit to the islands of Samoa and Fiji; and though there is less of cannibalism in it

\* “India: the Land and the People.” By Sir James Caird, K.C.B. London: Cassell & Co.



the title would promise, it contains much information on many matters, won on the spot by one who likes to get at the roots of things, and has the faculty of presenting his knowledge in a direct and popular style.—Captain Hargreave's "Voyage round Great Britain" (London: Sampson Low & Co.), was, no doubt, an agreeable trip to the author, but has little interest for anybody else.—Mr. Richard Tangye's "Reminiscences of Travel in Australia, America, and Egypt" (London: Sampson Low & Co.), if they add nothing to our knowledge of the countries they relate to, are readable and varied, and illustrated abundantly from clever sketches by the author himself.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Captain Burton crowns his many labours with a very complete and exhaustive monograph on the Sword, of which the present large volume is only the first instalment,\* two more being promised within the year. The work is a monument of the various learning and indefatigable industry of the author, and it supplies a distinct want in our literature, for no attempt has hitherto been made to gather into a single publication our scattered knowledge of the history of this almost universal weapon. It is a task for which Captain Burton possesses exceptional qualifications, and if his conclusions may frequently be disputed, and the value of some of his theories denied, his work will be owned to be one of abiding authority and usefulness. He adopts mainly the historical plan of treatment, without, however, discarding the assistance of the geographical and formal methods; and he keeps in view a peculiarity of the sword which is apt to be overlooked in systems of classification, its individuality, its variations from a fixed type in adaptation to personal requirements and peculiarities. The present volume brings the history of the sword down from pre-historic times to the early Roman Empire.—Mr. Mulhall has also addressed himself to a hitherto unattempted task in his "Dictionary of Statistics" (G. Routledge & Sons). He has already made a considerable name by his contributions to that subject, and he deserves our best thanks for the very careful and valuable book he has now given us. It would have been still more valuable had it been larger, and afforded space not only for fuller figures, but for processes and authorities as well.—In "Military Italy" a well-informed writer, who adopts the pseudonym of Charles Martel, describes the resources and organization of the youngest of the great armies of Europe. Few persons would be prepared to learn that Italy has already an army 886,000 strong, and could in case of invasion turn a million well-disciplined men into the field. The book will naturally have most value for military students, but it contains much to interest the general reader, and is indeed a very complete account of the subject in all lights.—A plain but elegant edition of the works of R. W. Emerson has been issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., in handy volumes, printed in clear type on good paper, and Mr. John Morley contributes to it a prefatory essay, in which he gives us a very just and discriminating appreciation of Emerson's characteristics as a man of letters.—Mr. John H. Ingram's

\* "The Book of the Sword." By Richard F. Burton. London: Chatto & Windus.

"*Haunted Homes of England*" (W. H. Allen & Co.) is a collection of ghost stories connected with particular houses in this country. It makes no pretensions to being either complete or critical, but it will no doubt interest many people who are at present exercised on the subject.—Works of bibliography are too rare in this country, and we therefore welcome Mr. May's very useful compilation.\* It was prepared for the Electric Exhibition at Vienna last year, and contains a full list of the works on every branch of electricity and magnetism that have been published in Europe and America since 1860.

\* "*A Bibliography of Electricity and Magnetism—1860 to 1883: with special reference to Electro-Technics.*" Compiled by G. May. London: Trübner & Co.



## THE COMING SLAVERY.

THE kinship of pity to love is shown among other ways in this, that it idealizes its object. Sympathy with one in suffering suppresses, for the time being, remembrance of his transgressions. The feeling which vents itself in "poor fellow!" on seeing one in agony, excludes the thought of "bad fellow," which might at another time arise. Naturally, then, if the wretched are unknown or but vaguely known, all the demerits they may have are ignored; and thus it happens that when, as just now, the miseries of the poor are depicted, they are thought of as the miseries of the deserving poor, instead of being thought of, as in large measure they should be, as the miseries of the undeserving poor. Those whose hardships are set forth in pamphlets and proclaimed in sermons and speeches which echo throughout society, are assumed to be all worthy souls, grievously wronged; and none of them are thought of as bearing the penalties of their own misdeeds.

On hailing a cab in a London street, it is surprising how generally the door is officiously opened by one who expects to get something for his trouble. The surprise lessens after counting the many loungers about tavern-doors, or after observing the quickness with which a street-performance, or procession, draws from neighbouring slums and stable-yards a group of idlers. Seeing how numerous they are in every small area, it becomes manifest that tens of thousands of such swarm through London. "They have no work," you say. Say rather that they either refuse work or quickly turn themselves out of it. They are simply good-for-nothings, who in one way or other live on the good-for-somethings—vagrants and sots, criminals and those on the way to crime, youths who are burdens on hard-worked parents, men who appropriate the wages of their wives, fellows who

share the gains of prostitutes ; and then, less visible and less numerous, there is a corresponding class of women.

Is it natural that happiness should be the lot of such ? or is it natural that they should bring unhappiness on themselves and those connected with them ? Is it not manifest that there must exist in our midst an immense amount of misery which is a normal result of misconduct, and ought not to be dissociated from it ? There is a notion, always more or less prevalent and just now vociferously expressed, that all social suffering is removable, and that it is the duty of somebody or other to remove it. Both these beliefs are false. To separate pain from ill-doing is to fight against the constitution of things, and will be followed by far more pain. Saving men from the natural penalties of dissolute living, eventually necessitates the infliction of artificial penalties in solitary cells, on tread-wheels, and by the lash. I suppose a dictum, on which the current creed and the creed of science are at one, may be considered to have as high an authority as can be found. Well, the command "if any would not work neither should he eat," is simply a Christian enunciation of that universal law of Nature under which life has reached its present height—the law that a creature not energetic enough to maintain itself must die : the sole difference being that the law which in the one case is to be artificially enforced, is, in the other case, a natural necessity. And yet this particular tenet of their religion which science so manifestly justifies, is the one which Christians seem least inclined to accept. The current assumption is that there should be no suffering, and that society is to blame for that which exists.

"But surely we are not without responsibilities, even when the suffering is that of the unworthy ?"

If the meaning of the word "we" be so expanded as to include with ourselves our ancestors, and especially our ancestral legislators, I agree. I admit that those who made, and modified, and administered, the old Poor Law, were responsible for producing an appalling amount of demoralization, which it will take more than one generation to remove. I admit, too, the partial responsibility of recent and present law-makers for regulations which have brought into being a permanent body of tramps, who ramble from union to union ; and also their responsibility for maintaining a constant supply of felons by sending back convicts into society under such conditions that they are almost compelled again to commit crimes. Moreover, I admit that the philanthropic are not without their share of responsibility ; since, that they may aid the offspring of the unworthy, they disadvantage the offspring of the worthy through burdening their parents by increased local rates. Nay, I even admit that these swarms of good-for-nothings, fostered and multiplied by public and private agencies, have, by sundry mischievous meddlings, been made



to suffer more than they would otherwise have suffered. Are these the responsibilities meant? I suspect not.

But now, leaving the question of responsibilities, however conceived, and considering only the evil itself, what shall we say of its treatment? Let me begin with a fact.

A late uncle of mine, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, for some twenty years incumbent of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, no sooner entered on his parish duties than he proved himself anxious for the welfare of the poor, by establishing a school, a library, a clothing club, and land-allotments, besides building some model cottages. Moreover, up to 1833 he was a pauper's friend—always for the pauper against the overseer. There presently came, however, the debates on the Poor Law, which impressed him with the evils of the system then in force. Though an ardent philanthropist he was not a timid sentimentalist. The result was that, immediately the new Poor Law was passed, he proceeded to carry out its provisions in his parish. Almost universal opposition was encountered by him: not the poor only being his opponents, but even the farmers on whom came the burden of heavy poor-rates. For, strange to say, their interests had become apparently identified with the maintenance of this system which taxed them so largely. The explanation is that there had grown up the practice of paying out of the rates a part of the wages of each farm-servant—"make-wages," as the sum was called. And though the farmers contributed most of the fund from which "make-wages" were paid, yet, since all other ratepayers contributed, the farmers seemed to gain by the arrangement. My uncle, however, not easily deterred, faced all this opposition and enforced the law. The result was that in two years the rates were reduced from £700 a year to £200 a year; while the condition of the parish was greatly improved. "Those who had hitherto loitered at the corners of the streets, or at the doors of the beer-shops, had something else to do, and one after another they obtained employment;" so that out of a population of 800, only 15 had to be sent as incapable paupers to the Bath Union (when that was formed), in place of the 100 who received out-door relief a short time before. If it be said that the £20 telescope which, a few years after, his parishioners presented to my uncle, marked only the gratitude of the ratepayers; then my reply is the fact that when, some years later still, having killed himself by overwork in pursuit of popular welfare, he was taken to Hinton to be buried, the procession which followed him to the grave included not the well-to-do only but the poor.

Several motives have prompted this brief narrative. One is the wish to prove that sympathy with the people and self-sacrificing efforts on their behalf, do not necessarily imply approval of gratuitous aids. Another is the desire to show that benefit may result, not from multi-

plication of artificial appliances to mitigate distress, but, contrariwise, from diminution of them. And a further purpose I have in view is that of preparing the way for an analogy.

Under another form and in a different sphere, we are now yearly extending a system which is identical in nature with the system of "make-wages" under the old Poor-Law. Little as politicians recognize the fact, it is nevertheless demonstrable that these various public appliances for working-class comfort, which they are supplying at the cost of ratepayers, are intrinsically of the same nature as those which, in past times, treated the farmer's man as half-labourer and half-pauper. In either case the worker receives in return for what he does, money wherewith to buy certain of the things he wants; while, to procure the rest of them for him, money is furnished out of a common fund raised by taxes. What matters it whether the things supplied by ratepayers for nothing, instead of by the employer in payment, are of this kind or that kind? the principle is the same. For sums received let us substitute the commodities and benefits purchased; and then see how the matter stands. In old Poor-Law times, the farmer gave for work done the equivalent, say of house-rent, bread, clothes, and fire; while the ratepayers practically supplied the man and his family with their shoes, tea, sugar, candles, a little bacon, &c. The division is, of course, arbitrary; but unquestionably the farmer and the ratepayers furnished these things between them. At the present time the artisan receives from his employer in wages, the equivalent of the consumable commodities he wants; while from the public comes satisfaction for others of his needs and desires. At the cost of ratepayers he has in some cases, and will presently have in more, a house at less than its commercial value; for of course when, as in Liverpool, a municipality spends nearly £200,000 in pulling down and reconstructing low-class dwellings, and is about to spend as much again, the implication is that in some way the ratepayers supply the poor with more accommodation than the rents they pay would otherwise have brought. The artisan further receives from them, in schooling for his children, much more than he pays for; and there is every probability that he will presently receive it from them gratis. The ratepayers also satisfy what desire he may have for books and newspapers, and comfortable places to read them in. In some cases too, as in Manchester, gymnasia for his children of both sexes, as well as recreation grounds, are provided. That is to say, he obtains from a fund raised by local taxes, certain benefits beyond those which the sum received for his labour enables him to purchase. The sole difference, then, between this system and the old system of "make-wages," is between the kinds of satisfactions obtained; and this difference does not in the least affect the nature of the arrangement.

Moreover, the two are pervaded by substantially the same illusion.



In the one case, as in the other, what looks like a gratis benefit is not a gratis benefit. The amount which, under the old Poor-Law, the half-pauperized labourer received from the parish to eke out his weekly income, was not really, as it appeared, a bonus; for it was accompanied by a substantially-equivalent decrease of his wages, as was quickly proved when the system was abolished and the wages rose. Just so is it with these seeming boons received by working people in towns. I do not refer only to the fact that they unawares pay in part through the raised rents of their dwellings (when they are not actual ratepayers); but I refer to the fact that the wages received by them are, like the wages of the farm-labourer, diminished by these public burdens falling on employers. Read the accounts coming of late from Lancashire concerning the cotton-strike, containing proofs, given by artisans themselves, that the margin of profit is so narrow that the less skilful manufacturers, as well as those with deficient capital, fail, and that the companies of co-operators who compete with them can rarely hold their own; and then consider what is the implication respecting wages. Among the costs of production have to be reckoned taxes, general and local. If, as in our large towns, the local rates now amount to one-third of the rental or more—if the employer has to pay this, not on his private dwelling only, but on his business-premises, factories, warehouses, or the like; it results that the interest on his capital must be diminished by that amount, or the amount must be taken from the wages-fund, or partly one and partly the other. And if competition among capitalists in the same business and in other businesses, has the effect of so keeping down interest that while some gain, others lose, and not a few are ruined—if capital, not getting adequate interest, flows elsewhere and leaves labour unemployed; then it is manifest that the choice for the artisan under such conditions, lies between diminished amount of work or diminished rate of payment for it. Moreover, for kindred reasons these local burdens raise the costs of the things he consumes. The charges made by distributors, too, are, on the average, determined by the current rates of interest on capital used in distributing businesses; and the extra costs of carrying on such businesses have to be paid for by extra prices. So that as in the past the rural worker lost in one way what he gained in another, so in the present does the urban worker: there being, too, in both cases, the loss entailed on him by the cost of administration and the waste accompanying it.

"But what has all this to do with 'the coming slavery'?" will perhaps be asked. Nothing directly, but a good deal indirectly, as we shall see after yet another preliminary section.

It is said that when railways were first opened in Spain, peasants standing on the tracks were not unfrequently run over; and that the

blame fell on the engine-drivers for not stopping: rural experiences having yielded no conception of the momentum of a large mass moving at a high velocity.

The incident is recalled to me on contemplating the ideas of the so-called "practical" politician, into whose mind there enters no thought of such a thing as political momentum, still less of a political momentum which, instead of diminishing or remaining constant, increases. The theory on which he daily proceeds is that the change caused by his measure will stop where he intends it to stop. He contemplates intently the things his act will achieve, but thinks little of the remoter issues of the movement his act sets up, and still less its collateral issues. When, in war-time, "food for powder" was to be provided by encouraging population—when Mr. Pitt said, "Let us make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honour, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt;"\* it was not expected that the poor-rates would be quadrupled in fifty years, that women with many bastards would be preferred as wives to modest women, because of their incomes from the parish, and that hosts of ratepayers would be pulled down into the ranks of pauperism. Legislators who in 1833 voted £20,000 a year to aid in building school-houses, never supposed that the step they then took would lead to forced contributions, local and general, now amounting to £6,000,000; they did not intend to establish the principle that A should be made responsible for educating B's offspring; they did not dream of a compulsion which should deprive poor widows of the help of their elder children; and still less did they dream that their successors, by requiring impoverished parents to apply to Boards of Guardians to pay the fees which School-Boards would not remit, would initiate a habit of applying to Boards of Guardians and so cause pauperization.† Neither did those who in 1834 passed an Act regulating the labour of women and children in certain factories, imagine that the system they were beginning would end in the restriction and inspection of labour in all kinds of producing establishments where more than fifty people are employed; nor did they conceive that the inspection provided would grow to the extent of requiring that before a "young person" is employed in a factory, authority must be given by a certifying surgeon, who, by personal examination (to which no limit is placed) has satisfied himself that there is no incapacitating disease or bodily infirmity; his verdict determining whether the "young person" shall earn wages or not.‡ Even less, as I say, does the politician who plumes himself on the practicalness of his aims, conceive the indirect results that will follow the direct results of his

\* Hansard's "Parliamentary History," 32, p. 710.

† *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1884, p. 17.

‡ Factories and Workshops Act, 41 and 42 Vic. cap. 16.



measures. Thus, to take a case connected with one named above, it was not intended through the system of "payment by results," to do anything more than give teachers an efficient stimulus: it was not supposed that in numerous cases their health would give way under the stimulus; it was not expected that they would be led to adopt a cramming system and to put undue pressure on dull and weak children, often to their great injury; it was not foreseen that in many cases a bodily enfeeblement would be caused which no amount of grammar and geography can compensate for. The licensing of public-houses was simply for maintaining public order: those who devised it never imagined that there would result an organized interest powerfully influencing elections in an unwholesome way. Nor did it occur to the "practical" politicians who provided a compulsory load-line for merchant vessels, that the pressure of ship-owners' interests would habitually cause the putting of the load-line at the very highest limit, and that from precedent to precedent, tending ever in the same direction, the load-line would gradually rise in the better class of ships; as from good authority I learn that it has already done. Legislators who, some forty years ago, by Act of Parliament compelled railway-companies to supply cheap locomotion, would have ridiculed the belief, had it been expressed, that eventually their Act would punish the companies which improved the supply; and yet this was the result to companies which began to carry third-class passengers by fast trains, since a penalty to the amount of the passenger-duty was inflicted on them for every third-class passenger so carried. To which instance concerning railways, add a far more striking one disclosed by comparing the railway policies of England and France. The law-makers who provided for the ultimate lapsing of French railways to the State, never conceived the possibility that inferior travelling facilities would result—did not foresee that reluctance to depreciate the value of property eventually coming to the State, would negative the authorization of competing lines, and that in the absence of competing lines locomotion would be relatively costly, slow, and infrequent; for, as Sir Thomas Farrer has shown, the traveller in England has great advantages over the French traveller in the economy, swiftness, and frequency with which his journeys can be made.

But the "practical" politician who, in spite of such experiences repeated generation after generation, goes on thinking only of proximate results, naturally never thinks of results still more remote, still more general, and still more important than those just exemplified. To repeat the metaphor used above—he never asks whether the political momentum set up by his measure, in some cases decreasing but in other cases greatly increasing, will or will not have the same general direction with other such momenta; and whether it may not join them in presently producing an aggregate energy working

changes never thought of. Dwelling only on the effects of his particular stream of legislation, and not observing how other such streams already existing, and still other streams which will follow his initiative, pursue the same average course, it never occurs to him that they may presently unite into a voluminous flood utterly changing the face of things. Or to leave figures for a more literal statement, he is unconscious of the truth that he is helping to form a certain type of social organization, and that kindred measures, effecting kindred changes of organization, tend with ever-increasing force to make that type general; until, passing a certain point, the proclivity towards it becomes irresistible. Just as each society aims when possible to produce in other societies a structure akin to its own—just as among the Greeks, the Spartans and the Athenians struggled to spread their respective political institutions, or as, at the time of the French Revolution, the European absolute monarchies aimed to re-establish absolute monarchy in France while the Republic encouraged the formation of other republics; so within every society, each species of structure tends to propagate itself. Just as the system of voluntary co-operation by companies, associations, unions, to achieve business ends and other ends, spreads throughout a community; so does the antagonistic system of compulsory co-operation under State-agencies spread; and the larger becomes its extension the more power of spreading it gets. The question of questions for the politician should ever be—"What type of social structure am I tending to produce?" But this is a question he never entertains.

Here we will entertain it for him. Let us now observe the general course of recent changes, with the accompanying current of ideas, and see whither they are carrying us.

The blank form of a question daily asked is—"We have already done this; why should we not do that?" And the regard for precedent suggested by it, is ever pushing on regulative legislation. Having had brought within their sphere of operation more and more numerous businesses, the Acts restricting hours of employment and dictating the treatment of workers are now to be made applicable to shops. From inspecting lodging-houses to limit the numbers of occupants and enforce sanitary conditions, we have passed to inspecting all houses below a certain rent in which there are members of more than one family, and are now passing to a kindred inspection of all small houses.\* The buying and working of telegraphs by the State is made a reason for urging that the State should buy and work the railways. Supplying children with food for their minds by public agency is being followed in some cases by supplying food for their bodies; and after the practice has been made gradually more

\* See letter of Local Government Board, *Times*, January 2, 1884.



general, we may anticipate that the supply, now proposed to be made gratis in the one case, will eventually be proposed to be made gratis in the other: the argument that good bodies as well as good minds are needful to make good citizens, being logically urged as a reason for the extension.\* And then, avowedly proceeding on the precedents furnished by the church, the school, and the reading-room, all publicly provided, it is contended that "pleasure, in the sense it is now generally admitted, needs legislating for and organizing at least as much as work."†

Not precedent only prompts this spread, but also the necessity which arises for supplementing ineffective measures, and for dealing with the artificial evils continually caused. Failure does not destroy faith in the agencies employed, but merely suggests more stringent use of such agencies or wider ramifications of them. Laws to check intemperance, beginning in early times and coming down to our own times, when further restraints on the sale of intoxicating liquors occupy nights every session, not having done what was expected, there come demands for more thorough-going laws, locally preventing the sale altogether; and here, as in America, these will doubtless be followed by demands that prevention shall be made universal. All the many appliances for "stamping out" epidemic diseases not having succeeded in preventing outbreaks of small-pox, fevers, and the like, a further remedy is applied for in the shape of police-power to search houses for diseased persons, and authority for medical officers to examine any one they think fit, to see whether he or she is suffering from an infectious or contagious malady. Habits of improvidence having for generations been cultivated by the Poor-Law, and the improvident enabled to multiply, the evils produced by compulsory charity are now proposed to be met by compulsory insurance.

The extension of this policy, causing extension of corresponding ideas, fosters everywhere the tacit assumption that Government should step in whenever anything is not going right. "Surely you would not have this misery continue!" exclaims some one, if you hint a demurrer to much that is now being said and done. Observe what is implied by this exclamation. It takes for granted, first, that all suffering ought to be prevented, which is not true: much suffering is curative, and prevention of it is prevention of a remedy. In the second place, it takes for granted that every evil can be removed: the truth being that with the existing defects of human nature, many evils can only be thrust out of one place or form into another place

\* Verification comes more promptly than I expected. This article has been standing in type since January 30, and in the interval, namely on March 13, the London School Board resolved to apply for authority to use local charitable funds for supplying gratis meals and clothing to indigent children. Presently the definition of "indigent" will be widened; more children will be included, and more funds asked for.

† *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1884, p. 21.

or form—often being increased by the change. The exclamation also implies the unhesitating belief, here especially concerning us, that evils of all kinds should be dealt with by the State. There does not occur the inquiry whether there are at work other agencies capable of dealing with evils, and whether the evils in question may not be among those which are best dealt with by these other agencies. And obviously, the more numerous governmental interventions become, the more confirmed does this habit of thought grow, and the more loud and perpetual the demands for intervention.

Every extension of the regulative policy involves an addition to the regulative agents—a further growth of officialism and an increasing power of the organization formed of officials. Take a pair of scales with many shot in the one and a few in the other. Lift shot after shot out of the loaded scale and put it into the unloaded scale. Presently you will produce a balance; and if you go on, the position of the scales will be reversed. Suppose the beam to be unequally divided, and let the lightly loaded scale be at the end of a very long arm; then the transfer of each shot, producing a much greater effect, will far sooner bring about a change of position. I use the figure to illustrate what results from transferring one individual after another from the regulated mass of the community to the regulating structures. The transfer weakens the one and strengthens the other in a far greater degree than is implied by the relative change of numbers. A comparatively small body of officials, coherent, having common interests, and acting under central authority, has an immense advantage over an incoherent public which has no settled policy, and can be brought to act unitedly only under strong provocation. Hence an organization of officials, once passing a certain stage of growth, becomes less and less resistible; as we see in the bureaucracies of the Continent.

Not only does the power of resistance of the regulated part decrease in a geometrical ratio as the regulating part increases, but the private interests of many in the regulated part itself, make the change of ratio still more rapid. In every circle conversations show that now, when the passing of competitive examinations renders them eligible for the public service, youths are being educated in such ways that they may pass them and get employment under Government. One consequence is that men, who might otherwise reprobate some further growth of officialism, are led to look on it with tolerance, if not favourably, as offering possible careers for those dependent on them and those related to them. Any one who remembers the numbers of upper-class and middle-class families anxious to place their children, will see that no small encouragement to the spread of legislative control is now coming from those who, but for the personal interests thus arising, would be hostile to it.



This pressing desire for careers is enforced by the preference for careers which are thought respectable. "Even if his salary is small, his occupation will be that of a gentleman," thinks the father, who wants to get a Government-clerkship for his son. And this relative dignity of State-servants as compared with those occupied in business increases as the administrative organization becomes a larger and more powerful element in society, and tends more and more to fix the standard of honour. The prevalent ambition with a young Frenchman is to get some small official post in his locality, to rise thence to a place in the local centre of government, and finally to reach some head office in Paris. And in Russia, where that universality of State regulation which characterizes the militant type of society has been carried furthest, we see this ambition pushed to its extreme. Says Mr. Wallace, quoting a passage from a play :—"All men, even shopkeepers and cobblers, aim at becoming officers, and the man who has passed his whole life without official rank seems to be not a human being."\*

These various influences working from above downwards meet with an increasing response of expectations and solicitations proceeding from below upwards. The hard-worked and over-burdened who form the great majority, and still more the incapables perpetually helped who are ever led to look for more help, are ready supporters of schemes which promise them this or the other benefit by State agency, and ready believers of those who tell them that such benefits can be given, and ought to be given. They listen with eager faith to all builders of political air-castles, from Oxford graduates down to Irish irreconcilables; and every additional tax-supported appliance for their welfare raises hopes of further ones. Indeed, the more numerous public instrumentalities become, the more is there generated in citizens the notion that everything is to be done for them, and nothing by them. Each generation is made less familiar with the attainment of desired ends by individual actions or private combinations, and more familiar with the attainment of them by governmental agencies; until, eventually, governmental agencies come to be thought of as the only available agencies. This result was well shown in the recent Trades-Unions Congress at Paris. The English delegates, reporting to their constituents, said that between themselves and their foreign colleagues "the point of difference was the extent to which the State should be asked to protect labour:" reference being thus made to the fact, conspicuous in the reports of the proceedings, that the French delegates always invoked governmental power as the only means of satisfying their wishes.

The diffusion of education has worked, and will work still more, in the same direction. "We must educate our masters," is the well-

\* "Russia," i. 422.

known saying of a Liberal who opposed the last extension of the franchise. Yes, if the education were worthy to be so called, and were relevant to the political enlightenment needed, much might be hoped from it. But knowing rules of syntax, being able to add up correctly, having geographical information, and a memory stocked with the dates of kings' accessions and generals' victories, no more implies fitness to form political conclusions than acquirement of skill in drawing implies expertness in telegraphing, or than ability to play cricket implies proficiency on the violin. "Surely," rejoins some one, "facility in reading opens the way to political knowledge." Doubtless; but will the way be followed? Table-talk proves that nine out of ten people read what amuses them or interests them rather than what instructs them; and that the last thing they read is something which tells them disagreeable truths or dispels groundless hopes. That popular education results in an extensive reading of publications which foster pleasant illusions rather than of those which insist on hard realities, is beyond question. Says "A Mechanic," writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of December 3, 1883:—

"Improved education instils the desire for culture—culture instils the desire for many things as yet quite beyond working men's reach . . . in the furious competition to which the present age is given up they are utterly impossible to the poorer classes; hence they are discontented with things as they are, and the more educated the more discontented. Hence, too, Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Morris are regarded as true prophets by many of us."

And that the connection of cause and effect here alleged is a real one, we may see clearly enough in the present state of Germany.

Being possessed of electoral power, as are now the mass of those who are thus led to nurture sanguine anticipations of benefits to be obtained by social reorganization, it results that whoever seeks their votes must at least refrain from exposing their mistaken beliefs, even if he does not yield to the temptation to express agreement with them. Every candidate for Parliament is prompted to propose or support some new piece of *ad captandum* legislation. Nay, even the chiefs of parties, these anxious to retain office and those to wrest it from them, severally aim to get adherents by outbidding one another. Each seeks popularity by promising more than his opponent has promised, as we have lately seen. And then, as divisions in Parliament show us, the traditional loyalty to leaders overrides questions concerning the intrinsic propriety of proposed measures. Representatives are unconscientious enough to vote for Bills which they regard as essentially wrong in principle, because party-needs and regard for the next election demand it. And thus a vicious policy is strengthened even by those who see its viciousness.

Meanwhile there goes on out-of-doors an active propaganda to which all these influences are ancillary. Communistic theories, partially indorsed by one Act of Parliament after another, and



tacitly if not avowedly favoured by numerous public men seeking supporters, are being advocated more and more vociferously under one or other form by popular leaders, and urged on by organized societies. There is the movement for land-nationalization which, aiming at a system of land-tenure equitable in the abstract, is, as all the world knows, pressed by Mr. George and his friends with avowed disregard for the just claims of existing owners, and as the basis of a scheme going more than halfway to State-communism. And then there is the thorough-going Democratic Federation of Mr. Hyndman and his adherents. We are told by them that "the handful of marauders who now hold possession [of the land] have and can have no right save brute force against the tens of millions whom they wrong." They exclaim against "the shareholders who have been allowed to lay hands upon (!) our great railway communications." They condemn "above all, the active capitalist class, the loan-mongers, the farmers, the mine-exploiters, the contractors, the middle-men, the factory-lords—these, the modern slave-drivers" who exact "more and yet more surplus value out of the wage-slaves whom they employ." And they think it "high time" that trade should be "removed from the control of individual greed."\*

It remains to point out that the tendencies thus variously displayed, are being strengthened by press-advocacy, daily more pronounced. Journalists, always chary of saying that which is distasteful to their readers, are some of them going with the stream and adding to its force. Legislative meddlings which they would once have condemned they now pass in silence, if they do not advocate them; and they speak of *laissez-faire* as an exploded doctrine. "People are no longer frightened at the thought of socialism," is the statement which meets us one day. On another day, a town which does not adopt the Free Libraries Act is sneered at as being alarmed by a measure so moderately communistic. And then, along with editorial assertions that this economic evolution is coming and must be accepted, there is prominence given to the contributions of its advocates. Meanwhile those who regard the recent course of legislation as disastrous, and see that its future course is likely to be still more disastrous, are being reduced to silence by the belief that it is useless to reason with people in a state of political intoxication.

See then the many concurrent causes which threaten continually to accelerate the transformation now going on. There is that spread of regulation caused by following precedents, which become the more authoritative the further the policy is carried. There is that increasing need for administrative compulsions and restraints which results from the unforeseen evils and shortcomings of preceding compulsions and restraints. Moreover, every additional State-

\* "Socialism made Plain." Reeves, 185, Fleet Street.

interference strengthens the tacit assumption that it is the duty of the State to deal with all evils and secure all benefits. Increasing power of a growing administrative organization is accompanied by decreasing power of the rest of the society to resist its further growth and control. The multiplication of careers opened by a developing bureaucracy, tempts members of the classes regulated by it to favour its extension, as adding to the chances of safe and respectable places for their relatives. The people at large, led to look on benefits received through public agencies as gratis benefits, have their hopes continually excited by the prospects of more. A spreading education, furthering the diffusion of pleasing errors rather than of stern truths, renders such hopes both stronger and more general. Worse still, such hopes are ministered to by candidates for public choice to augment their chances of success; and leading statesmen, in pursuit of party ends, bid for popular favour by countenancing them. Getting repeated justifications from new laws harmonizing with their doctrines, political enthusiasts and unwise philanthropists push their agitations with growing confidence and success. Journalism, ever responsive to popular opinion, daily strengthens it by giving it voice; while counter-opinion, more and more discouraged, finds little utterance.

Thus influences of various kinds conspire to increase corporate action and decrease individual action. And the change is being on all sides aided by schemers, each of whom thinks only of his pet project and not at all of the general re-organization which his, joined with others such, are working out. It is said that the French Revolution devoured its own children. Here an analogous catastrophe seems not unlikely. The numerous socialistic changes made by Act of Parliament, joined with the numerous others presently to be made, will by-and-by be all merged in State-Socialism—swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised.

“But why is this change described as ‘the coming slavery’?” is a question which many will still ask. The reply is simple. All socialism involves slavery.

What is essential to the idea of a slave? We primarily think of him as one who is owned by another. To be more than nominal, however, the ownership must be shown by control of the slave's actions—a control which is habitually for the benefit of the controller. That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labours under coercion to satisfy another's desires. The relation admits of sundry gradations. Remembering that originally the slave is a prisoner whose life is at the mercy of his captor, it suffices here to note that there is a harsh form of slavery in which, treated as an animal, he has to expend his entire effort for his



owner's advantage. Under a system less harsh, though occupied chiefly in working for his owner, he is allowed a short time in which to work for himself, and some ground on which to grow extra food. A further amelioration gives him power to sell the produce of his plot and keep the proceeds. Then we come to the still more moderated form which commonly arises where, having been a free man working on his own land, conquest turns him into what we distinguish as a serf; and he has to give to his owner each year a fixed amount of labour or produce, or both; retaining the rest himself. Finally, in some cases, as in Russia until recently, he is allowed to leave his owner's estate and work or trade for himself elsewhere, under the condition that he shall pay an annual sum. What is it which, in these cases, leads us to qualify our conception of the slavery as more or less severe? Evidently the greater or smaller extent to which effort is compulsorily expended for the benefit of another instead of for self-benefit. If all the slave's labour is for his owner the slavery is heavy, and if but little it is light. Take now a further step. Suppose an owner dies and his estate with its slaves comes into the hands of trustees, or suppose the estate and everything on it to be bought by a company; is the condition of the slave any the better if the amount of his compulsory labour remains the same? Suppose that for a company we substitute the community; does it make any difference to the slave if the time he has to work for others is as great, and the time left for himself is as small, as before? The essential question is—How much is he compelled to labour for other benefit than his own, and how much he can labour for his own benefit? The degree of his slavery varies according to the ratio between that which he is forced to yield up and that which he is allowed to retain; and it matters not whether his master is a single person or a society. If, without option, he has to labour for the society and receives from the general stock such portion as the society awards him, he becomes a slave to the society. Socialistic arrangements necessitate an enslavement of this kind; and towards such an enslavement many recent measures, and still more the measures advocated, are carrying us. Let us observe, first, their proximate effects, and then their ultimate effects.

The policy initiated by the Industrial Dwellings Acts admits of development, and will develop. Where municipal bodies turn house-builders, they inevitably lower the values of houses otherwise built, and check the supply of more. Every dictation respecting modes of building and conveniences to be provided diminishes the builder's profit, and prompts him to use his capital where the profit is not thus diminished. So, too, the owner, already finding that small houses entail much labour and many losses, already subject to troubles of inspection and interference, and to consequent costs, and having his

property daily rendered a more undesirable investment, is prompted to sell; and as buyers are for like reasons deterred, he has to sell at a loss. And now these still-multiplying regulations, ending, it may be, as Lord Grey proposes, in one requiring the owner to maintain the salubrity of his houses by evicting dirty tenants, and thus adding to his other responsibilities that of inspector of nuisances, must further prompt sales and further deter purchasers—so necessitating greater depreciation. What must happen? The multiplication of houses, and especially small houses, being increasingly checked, there must come an increasing demand upon the local authority to make up for the deficient supply. More and more, the municipal or kindred body will have to build houses, or to purchase houses rendered unsaleable to private persons in the way shown: houses which, greatly lowered in value as they must become, it will, in many cases, pay to buy rather than to build new ones. Nay, this process must work in a double way; since every entailed increase of local taxation still further depreciates property.\* And then, when in towns this process has gone so far as to make the local authority the chief owner of houses, there will be a good precedent for publicly providing houses for the rural population, as proposed in the Radical programme,† and as urged by the Democratic Federation, which insists on “the compulsory construction of healthy artisans’ and agricultural labourers’ dwellings in proportion to the population.” Manifestly, the tendency of that which has been done, is being done, and is presently to be done, is to approach the socialistic ideal in which the community is sole house-proprietor.

Such, too, must be the effect of the daily growing policy on the tenure and utilization of the land. More numerous public benefits, to be achieved by more numerous public agencies, at the cost of augmented public burdens, must increasingly deduct from the returns on land; until, as the depreciation in value becomes greater and greater, the resistance to change of tenure becomes less and less. Already, as every one knows, there is in many places difficulty in obtaining tenants, even at greatly reduced rents; and land of inferior fertility in some cases lies idle, or when farmed by the owner is often farmed at a loss. Clearly the margin of profit on capital invested in land is not such that taxes, local and general, can be greatly raised to

\* If any one thinks such fears are groundless let him contemplate the fact that from 1867-8 to 1880-1, our annual local expenditure for the United Kingdom has grown from £36,132,834 to £63,276,283; and that during the same 13 years the municipal expenditure in England and Wales alone, has grown from 13 millions to 30 millions a year! How the increase of public burdens will join with other causes in bringing about public ownership, is shown by a statement made by Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., to which my attention has been drawn since the above paragraph was in type. He says, “within my own experience, local taxation in New York has risen from 12s. 6d. per cent. to £2 12s. 6d. per cent. on the capital of its citizens—a charge which would more than absorb the whole income of an average English landlord.”—*Nineteenth Century*, February, 1883.

† *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1883, pp. 619-20.



support extended public administrations, without an absorption of it which will prompt owners to sell, and make the best of what reduced price they can get by emigrating and buying land not subject to heavy burdens; as, indeed, some are now doing. This process, carried far, must have the result of throwing inferior land out of cultivation; after which there will be raised more generally the demand made by Mr. Arch, who, addressing the Radical Association of Brighton lately, and contending that existing landlords do not make their land adequately productive for the public benefit, said "he should like the present Government to pass a Compulsory Cultivation Bill:" an applauded proposal which he justified by instancing compulsory vaccination (thus illustrating the influence of precedent). And this demand will be pressed, not only by the need for making the land productive, but also by the need for employing the rural population. After the Government has extended the practice of hiring the unemployed to work on deserted lands, or lands acquired at nominal prices, there will be reached a stage whence there is but a small further step to that arrangement which, in the programme of the Democratic Federation, is to follow nationalization of the land—the "organization of agricultural and industrial armies under State control on co-operative principles."

If any one doubts that such a revolution may be so reached, facts may be cited to show its likelihood. In Gaul, during the decline of the Roman Empire, "so numerous were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been."\* In like manner, when the French Revolution was approaching, the public burdens had become such that many farms remained uncultivated and many were deserted: one-quarter of the soil was absolutely lying waste; and in some provinces one-half was in heath.† Nor have we been without incidents of a kindred nature at home. Besides the facts that under the old Poor-Law the rates had in some parishes risen to half the rental, and that in various places farms were lying uncultivated, there is the fact that in one case the rates had absorbed the whole proceeds of the soil.

At Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, in 1832, the poor-rate "suddenly ceased in consequence of the impossibility to continue its collection, the landlords having given up their rents, the farmers their tenancies, and the clergyman his glebe and his tithes. The clergyman, Mr. Jeston, states that in October, 1832, the parish officers threw up their books, and the poor assembled in a body before his door while he was in bed, asking for advice and food. Partly from his own small means, partly from the charity of neighbours, and partly by rates in aid, imposed on the neighbouring parishes, they were for some time supported."‡

\* "Lactant." De M. Persecut. cc. 7, 23.

† Taine, "L'Ancien Régime," pp. 337-8 (in the English Translation).

‡ "Report of Commissioners for Inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws," p. 37. February 20, 1834.



The Commissioners add that "the benevolent rector recommends that the whole of the land should be divided among the able-bodied paupers:" hoping that after help afforded for two years, they might be able to maintain themselves. These facts, giving colour to the prophecy made in Parliament that continuance of the old Poor-Law for another thirty years would throw the land out of cultivation, clearly show that increase of public burdens may end in forced cultivation under public control.

Then, again, comes State-ownership of railways. Already this exists to a large extent on the Continent. Already we have had here a few years ago loud advocacy of it. And now the cry, which was raised by sundry politicians and publicists, is taken up afresh by the Democratic Federation, which proposes "State-appropriation of railways, with or without compensation." Evidently, pressure from above joined by pressure from below, is likely to effect this change dictated by the policy everywhere spreading; and with it must come many attendant changes. For railway-proprietors, at first owners and workers of railways only, have become masters of numerous businesses directly or indirectly connected with railways; and these will have to be purchased by Government when the railways are purchased. Already exclusive carrier of letters, exclusive transmitter of telegrams, and on the way to become exclusive carrier of parcels, the State will not only be exclusive carrier of passengers, goods, and minerals, but will add to its present various trades many other trades. Even now, besides erecting its naval and military establishments and building harbours, docks, breakwaters, &c., it does the work of ship-builder, cannon-founder, small-arms maker, manufacturer of ammunition, army-clothier and bootmaker; and when the railways have been appropriated "with or without compensation," as the Democratic Federationists say, it will have to become locomotive-engine-builder, carriage-maker, tarpaulin and grease manufacturer, passenger-vessel owner, coal-miner, stone-quarrier, omnibus proprietor, &c. Meanwhile its local lieutenants, the municipal governments, already in many places suppliers of water, gas-makers, owners and workers of tramways, proprietors of baths, will doubtless have undertaken various other businesses. And when the State, directly or by proxy, has thus come into possession of, or has established, numerous concerns for wholesale production and for wholesale distribution, there will be good precedents for extending its function to retail distribution: following such an example, say, as is offered by the French Government, which has long been a retail tobacconist.

Evidently then, the changes made, the changes in progress, and the changes urged, are carrying us not only towards State-ownership of land and dwellings and means of communication, all to be adminis-



tered and worked by State-agents, but towards State-usurpation of all industries; the private forms of which, disadvantaged more and more in competition with the State, which can arrange everything for its own convenience, will more and more die away; just as many voluntary schools have, in presence of Board-schools. And so will be brought about the desired ideal of the socialists.

And now when there has been reached this desired ideal, which "practical" politicians are helping socialists to reach, and which is so tempting on that bright side which socialists contemplate, what must be the accompanying shady side which they do not contemplate? It is a matter of common remark, often made when a marriage is impending, that those possessed by strong hopes habitually dwell on the promised pleasures and think nothing of the accompanying pains. A further exemplification of this truth is supplied by these political enthusiasts and fanatical revolutionists. Impressed with the miseries existing under our present social arrangements, and not regarding these miseries as caused by the ill-working of a human nature but partially adapted to the social state, they imagine them to be forthwith curable by this or that re-arrangement. Yet, even did their plans succeed it could only be by substituting one kind of evil for another. A little deliberate thought would show that under their proposed arrangements their liberties must be surrendered in proportion as their material welfares were cared for.

For no form of co-operation, small or great, can be carried on without regulation, and an implied submission to the regulating agencies. Even one of their own organizations for effecting social changes yields the proof. It is compelled to have its councils, its local and general officers, its authoritative leaders, who must be obeyed under penalty of confusion and failure. And the experience of those who are loudest in their advocacy of a new social order under the paternal control of a Government, shows that even in private voluntarily-formed societies the power of the regulative organization becomes great, if not irresistible; often, indeed, causing grumbling and restiveness among those controlled. Trades Unions, which carry on a kind of industrial war in defence of workers' interests *versus* employers' interests, find that subordination almost military in its strictness is needful to secure efficient action; for divided councils prove fatal to success. And even in bodies of co-operators, formed for carrying on manufacturing or distributing businesses, and not needing that obedience to leaders which is required where the aims are offensive or defensive, it is still found that the administrative agency acquires so great a power that there arise complaints about "the tyranny of organization." Judge then what must happen when, instead of combinations small, local and voluntary,



to which men may belong or not as they please, we have a national combination in which each citizen finds himself incorporated, and from which he cannot separate himself without leaving the country. Judge what must under such conditions become the power of a graduated and centralized officialism, holding in its hands the resources of the community, and having behind it whatever amount of force it finds requisite to carry out its decrees and maintain what it calls order. Well may a Prince Bismarck display leanings toward State-socialism.

And then after recognizing, as they must if they think out their scheme, the power possessed by the regulative agency in the new social system so temptingly pictured, let its advocates ask themselves to what end this power must be used. Not dwelling exclusively, as they habitually do, on the material well-being and the mental gratifications to be provided for them by a beneficent administration, let them dwell a little on the price to be paid. The officials cannot create the needful supplies: they can but distribute among individuals that which the individuals have joined to produce. If the public agency is required to provide for them, it must reciprocally require them to furnish the means. There cannot be, as under our existing system, agreement between employer and employed—this the scheme excludes. There must in place of it be command by local authorities over workers, and acceptance by the workers of that which the authorities assign to them. And this, indeed, is the arrangement distinctly, but as it would seem inadvertently, pointed to by the members of the Democratic Federation. For they propose that production should be carried on by "agricultural and industrial *armies* under State control:" apparently not remembering that armies pre-suppose grades of officers, by whom obedience would have to be insisted upon, since otherwise neither order nor efficient work could be ensured. So that each would stand toward the governing agency in the relation of slave to master.

"But the governing agency would be a master which he and others made and kept constantly in check, and one which therefore would not control him or others more than was needful for the benefit of each and all."

To which reply the first rejoinder is that, even if so, each member of the community as an individual would be a slave to the community as a whole. Such a relation has habitually existed in militant communities, even under quasi-popular forms of government. In ancient Greece the accepted principle was that the citizen belonged neither to himself nor to his family, but belonged to his city—the city being with the Greek equivalent to the community. And this doctrine, proper to a state of constant warfare, is a doctrine which socialism unawares re-introduces into a state intended to be



purely industrial. The services of each will belong to the aggregate of all; and for these services, such returns will be given as the authorities think proper. So that even if the administration is of the beneficent kind intended to be secured, slavery, however mild, must be the outcome of the arrangement.

A second rejoinder is that the administration will presently become not of the intended kind, and that the slavery will not be mild. The socialist speculation is vitiated by an assumption like that which vitiates the speculations of the "practical" politician. It is assumed that officialism will work as it is intended to work, which it never does. The machinery of Communism, like existing social machinery, has to be framed out of existing human nature; and the defects of existing human nature will generate in the one the same evils as in the other. The love of power, the selfishness, the injustice, the untruthfulness, which often in comparatively short times bring private organizations to disaster, will inevitably, where their effects accumulate from generation to generation, work evils far greater and less remediable; since vast and complex and possessed of all the resources, the administrative organization once developed and consolidated must become irresistible. And if there needs proof that the periodic exercise of electoral power would fail to prevent this, it suffices to instance the French Government, which, purely popular in origin, and subject from time to time to popular judgment, nevertheless tramples on the freedom of citizens to an extent which the English delegates to the late Trades Unions Congress say "is a disgrace to, and an anomaly in, a Republican nation."

The final result would be a revival of despotism. A disciplined army of civil officials, like an army of military officials, gives supreme power to its head—a power which has often led to usurpation, as in mediæval Europe and still more in Japan—nay, has thus so led among our neighbours, within our own times. The recent confessions of M. de Maupas have shown how readily a constitutional head, elected and trusted by the whole people, may, with the aid of a few unscrupulous confederates, paralyze the representative body and make himself autocrat. That those who rose to power in a socialistic organization would not scruple to carry out their aims at all costs, we have good reason for concluding. When we find that shareholders who, sometimes gaining but often losing, have made that railway-system by which national prosperity has been so greatly increased, are spoken of by the council of the Democratic Federation as having "laid hands" on the means of communication, we may infer that those who directed a socialistic administration might interpret with extreme perversity the claims of individuals and classes under their control. And when, further, we find members of this same council urging that the State should take possession of the railways, "with

or without compensation," we may suspect that the heads of the ideal society desired would be but little deterred by considerations of equity from pursuing whatever policy they thought needful: a policy which would always be one identified with their own supremacy. It would need but a war with an adjacent society, or some internal discontent demanding forcible suppression, to at once transform a socialistic administration into a grinding tyranny like that of ancient Peru; under which the mass of the people, controlled by grades of officials, and leading lives that were inspected out-of-doors and in-doors, laboured for the support of the organization which regulated them, and were left with but a bare subsistence for themselves. And then would be completely revived, under a different form, that *régime* of status—that system of compulsory co-operation, the decaying tradition of which is represented by the old Toryism and towards which the new Toryism is carrying us back.

"But we shall be on our guard against all that—we shall take precautions to ward off such disasters," will doubtless say the enthusiasts. Be they "practical" politicians with their new regulative measures, or communists with their schemes for re-organizing labour, the answer is ever the same:—"It is true that plans of kindred nature have, from unforeseen causes and adverse accidents, or the misdeeds of those concerned, been brought to failure; but this time we shall profit by past experiences and succeed." There seems no getting people to accept the truth, which nevertheless is conspicuous enough, that the welfare of a society and the justice of its arrangements are at bottom dependent on the characters of its members; and that improvement in neither can take place without that improvement in character which results from carrying on peaceful industry under the restraints imposed by an orderly social life. The belief, not only of the socialists but also of those so-called Liberals who are diligently preparing the way for them, is that by due skill an ill-working humanity may be framed into well-working institutions. It is a delusion. The defective natures of citizens will show themselves in the bad acting of whatever social structure they are arranged into. There is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden instincts.

HERBERT SPENCER.



## PROVINCIAL HOME RULE IN IRELAND.

SEVENTY or eighty members of the House of Commons pledged to plague the Government until they get "Home Rule"—such, we are assured, will be the situation after the next general election. The bye elections which have taken place in Ireland tend to confirm this forecast. If we may judge by the language held by the leaders of the movement, it bodes no good to Ireland or to Britain. Their tone is hostile to Imperial interests. They regard us as "foreigners," and the ultimate goal of their desire seems to be the creation of a so-called "Free Irish Republic." This would make of Ireland a weak little State, looking for an alliance with others than its nearest neighbours. Among its own people it could not hope for union, for the antagonism between the North and the rest of the country is one derived from difference of race, accentuated and embittered by difference of religion. If a Republic were indeed possible, it is probable that it would be more easily founded and sustained by Ulster, should its people desire such a form of government. But they are emphatic in the rejection of any such idea. With the majority of Irishmen, in whose veins Celtic blood predominates, a Republican form is the least likely to succeed of all governments, for the Celt likes to be ruled rather by an individual than by a party. Each little tribe in the old days gave obedience to a king, and the instinct of personal authority is strong among them. They like to worship a hero, and it may be added that each party among them likes to have its own hero to adore. A strong hand is what they understand, so long as the strong hand is accompanied by a kindly heart. Affectionate, impulsive and turbulent, their imagination must be fed and their love won, while their respect is gained by the strong blows of the sword of justice and authority. Apt to complain against all govern-

ment, we must discard for them in these days the kind of authority to which their wild septs used to submit—namely, the patriarchal rule of local princes. The nearest approach to this would be the investment in provincial assemblies of the power of self-government, with jurisdiction over those matters which most affect the common people: the tenure of land, the regulation of education, and the support of the churches. The men who are always “agin the Government” would then vent their displeasure in changing their local rulers—the blame being cast on them, and not on any so-called “alien Government.” It is obvious that no Empire could exist which would allow its provinces, situated within two hours’ distance of its own shores, to set up a separate independent government. Yet such is the demand of the leaders of the so-called “National” Irish Party. They desire secession from the power of England, and their thoughts and affections are turned to America, with which country they would prefer an alliance to the existing bond with Britain. Their first step to entire separation is the demand for a Parliament to meet in Dublin, representative of all Ireland, so that further agitation may be carried on by the united voice of organized secession, speaking through a majority which would vote down the voice of Ulster.

Such, shortly stated, is the political situation.

The inconvenience and more, the possible peril arising from it, can hardly be too strongly stated. It means that the votes controlled by “the Nationalists” shall, whenever parties are more evenly balanced in point of number, control the situation. It is inevitable that parties shall woo a vote which can exercise so much influence, for it has already become a power. Obstruction of debate, and of the whole business of the country, may effectively be carried on in spite of the recent re-arrangement of the rules of the House, adopted with a view to the suppression of such practices. When forty men are always ready to stand up to support a motion of adjournment, such motions will be made over and over again. The concessions hitherto made to “Irish views” have in no sense or manner modified the hostility of the representatives of three of the Irish provinces. Property has been altered by putting the tenant and the former landlord into a forced joint partnership in the nominal proprietorship of the soil. The Anglican Established Church has been disestablished. Catholics may have any place save that of the sovereign, for there is no position open to a subject for which they are not eligible. Less taxation is exacted from Ireland than from the sister kingdoms. Grants to relieve her poor, and to encourage the prosecution of her fisheries, and to execute great public works have been freely made for her benefit. The time of the Legislature has been taken up for the consideration of her affairs, to the exclusion of matters relating to the larger and more important sections of population elsewhere.



The priests do not complain that their religion has not the freest scope. Unless the mere fact that certain Protestants are among the land-holding class be considered antagonistic to the interests of the Papacy, there is no sign of former Protestant domination. Instead of free competition being allowed to determine the price and rent of land, Courts have been established to fix an arbitrary value as the rent due from the occupier to the owner. The owners have, therefore, ceased to make improvements, and as time passes, and these are made by the tenant, the fact of the existence of the landlord as a mere rent charger is certain to be represented as a grievance, and the land which was his, and has been by one act divorced from his management, will by another become the property of one only of the present partners in its possession. Although the pressure of population on the resources of the land has diminished, and the produce of the soil and the wealth of the people have increased, we see no sign that the bitterness among them against British rule is lessened. A Legislature already overburdened has its precious time taken up ever more and more in listening to complaints against an administration which has ceaselessly endeavoured to propitiate Irish sentiment. One of its ministers sent to carry out reforms, and himself full of zeal in the cause of Irish good government, has been barbarously murdered on the very day of his arrival in the capital, and the execration of the crime, which was so loudly expressed in England, found but a faint echo on the other side of St. George's Channel. The dissatisfaction among the majority of the people is faithfully reflected by their representatives at Westminster. As the numbers of [the malcontents become greater, so does their Parliamentary organization become more serried and more formidable. When argument has been exhausted, and pretexts of delay are put forward to waste time, embarrass the Government, annoy the House of Commons, and throw ridicule on Parliamentary machinery, a strong force of Irish members bent on obstruction becomes a formidable engine. The contest becomes a physical one, for relays of members have to be organized to maintain debate and motions for adjournment, and these objects can and will be effected when there are a sufficient number to carry on the wordy war, and to spend the night in the perambulatory labour of defiling into the lobbies to count votes on the divisions. It requires little prescience to see that if "the steam can be kept up" in Ireland, the nuisance will become almost intolerable in the Commons. And there is nothing to prevent the "steam being kept up." There are millions of Irishmen and of their descendants in America, who fancy that the State sovereignty there in existence might be transplanted to Ireland. There are hundreds of thousands who would justify any attempt, made with any weapons, to separate Ireland from what they are



pleased to call the English yoke. This wide-spread sympathy bears material fruit. There is hardly a populous town in the United States where an appeal for funds on behalf of "Irish freedom" is not heartily responded to. Although time after time subscribers to "patriotic" funds have seen their money wasted and misapplied, yet numbers are ever ready to subscribe again. The funds are never lacking even if demanded by men of little authority. They flow into the coffers of the agitators whenever any one of note among them solicits assistance from the American Irishman. In the most remote mining villages in the Rocky Mountains, I have heard cheers given for the Land League of Ireland, from men who thought that the mere presence in their midst of a stranger who happened to be a British official was a sufficient cause to make them show their opinion. In the large cities Irishmen are regularly brigaded into societies, with a view of giving help, countenance, and money to the efforts of their brethren at home. Even murder is not murder if the deed be committed to "overthrow landlordism." We may look upon it as a certain fact that it is impossible under present conditions to look for Irish content, and that the seditions will increase in number, and will be sustained at home and from abroad by the contributions of a people who are as good haters as they are capable of loving their chosen chiefs; and are as unscrupulous in their means of revenge as they are brave in open conflict.

Are we to rest on our oars, and let this storm go on increasing in violence around us, or are there some hints which we may use to show us how to throw oil on the troubled waters? The inconvenience is great as it is. Do we wish for ever to be obliged to hold the whip of coercion over the sister island? Do we desire that our army be permanently weakened by the detachment of 20,000 to 30,000 men for duty in Ireland?

Let us examine what the ultra "Home Rule" claims are, and why they are inadmissible by any Government composed of rational rulers.

The conquest of Ireland has never been complete. We have dethroned her petty kings, we have established families in their possessions. We have spread the English language, so that the knowledge of Erse is less in Ireland than in Scotland. Our system of law, our municipal institutions, our local government, are in every district in Ireland the counterpart of what they are in England. Nor are these complained of by the Irish people. They understand them, and they scarcely know that they are not native to the soil. The peasantry and the young townsmen are not averse to serving in the army raised for our common defence, and most manfully do they bear their part in the Imperial wars. Yet we cannot say that we have conquered the affections of the Irish, for whenever men among them



arise to speak against our rule they are heard eagerly, and references to their former state, whose "History" is little else but fancy, confusion and crime, relieved only by the learning and piety of the early Christian priesthood, are sufficient to make them demand any change which it may suit the agitator of the day to propose. Each Irishman knows that as long as his country is politically united to the Empire, he may fill any position of honour. He may, as Prime Minister, be the virtual Sovereign. He may command the armies. The English Bar is open to him. In every profession, in every colony, he may see countrymen of his own who have risen, as he may rise, to fill and adorn the highest and the most responsible place of trust. And yet with all this he is, as a rule, unsatisfied. The cause of this is partly the former bad treatment Ireland received at the hands of the English, partly the poverty of the country. The first cause can now be overlooked, for it has ceased to operate—the English being willing and anxious to give Ireland not only equal but most favourable treatment. The second cause is one which will last, for Ireland is never likely to become a rich country; but it may be possible to show Irishmen that it is no fault of ours if the country remains poor. It is rich already in comparison with its state at any former epoch. It may grow more wealthy, and it should be our business to prove that material help as well as good will to assist it in becoming so is by no means lacking.

In the meantime it is difficult to believe that all has been done which may be done to prevent each agitator from having fuel to light. How desperate and dangerous are the remedies these leaders themselves propose! Who believes that an independent Irish Republic would not be torn asunder by faction strife? And yet it is to obtain a separate national government that efforts are made. They are sometimes cloaked, sometimes displayed, to audiences in Ireland or the United States. If discontent exists in regard to land tenure, the abolition of landlordism is advocated as the most convenient "platform." When it suits them to change the immediate cry, the "Land League" of yesterday becomes the "National League" of to-day. In each case war is proclaimed against England. "All means are fair in war," and every blow, no matter how foul, is excused on the plea that as a conflict in arms is impracticable, secret war is to be justified. No means are left untried to excite the labouring and farming classes. Where they are indifferent they are coerced by a shameful system of agrarian terrorism, whose dark deeds of brutal violence and midnight slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, dot the land with stains of blood. Where they are in sympathy with the insurgent chiefs who are masked as constitutional reformers, means are adopted to prevent the payment of rent, so as to starve out the "foreign garrison." The payments yet allowed by



the new Land Courts are denounced as rack-renting, and nothing but the stringency of the temporary Coercion Acts, and the fear of punishment, saves the owner from the confiscation of the remnant yet belonging to him. Open warfare—the terrible warfare of civil strife—were preferable to a condition which lowers the minds of men to connive at assassination, when they refuse to give evidence against the butchers employed by the secret societies.

It is difficult to advocate any reform, when its adversaries see each step taken towards it hailed by the enemies of the Empire as a step taken in the direction of their desires. Yet we ought not to shrink from doing what we can to make any injustice to the tenant or cottier impossible, for it is on the scattered and (of late years) rare cases of such injustice that much of the strength of the popular movements are founded. Were the laws of forty years ago still in force, the spirit of insurrection would be far fiercer, and the support given to it abroad would be far more formidable. There are not wanting good men and true among Irishmen both at home, in America, and in the Colonies, who recognize and publicly say that they do recognize the good offices of England in the cause of Ireland's regeneration. These discountenance the doctrine of secession, and would be satisfied with moderate reforms. They know that the extreme demands made are not only inadmissible in any Empire but directly deleterious to Ireland herself.

Any Home Rule concession which would lead more or less directly to reinforce the demand for separation would be harmful. This would be the case were a central Irish Parliament again to meet in Dublin. Previous experience, bad as that was, gives no means of judging of what a modern national Parliament assembled there would mean. In days when the suffrage was so restricted that a few squires and squireens elected the member for the shire, and bribery as much as patriotism sent the town representative to College Green, an assembly at Dublin was a very different thing to what its successor would become. We should now have a large body of members elected by a low suffrage, of whom two-thirds would glory in antagonism to England, and possibly one-third would alone be thoroughly loyal to the Empire. Were power to legislate in civil right given to such an assembly its first work would be the confiscation of all property held under what would be called a title given by a foreign government. Compensation would not be dreamed of, the large rural population would demand to be put into possession of their farms, and the demand would be granted. Large sums would be voted from the common treasury for the support of the Catholic Church, and it is doubtful if a sop would be thrown to Ulster by the endowment of Protestant institutions. The Northern province would, if it did not go with the tide, be overborne. If she resented the politics of the



majority her only remedy would lie in force, in an appeal to which means of conviction she would not stand alone, intimately connected as her people are with the neighbouring coasts of Scotland and Lancashire.

Even if we take for granted that only domestic matters would be relegated to the newly constituted Parliament, what an incessant struggling after further rights, and "greater freedom" should we see! The cries for wider liberty, now vague enough, and raised by almost every man with differing ideas as to what the phrase means, would be formulated and crystallized into distinct requests defined by resolutions of the Irish House. Who believes that any check would operate to modify these desires? Would an Irish House of Lords be for one moment listened to? Would its voice not be howled down as the embodiment of the very landlordism which it is the chief mission of every Nationalist to destroy? How could any veto power be exercised, if such were to be reserved to the Imperial Parliament? The Irish House, for the mere pastime of the thing, would be perpetually passing laws which under any conceivable system of Imperial supervision of vital questions, would be pronounced *ultra vires*. The raging of the Irish Parliament at the disallowance of their measures would at once constitute it in the eyes of all "Patriots" the exponent of national aspirations, held down by an alien English mechanical majority. A Dublin Parliament would simply focus in one blaze of heat whatever burning elements exist. It would centre and crystallize the separated vapours of sedition. It would itself be the starting-point of fresh complications in the demand for greater powers. Let us imagine for a moment the Irish Parliament is met in the capital. There is evidently plenty of life in the assembly. The chaff and fun interchanged among the members as they arrive is fresher, more witty, and the laughter and the hand-shaking is more hearty, than among the colder Saxons at Westminster. Dublin is delighted to have so many of the jovial and improvident sons of the soil again in her midst. Surely trade will flourish now, and the tradesman in the enthusiastic crowd which has gathered to see the new members pass rubs his hands and expresses his joy aloud. An unkind stranger suggests that perhaps now the Lord Lieutenant's Court will no longer be kept up, and that money won't flow so freely from the Saxon Treasury as before. This casts a momentary gloom over our friend; but he is like the rest of the crowd, who are pushing, elbowing, grinning, and throwing up their caps at the joy of having a National Assembly, and Ireland for the Irish. In the House the Speaker has been elected, chiefly because he will not keep too much order, and is a good fellow and a true Hibernian. Prayers have been said by a priest, and it is seen with satisfaction that the Protestants of the North have shown the moderation which may now well become them, by abstention



from any demand to have a Protestant as well as a Catholic chaplain. But the interior of the House shows these gentlemen of the North sitting apart, and exhibiting far less of that exuberance of spirit which is manifested by over two-thirds of the deputies. They have been heard to discuss the complexion of the Upper House, which is denounced by their Catholic friends as chiefly consisting of the sons of scoundrels who sold their glorious old country to the stranger for filthy titles. "Who but an Orangeman would care to listen to the opinions of such senators? Sooner than that they should influence legislation, it were better that there be only one Chamber. If there must be another let it be modelled after the Senate of the United States and be elected by the districts of the country and not nominated by a Government in whom no true Irishmen can trust. Let them have a Senate, if a second Chamber be wanted. But that Senate should have power to make treaties as in the great Republic. And why restrict the Irish Parliament: surely it knows best the interests of its country?" And so the national vanity (and what people has not national vanity, if it be worth its salt?) would ever afford reason and argument for the grant of greater power. "Why should not Ireland frame her own tariff? Why should a country, manifestly destined by Providence as a manufacturing centre, be allowed to remain a mere drawer of water and hewer of wood to Free Trade England? England has fostered her industries by the application of protective laws. When she had manufactures she threw down the barriers, perhaps because she feared Ireland might become her rival! Has not Irish industry been crushed again and again by the trade jealousy of Britain? Is not the country in as advantageous a position geographically as is her neighbour? Situated like her between Europe and America, with harbours as good as any, with a people more intelligent, why is it that we see agriculture her chief, although it cannot be called her only industry? Protection, in the form of a higher tariff, would encourage Irishmen to build mills for cotton, would bid manufacturers of wool, lace, porcelain, leather, &c., to be spread over the South and West instead of being confined to Dublin and Belfast alone. Let us have Protection. Let us exclude, except for a consideration—except for a *quid pro quo*—the Saxon products. Is not sympathy for us to be seen alone in America? To her we shall extend the 'most favoured nation treatment.' If our just views for our own interest be disregarded, will she not help us? In the meantime let us demand the authority over our own sons. Let the Irish militia be like the militia of the United States, under the control of the local government. Who but tyrants would refuse so just, so reasonable a request? &c. &c."

In short, once constitute your half-rebellious sister kingdom into



an organized State, there is no halting on that path which will lead with them to increased demands, and with you to the denial of them, until the last state of that country shall be seven times worse than the first.

A central Irish Parliament assembled at Dublin is inconsistent with the true interests of Ireland, and incompatible with the integrity of the Empire.

But is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no extrication from this apparently hopeless tangle?

It has always been supposed of Lord Russell that he was willing to undertake the impossible, and that he would have with confidence put himself, at five minutes' notice, in case of war, in command of the Channel Fleet. A wise man, he had the knack of taking the side which had success with it, before success had crowned its banners. He was in favour of dividing Ireland for certain purposes into the four provinces of Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught.

Could we not give the Irish all they can reasonably desire, and prevent them from cutting our throats, and their own, by some similar arrangement?

Might we not relieve the Imperial Parliament of some troublesome and time-consuming business by transferring it to the shoulders of Irish Provincial Diets?

The whole country has about 5,000,000 inhabitants, so that each province would have a constituency more numerous than that of many American States. Connecticut and Rhode Island take just as much pride in their autonomy and "Home Rule," as do New York or Illinois. Why should not education at all events be entrusted to provincial Diets? Let there be two Houses in each, and let both be elective. Let the suffrage be the "household suffrage" for the lower House, and a higher suffrage for the second, with the further provision that the second House or Provincial Council shall hold their seats for a given term of years. Let them manage education. Let them assess for provincial roads, for lunatic asylums, for the church if they so please, and the Budget necessary for the payment of the provincial members and officials. Keep in the hands of an Imperial Irish Cabinet Minister and his secretariat at Dublin the militia, the police, the administration of civil and criminal law, the control of lighthouses, navigation, customs and excise, and all railroad matters which affect any two provinces.

A growing pride and satisfaction in the self-government of each province would prevent any desire for amalgamation in Dublin. The torch of local dignity would not like to be extinguished in the odorous waters of the Liffey. Each local governor (for such there should be to preside over the local government) would imagine himself to be Brian Boru. Ulster would be contented, for she

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An occasional appeal for financial help might perhaps be made to the Imperial Funds, and these requests would be generously met, if peaceable conduct led to a disposition to consider the claims advanced, and no infraction of Imperial power was advocated. All would depend on the rigid confinement of local powers to certain specified subjects.

It will be conceded that, just as a man who receives a gift of property cannot stand to the donor of it in the same position as another who has all his lifetime possessed his own, and is beholden to no one; so an Irish province to which a measure of self-government may be granted could not be held to be in the position of an American, "Sovereign" State which has always possessed and practised self-government. In the case of America the States were the donors of certain powers to the National Government. In Ireland it is the Imperial Government who might give certain powers to the local assemblies. Safeguards must necessarily be adopted in giving "Home Rule." For instance, in the concession of the power of taxation for provincial purposes, it would be necessary to ensure that the incidence of that taxation be not unjustly laid on one description of property alone, but that it should be raised, if the power to raise it be given, from all classes. Temporary spites against landlords, while there are as yet few of them, might lay the burthens on them only. We have prevented the rack-renting of the occupier. We must see that the owner have also a livelihood. The Imperial Legislature has but lately regulated landed property. It could not stultify itself by permitting the reversal of its measures. All property held under existing laws must therefore be held as excluded from the action of the local chambers. But, given the power of increasing present taxation with the present incidence of taxation on taxable property, the local houses might raise money for the purchase of lands from those willing to sell. They might be assisted by the Imperial Treasury in such an object. We gave £20,000,000 to compensate owners of West Indian slaves, and paid that price to change conditions which never touched the political well-being of the empire. The land question in Ireland does touch our nearest interests. It would be worth while largely to assist local effort, were that local effort directed to the increase of a landowning peasantry. If trouble arise from over-population under a local régime, the peasantry will cast out local governments, and shillelagh or shoot their own friends. The "earth-hunger" will not be appeased, but if misery arise from its indulgence, it will no longer be said that it is due to the Saxon oppressors.

Communication with America has become so easy that emigration of a purely voluntary character may be trusted to some extent to relieve overcrowding. Small landholders, even if they live only in



a turf cabin, are not revolutionists, and they will become less and less inclined to revolution when they see that the only effect of change is to place in power another local administration which will much resemble that which has preceded it. Much property might be allowed to pass under the administration of local government, once the rights of property guaranteed by Imperial legislation have been bought up. The Irish would have a gradually increasing jurisdiction over the landed property of a province, and power to raise money for the subvention of their Church and the education of their youth. Provincial diets would thus have subjects dear to their people in their own hands. Poverty we cannot cure, nor could any local machinery do so. Small proprietors will mortgage their farms, and, getting into debt, will have to leave. Subdivision of land is certain to proceed, unless checked by paternal legislation, for with the Celts a natural kindness of heart leads to this ruinous procedure. They who have to leave on this account may, in future at all events, not have to ascribe their failures to "English government," and would not swell further the ranks of the Irish-American haters of Britain in America. This class is becoming always more numerous, and exercises upon the local and national councils of the great Republic a marked and decided influence.

Let the plan of local governments in Ireland be at all events discussed. Perhaps we may ask those in favour of the present state of affairs to re-consider whether the money spent on a Lord-Lieutenant might not be more profitably used in helping to pay the salaries of local governors, if the amount be in excess of that required for the office of an Irish Secretary of State.

LORNE.

## COUNTERSENSE.

**T**RACING back the history of language to that remote period when our primitive ancestors were struggling with the difficulty of forming and expressing definite thought, the progress of investigation brings out more and more clearly the fact that there was once a time when, not only in thought but in name, contradictory ideas were identical; when, in fact, black was white.

The oldest preserved specimens of human speech are handed down to us in Egyptian literature. Going back to about four thousand years before Christ, when the first historical dynasties were ruling over the fertile valley of the Nile, the hieroglyphics of those times display a stage of linguistic development earlier even than the date of their oldest specimens. Known only to the priests, and reverentially guarded as amongst the great professional secrets of the caste, the characters as well as the words used in hieroglyphic writing were settled in prehistoric times, and from a mysterious period preceding by many centuries the first inscriptions extant, remained substantially the same for several thousands of years. Though not a few innovations crept in in course of time, these were wholly impotent to change the main portions of the sacred lexicon and grammar fixed in days of yore. The vernacular altered indeed, but the written language remained essentially unchanged; thousands of new words arose in the everyday parlance of the people, but still the scribes were content to adhere to the principal features of the old code. This code, showing a highly developed tongue and alphabet even in its oldest specimens, must have taken ages to form. Hence what we read in the Egyptian literature of the last four thousand years before Christ is, broadly speaking, the language of an era much more antique than the oldest tablet rescued from the wreck of time. In point of antiquity there



is nothing in the linguistic records of the world that can be proved at all to compare with this.

In this unique relic of old-world language, we are startled to discover a large number of words with two meanings, one the exact opposite of the other. Imagine for a moment, if indeed you can imagine such apparent nonsense, that the word "good" in the English language meant "bad" as well as "good;" that the noun "light" was habitually used in London to denote light as well as darkness; that one American miner applied the term "gold" to gold, while another referred it to dross; and you will be able to realize the practice of the ancient Egyptians. At this point the reader no doubt shakes his head incredulously. However, as there are notoriously many more things in heaven and earth than can be divined by philosophy, the following list will, it is hoped, not be denied a hearing. It contains a few examples taken at random from a far greater number occurring in carved and painted inscriptions on Egyptian temple walls. When wishing to convey the sense of "strong," "stout," the people of the Nile were wont to utter the syllable *ken*; but they pronounced the same sound when they meant to say "weak." Similarly they said *ari*, meaning either "above" or "below," *tem*, meaning either "include" or "exclude," *an*, meaning either to "move away from a thing" or "in the direction of a thing." They likewise employed the one vocable *her* to signify both "with" and "without" as well as both "for" and "against." Looking at these and many similar examples of antithetical meaning,\* there can be no doubt, that, at one period at least, and in one language at any rate, words abounded which denoted a thing and its opposite as well. However astonishing, there is the fact; however irrational, the existence of the process is indubitable. The thing has clearly to be acknowledged and dealt with.

Now this was not the practice of a barbarous or unenlightened tribe. The Egyptians ranked amongst the foremost of ancient mankind. Highly civilized at a period when the greater part of the world was plunged in utter barbarism, Egyptians practised the mechanical arts while our own ancestors were still grovelling in primeval dirt. They inculcated lofty moral teaching, including a portion of the Ten Commandments, at a time when Europeans knew no right but the right of strength, and acknowledged no law except club-law. They had a dim perception of the unity and all-embracing love of the Deity when what are now considered the civilized nations lay prostrate in the dust before murderous idols. To have achieved civilization so many centuries before the barbarous rest of the world, Egyptians must have been uncommonly clever and keen. To have accomplished spiritual and industrial progress in advance of nearly everybody else, they

\* The author's "Coptic Researches," "Ilchester Lectures," and "Gegensinn" contain copious lists.

must have been a singularly sharp, wise, and persevering race. And yet these are the people, who, to all appearance, do not seem to have possessed the capacity of distinguishing between the most contradictory notions. How are we to account for this? How did they manage to understand each other? Or, what is equally to the point, how do *we* know what they meant?

Fortunately for the elucidation of primeval speech, the Egyptians, who propose the riddle, themselves supply the means for solving it—means at least as unexpected as the riddle itself. Of all the eccentricities of the Egyptian dictionary the most startling, perhaps, is this, that in addition to the words with antithetical meanings, there are compound terms, combining words of opposite significations, and yet conveying the sense of only one of them. For instance, these people were in the habit of forming the two words “old” and “young” into a compound vocable “old-young,” which signified nothing but “young.” They also had a word “far-near,” meaning to express “near.” They said “connect-separate,” for “connect,” and “without-within,” for “within,” and used many other compounds of the same kind,\*—words which force us to ask: Is not all this sheer nonsense?

We shall presently see whether it is or not. Meanwhile we note that, in the instances quoted, words with antithetical meanings are deliberately united to express, not a new meaning evolved from the two opposites (as is sometimes the case in Chinese), but the signification of one only of the two constituent members of the compound, which would have sufficed to express the same sense by itself. From this excess of antithetical confusion springs the enlightening spark which reveals the mystery.

Deliberate combination of opposites, for the purpose of expressing only one of the pair, thus constituting a perfectly natural and rational process in Egyptian eyes, the crowding of antagonistic ideas into a simple and non-composite term is seen to present but another variety of the same general phenomenon. In the light of these extraordinary facts our eyes are gradually opened to the underlying cause of the seeming paradox. After all, the matter is simpler than it seems. All our primary notions, it is easily perceived on reflection, arise from comparison. Were it always light, we should be unable to distinguish between light and darkness, and, consequently, should have conceived neither the notions nor the names of these natural phenomena. Were all the various things about us exactly of the same size, neither the ideas nor the words “great” and “little” would have ever presented themselves to the human eye or intellect. Were the temperature of the atmosphere and that of our blood always equal and always the same, cold and warm

\* See the Origin of Language in the author's “*Linguistic Essays*.”



would be sensations and terms unknown to mankind. Were everything and everybody absolutely perfect, neither good nor evil would have any existence or any names for us. There would be no virtue, because there could be no vice; there would be no morality, because there could be no sin. It is plain that everything in this planet is relative, and has independent existence only by its diversity from other related, yet different, things.

In this interdependent arrangement of the universe, what was more reasonable, nay, what was more unavoidable, than that things should have been originally distinguished by reference to those other things, without whose opposite qualities they could not have been noticed at all? If cold does not exist except as we distinguish it from warmth, how could it have been primarily defined unless by contrasting it with warmth? As greatness is a notion suggested by comparison with little things, in what other way could it have been grasped, than by means of such comparison? And since crookedness is a phenomenon discovered by the existence of straightness, what else could language have done than copy the intimate alliance uniting the two in nature and thought, and name the one as a relative and family connection of the other? Any one primary notion being the twin of its opposite, how could it have been conceived or imparted to others struggling with the concept, unless conjointly with its counterpart?

Words, then, with antithetical meanings illustrate the creation of ideas in primitive times. The presence in the mind of two ideas being required to enable the incipient thinker to realize either, both were equally embodied in certain words of the oldest preserved idiom, the nature and extent of which will be stated hereafter. As man could not have realized the notion of strong, except through gauging it by the notion of weak, the word which conveyed the one idea necessarily had to suggest the other as well. That word, in truth, anciently meant neither strong nor weak. It indicated only the relation between the two. It reminded the hearer of the existence of different degrees of strength, and in its wide compass embraced every category of force, irrespective of its various grades and sorts. If in later times, when opposite notions had long been separated and located in special words, two such special words of opposite meaning were still united to convey the meaning of one of them, the inference that opposite meanings contained in non-composite terms illustrate the necessary creation of thought by antithesis becomes equally inevitable and conclusive.

Before going any farther, we had better dispose of an objection which must readily occur to any one, and which, were it irrefutable, would threaten to impugn our argument. "This is all very well," the reader will say. "There being so many words with double meanings in the most primitive language known, and there being

moreover, a rational explanation of the phenomenon at hand, which applies to all languages alike, the fact that ancient mankind had to educate their untutored minds by the peculiar process detailed must, apparently, be admitted. But as they cannot have wished to convey two absolutely opposite opinions in the same breath, how did they manage to intimate which of the two in each particular instance was meant? After all, when uttering the syllable *ken*, signifying strength of any degree, or in other words, both strong and weak, the Egyptian aboriginal must have possessed the means of indicating which signification he intended to impart."

The difficulty is easily removed. As we may gather from the theory and practice of hieroglyphic writing, gesture obtained to a large extent in ancient colloquy. When it signified "strong," the alphabetical writing of the Egyptian word *ken* was accompanied by the picture of a man, standing erect and sometimes carrying arms; when it was to express "weak," the same term was followed by the image of a languid person, squatting on the ground in an exhausted way. Similar distinctions were made in the case of other ambiguous words. *Tem*, "to include," was succeeded by a loop, the ordinary hieroglyphic symbol for any kind of enclosure, or tying up; *tem*, "to exclude," on the other hand, was distinguished by the "evil bird," the common emblem of misfortune. To the word *ari*, "to ascend," is joined the discriminating sign of a staircase; while the same word, when it is to be interpreted "to descend" or "below," has the supplement of a tumble-down wall. With *un*χ, "to cover up," is joined the picture of a ligature, frequently employed to designate coils and rolls; *unh*, "to uncover," on the other hand, is known from the conspicuous accessory of an open door. Now it will be readily understood that the illustrative pictures used in writing must have been replaced by gesture in actual talk. Most of the primitive words affected by antithetical meaning referring to sensuous objects, and dating from a time when conversation preferably turned upon palpable things, there could be no difficulty in assigning to each some characteristic movement of hand, foot, or body, which fully answered the purpose. If a man said *kef*, meaning "to take" or "to reject," nothing could be more simple than to distinguish the opposite significations by accompanying movements of the hand. Or if he uttered *tua*, purporting "to honour," as well as "to despise," there was little invention required to make him perform a salaam in the first instance, and spit out in the second. Similarly, in pronouncing χ*en*, "to stand" or "to walk," as the case might be, his legs were admirably fitted to provide the requisite commentary. Neither was there any fear that a maiden could have misunderstood her lover, when calling her pretty in language which might have borne the treacherous interpretation of plain. Depend upon it, his attitude left no doubt as to which signi-



fication was intended. In all these and many similar instances, the purely tangible things, making up the range of old-world gossip, must have been swiftly pointed out and pointed at.

If this accounts for the use of gesture in the most ancient times, what we see of it in semi-civilized tribes, even now, accords with the preservation of so many antithetical words to the later stages of Egyptian culture. From Colonel Mallery's celebrated work upon the Gesture Language of North American Indians we learn, that Redskins belonging to different tribes and altogether unacquainted with each other's languages experience no difficulty in effecting intercourse, and discussing the various topics of savage life by signs, shrugs, and nods. The mutes of the Constantinopolitan Seraglio have been seen to converse more rapidly than any unmaimed people, with their tongues whole and uncut, can possibly contrive to do. Nay, our own deaf and dumb are only too apt to forsake the digital alphabet, laboriously taught them in institutions and schools, and adopt instead some sly and expeditious mode of conveying entire notions, invented by themselves, and eagerly imparted to new arrivals. In ancient Rome pantomimic actors used to perform in such generally intelligible style, that during the Numidian wars and on other embarrassing occasions, peculiarly eloquent Pantaloones were sent to treat with races of unexplored speech. Their successors, it is well known, flourish to this day in many parts of Italy, and more especially at Naples, whose lower orders are adepts in the art. Analogous examples might be quoted from every part of the East.

To revert to Egyptian equivocal words, the inherent necessities of the case demanded the running pantomimic commentary which the peculiarities of hieroglyphic orthography prove them to have actually possessed. Nor was this continuous interpretation by arm and leg confined to antithetical terms only in Egyptian; the entire language in its pristine condition required the same unremitting aid. A language abounding in homonyms to a most inordinate extent, must have depended upon explanatory gesture in many other instances, besides those classed as "Countersense." In the author's essay upon the "Origin of Language,"\* some idea of Egyptian homonymy is given by showing one and the same word to have signified dance, demand, depart, heart, calf, water, left hand, and figure. Another word meant bread, jug, stick, bushel, part of a ship, and hippopotamus; and many other confusing specimens of the kind might be quoted.† Obviously, there was a time when the signal made by hand and foot, by eye and tongue, by neck and head, was at least as important in effecting intercourse as the articulate word of mouth.

*Au reste*, when all has been said that may be said to prove the

\* "Linguistic Essays," London. 1880.

† For the difference between Countersense and Homonymy the reader is referred to the author's "Gegensinn," p. 7.

logical necessity as well as the actual existence of primitive gesticulation, it should be remembered that man's object in creating language was not so much to render himself intelligible to his neighbours, as to learn to think by himself. If this primary end could not be attained except by means of contrasting primary notions, antithetical meanings were unavoidable and antithetical words had to be taken into the bargain, and dealt with by the struggling inventors as best they could. If the mode of expression selected was somewhat laborious and circumstantial, we must make allowance for childhood and its inherent defects. The conversations we have been analyzing occurred 5,000 years ago. So we could not expect them to go off quite as glibly as what we have to communicate to each other in these more modern and vocal days, when talk has long become a highly prized and most insatiably relished luxury.

Of equal importance with their rise, is the original extent and subsequent gradual disappearance of antithetical terms. In Egyptian (as well as in other languages, of which more anon), most of the ideas retaining visible traces of countersense\* arise from the observation of the most ordinary natural phenomena, which in all languages are known to have produced first impressions and primary roots. Logically indispensable in the formation of these radical concepts, countersense is thus historically proved to have been actually restricted to them. If, in the infancy of the human mind notions could not be formed except by deliberate comparison, the practised intellect, directly a supply of primary notions had been attained, allowed others, and more especially derivative ones, to be framed independently and without any conscious antithesis.

The disappearance of Countersense likewise admits of being lexicographically traced. For this end revert to our old examples. *Ken*, in ancient Egyptian "strong-weak," in the later period of the language gets separated into *tshne*, "strong," and *tshnau*, "weak," *Tem*, in hieroglyphic times known as "include-exclude," in the Coptic age is

\* The principal are these :—

to be-not to be	collect-disperse	nice-ugly
everybody-nobody	whole-smash	empty-full
one-noone	hole-close	for-against
with-without	show-hide	high-low
to have not to have	order-obey	up-down
give-take	end-begin	over-under
hold-let	slow-quick	hill-dale
go-come	great-small	without-within
go-stand	strong-weak	idle-industrious
stir-rest	straight-crooked	dark-pale
fly-hover	good-bad	pure-impure
speak-hear	much-little	sacred-cursed
cry-silent	wide-narrow	bless-curse
loud-still	far-near	free-slave
sever-join	from-to	master-servant
bring-send	bare-clothed	worthy-unworthy
cover-uncover	dry-wet	becoming-unbecoming
seize-reject		



differentiated into *shtam*, "include," and the compound *shtamro*, "exclude." *Sneh, senh*, meaning "sever-join" in the olden days, in the more modern era is replaced respectively by *senh*, "to join," and *neh* (the causative *s* being dropped), "to sever." *Tua*, originally "curse-adore," eventually becomes *taio*, in the sense of "adore," being softened into *djeua* in the meaning of "curse." In the light of these instructive modifications other variants are legitimately referred to common antithetical roots, though these may not actually be preserved. Meeting, for instance, *keh*, "violent," by the side of *kah*, "slow;" *mu*, "water," by the side of *mue*, "fire;" *toh*, "to run," by the side of *taho*, "to rest;" *hir*, "uppermost," by the side of *xer*, "undermost," we are, after what has been shown, entitled to consider them as pairs pointing to a common antithetical centre, originally one in sound and sense, but differentiated in later times.

In this historical process of differentiation the moving logical force is plainly seen at work. Though the idea of "weak" could not have been acquired except by frequent comparison with the idea of "strong," yet, in its progress to independent thought, the human intellect by degrees attained a stage when that comparison was no longer needed. After "weakness," *i.e.*, "little strength," had been sufficiently grasped by confrontation with and separation from "strength," *i.e.*, "greater strength," the notion eventually grew to be distinct enough to be able to dispense with the contrast. Naturally, the same maturing process simultaneously extended to the idea of "strength." In consequence of this mental bisection, the antithetical term embracing the mother notion in its original undivided entirety had to be dropped, and replaced by two derivative terms, each embodying only one aspect of the concept and expressing it by means of a special phonetic variant. With the bifurcation of ideas the duplication of words went hand in hand. The farther this analytical process extended, the more simple, the more clearly intelligible, did the roots and their immediate derivatives, the new bisected radicals, become.

Primary, and, in consequence, antithetical roots, in all idioms, however, comprise but a very small portion of the dictionary. In all languages of the world the immense majority of words are vocables derived from primary roots at a comparatively recent period. Many of these derivatives give a metaphorical turn to the original sensuous meanings. Another, and in many cases even more copious, ingredient of the lexicon is contributed by compounds. When it is considered that the preserved primary roots of the most highly cultivated idioms are estimated at a few hundreds only, the restriction of countersense, already noticed as a linguistic fact and recognized as a logical necessity, is confirmed by an independent observation.

Despite the gradual extinction of antithetical terms it may not be

uninteresting to realize the continuance to this day of the process by which they were generated. Even now we call large only what is larger than certain other things, mentally compared with the measured object. We designate as bright only what we perceive to be free from darkness. We describe as going what we see does not stand. The comparison nowadays, it is true, is made more or less unconsciously; but it is made, or the judgment could not be formed. Of course, after a practice of several thousand years the mental operation involved in naming ordinary things and incidents is too volubly accomplished to require much reflection, or any very deliberate gauging. The ready-made words, moreover, supplied by a developed language, and their habitual and fixed application, in the same measure in which they furnish cut and dry thoughts, interfere with independent thinking. Now that "large" and "small" have long been located in distinct adjectives, and traditionally attributed to shoals of suitable nouns, no effort is required to adopt and personally repeat the view taken by a hundred preceding generations.

In the case of the most copious class of vocables a special difficulty obstructs conscious comparison in these latter days. Very many nouns, being derived from roots no longer preserved, are not traceable, except by the linguist, to their original signification. Pronouncing the word "sun," for instance, Englishmen are unable to contrast it with darkness because they do not know it to be deduced from a root—lost in their language—meaning light. Again, when saying "Messer" (knife), a German is not easily led to contrast it with "dull," not knowing that it takes its origin in a radical, not indeed lost, but materially altered in his vernacular, purporting to "cut." In other instances, nouns have assumed metaphorical meanings of a spiritual type, too deeply tinged with feeling and thought to call up the image of the estranged material opposite.

Though mainly limiting our remarks to the Egyptian language, whose antiquity allows the antithetical process to be watched from step to step, it is important to state that there is no lack of analogous vestiges in the other idioms of the Caucasian race. In Arabic, Abu Bekr Ibn al Anbari, a native grammarian, in his "*Kitab al Addad*," has collected many hundreds of the most striking examples, actually heard and uttered in the most flourishing period of his people's history. Most of these do not, indeed, occur in the literary language of the country, but are dialectic terms, used in one signification by one tribe, and in the opposite by another. But this distribution over various localities is in perfect harmony with the nature of the entire transaction. If Arabic is a united tongue, the provincial occurrence of countersense shows either that the one original meaning admitted of being reversed (which could not have occurred except on the assumption of a counter-



sense principle), or else that the meanings were originally antithetical, and were separately taken over by separate sections of the race (which is in accord with the history of the process in a neighbouring and related land, where it can be absolutely traced).

Of the latter species of diversification our own Indo-European tongues afford not a few examples. Without entering upon this intricate part of the subject, I shall be content to cite some striking instances, preserved in the same idiom, or in intimately connected idioms, of our own own family of speech.\* If so many examples with hardly any phonetic change are still extant, the numbers traced on taking phonetic variations into account may be easily imagined. The extent of phonetic variation at the early period, when countersense arose, is, however, still a moot point.

Accordingly Europeans, too, are seen to have been labouring under countersense in the infancy of the world. What a contrast, at once humbling and encouraging, between the bewildered aboriginal, unable to grasp the conception of weakness without remembering the existence of strength, and William Shakespeare, his lineal descendant, the tranquil monarch of language and thought! What a gulf between the confused jabber that had to be eked out by gesture, and, indeed, was half performed by hand, foot and neck, and the even flow of refined synonyms gently falling from the lips of Franklin and Burke, of Tennyson, Pope or Henry Clay! From how low a station has man risen so high!

CARL ABEL.

\* Latin: *sacer*, sacred and accursed; *altus*, high and low; *cedere*, to go and to come; *mutus*, dumb, *mutire*, to mutter; *clamare*, to bawl, *clam*, silently, stealthily; *pullus*, pure and blackish. Latin and Greek: *herus*, master, *χέρης*, subject; *cera*, wax, *κερπεύ*, sunder; *rectus*, straight, *ποιός*, crooked; *λακίζω*, to tear to pieces; *laqueus*, rope. Greek: *ἐρχεσθαι*, to go and to come; *δέμειν*, to give and to take; *δέγω*, to demand and to tender; *πηγνύω*, to pierce and to fasten; *σχολή*, leisure and industry; *ἐλαχυσ*, short; Gothic: *laggs*, long. Russian: *blagi*, good and bad; *khoroashi*, good, *girsh*, bad; *chudi*, poor, *chudoba*, poverty, *chudoba*, wealth; *slovo*, word and secret; *dobrishtshe*, good and evil; *pruzd-nyl*, idle, *u-praz-nyatsya*, to work; *prigoditi*, to benefit, *prigodsiti*, to injure; *skorbiti*, to strengthen, *skorbeti*, to be weak; *glas*, eye, *glass*, voice; *malo*, little, *mala*, much. Slovenian: *bez*, without, *bez-ati*, to join, connect. Slovenian: *tem-en*, deep; Czechian: *tem-e*, uppermost point. Slovenian: *sklep-ec*, knife, *sklep-ati*, to tie, connect. Slovenian: *potek*, gap, *o-posh-nik*, tie. Polish: *po*, over, Lithuanian: *po*, under. Russian: *stup-ati* to proceed; English: to stop, to stoop. Slovenian: *rum-jani*, red, yellow. Polish: *przy-rum-ienic*, to obscure. German: *kleben*, to affix, *klieben*, to cleave; *dünn*, slight, *dun*, thick; *boden*, the top and the bottom; *wider*, there and back; *end*, end and beginning; *sinn*, what perceives and what is perceived; *mitohne* (with-without) for *ohne*, without, East Prussian. Old Germanic: *bīnan*, to must and to dare; *motjan*, to must and to dare; *geta*, to give and to take; *risan*, to rise and to sink; *lāchan*, to lock, *liechen*, to open; *velja*, to give and to take; *zogen*, to hurry and to tarry; *laggs*, long, *liggs*, short. Anglo-Saxon: *ametig*, idle; Old German: *emazic*, industrious. Anglo-Saxon: *blac*, black and white. Anglo-Saxon: *drig*, dry. Gothic: *dreykan*, to drink. Old Northern: *blakki*, splendour; English: black. German: *rūsten*, to stir; English: to roost. English: bid, offer and demand; cleave, to sever and to stick; let, to let and to hinder; boot, benefit and injury; down, (below), the down (elevation); with, conjointly and away from; yet, still and already, &c.

## UPPER EGYPT UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

A NATIVE of one of the towns of Upper Egypt was describing a few weeks ago to an approving audience the recent sins and sufferings of his countrymen. "During the last five years," he said, "Allah has punished us with five plagues. First of all, there was the plague of Ismail, then the plague of 'Arâbi, after that came the cholera, and then the False Prophet in the Soudân." "And what is the fifth plague?" asked the European who was sitting beside him. "The English," was the reply.

It is difficult for one who has known Egypt in other years, and who has travelled up the Nile again this winter, not to feel how much truth the answer contained. I had not seen the country for two years, but the change for the worse that has passed over it was only too visible to the eyes even of the ordinary tourist. I cannot pretend to have that knowledge of Egypt and its people that comes from long residence among them, nor has the object of my visits been either political or social. I can give only the impressions forced upon the mind of a traveller who is familiar with the Valley of the Nile, and has had the opportunity of mixing with natives belonging to various classes of society. I spent some time this winter in a village at some little distance from the bank of the river, far away from any Europeans, or even from any one who was acquainted with a European language, and where therefore I had abundant means for studying the thoughts and habits of the fellahin. Otherwise my opportunities have not been much greater than those of any other traveller who makes a leisurely tour in Upper Egypt, and consequently the impressions must have been very strong, the evidences of misrule and retrogression very manifest, to have forced themselves as they have done upon me.



It must be remembered that I speak only of Upper Egypt. Of the Delta I know nothing, and in the Fayûm I was under the manipulation of a dragoman, so that free and direct intercourse with the natives was impossible. It is more than probable that my experiences in the Delta would have been very different from what they were in Upper Egypt; not only is the population of the Delta more indebted to the money-lenders than it is farther south, but it is also much less Egyptian in type and origin. From the time of the twelfth dynasty down to the period of Arab conquest it has been largely mixed with Semitic and other foreign elements. In Upper Egypt, on the other hand, the population is still pretty much what it was in the days of the Pharaohs; whether Mohammedan or Christian, —or Arab and Copt, according to the current but misleading terminology—the blood that flows in its veins is alike fairly pure. The character, therefore, of the inhabitant of the Delta is by no means necessarily the character of the inhabitant of Upper Egypt, and to argue from the one to the other would be likely to result in error. It is an error, however, from which I have observed that writers on Egyptian subjects do not always keep themselves free.

It would be a still greater error to assume that the populations of Alexandria and Cairo are representative of the Egyptian population elsewhere. The fair skins seen in the bazaars of Cairo are a sufficient proof of the mixture of races in the Egyptian capital. Cairo, in fact, has from the first been the city of the foreigner; Old Cairo was a Roman garrison and New Cairo an Arab settlement. The lower classes of Cairo do not differ much in character from the lower classes of most other capitals, except that they are quieter and more easily overawed. The upper classes consist mostly of officials, who are either Europeans or wish to be thought so. The writer on Egyptian politics who confines his observations to Cairo, will know as little about the Egyptian people itself as a writer would know about the French nation who never travelled outside Paris. He is dependent for his knowledge of native character and feeling on bureaucratic officials and *gamin*-like donkey-boys.

At Cairo, however, one is really brought into contact with Egyptian opinion and modes of thought, though they are Cairene Egyptian; at Alexandria one is outside Egypt altogether. It cannot be too often repeated that Alexandria is as little representative of Egypt to-day as it was in the age of the Ptolemies and the Cæsars. The first time I visited Egypt I was told that I might safely walk alone at any hour of day or night in any of the towns of Egypt, but that this permission did not include Alexandria. If the population of Cairo resembles that of an ordinary capital-city, the population of Alexandria resembles that of an ordinary sea-port. It has been gathered together from the scum of the Mediterranean

nations, and is still as turbulent as it was two thousand years ago. Riots in Alexandria do not necessarily show that riots are to be apprehended elsewhere.

If, then, the impressions which I am going to record do not always agree with what the newspaper correspondents have been telling us, let it not be inferred that they must on that account be wrong. They relate to Upper Egypt only, not to the Delta, or Cairo, or Alexandria.

First of all, the supposition that English *prestige* and influence have been secured by the victory of Tell-el-Kebîr, natural as we may think it, is not founded on fact. The reports of the destruction of the English fleet and the annihilation of the English army circulated by 'Arâbi are still believed by the mass of the people. They have never been disproved. 'Arâbi, it is imagined, was overthrown by the Khedive's soldiers, and the national hero himself laid down his arms at the command of the Sultan. Had it not been so, it has been argued to me, he would of course have been shot; his enemies, however, were not allowed to put him to death and were obliged to content themselves with sending him into honourable exile. From hence he will return in triumph before long and exterminate all the Christians in Egypt; so at least the Mohammedans believe and the "Copts" fear. The village sheikh at 'Arabat-el-Madfuneh was never weary of asking how far distant was 'Arâbi's place of exile, and how carefully he was guarded there.

The belief that the victory of Tell-el-Kebîr was won by the Khedive's soldiers—a belief which has been only too amply encouraged by our ambiguous language about the Khedive's authority—has been strengthened by the fact that English officers have been sent up the Nile to recruit for the Egyptian army. Care even has not been taken to ensure that they should not be accompanied by native officers who had served under 'Arâbi. On the other hand, while the overthrow of 'Arâbi has been popularly set down to the credit of the Khedive and the Sultan, the disasters in the Soudân have been laid on the shoulders of the English. Was it not Hicks Pasha who was defeated and slain and Baker Pasha who was driven into the sea? And were not Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha Englishmen? If the troops had been led by natives the disasters, it is said, would not have occurred. But the English were afraid to fight themselves, and the commanders they provided could not fight. Consequently, it was the English who were defeated and not the Egyptians. The reasoning may not be very logical, but it falls in with the prepossessions and beliefs of the reasoners.

The *prestige* that once surrounded the European in Upper Egypt and was worth more to us than fifty thousand bayonets, is departed. The burning of Alexandria, the temporary triumph of 'Arâbi, the belief that our fleet and army were destroyed by him, and that the



Khedive and not England was his conqueror; finally, the conviction that the defeats in the Soudân were suffered by the English and not by the Egyptians, have all combined to shatter it, and it will be very long before it can again be restored. Not that the European in Upper Egypt is exposed to any danger so long as things remain quiet in Lower Egypt. The respect due to the hope of *bakshish* is as strong as ever, and the fellah is too cowardly to start any movement in which he is not quite sure of being backed by superior force. Moreover, the educated part of the population, which knows the real state of affairs, is naturally concerned to maintain order; while the "Copts" have discovered that their own safety and interests are intimately bound up with those of the Europeans. But the most unobservant traveller cannot but notice a certain insolence in the bearing of the natives towards him which would have been impossible only two years ago. It is nothing in itself; as a symptom, however, it is dangerous.

But if the Englishman is despised, he is also hated. Defeated by 'Arâbi and in the Soudân, he is nevertheless retained by the Khedive for reasons which are differently explained, and the blame of whatever goes wrong is laid upon his shoulders. Unfortunately, it cannot be denied that for much that has gone wrong we are actually more or less responsible. At the present moment the fellah is suffering from three evils—want of capital, failure of trade, and increase of taxation. Even his buffalo and his donkey have been taxed, and there seems nothing left except his dogs upon which fresh burdens can be laid. He gets little benefit himself out of the sums extorted from him by the Government. The first duty of a Government, that of ensuring order, is not so efficiently performed as it was two years ago. The native bureaucracy with its enormous surplusage of useless subordinates, has no longer the check upon it once exercised by the Khedive. We have taken away the Khedive's authority and put nothing in its place. The power and influence of the few English officials extend but a little way, and as long as they have no character of permanency, will remain exceedingly small. There are many native *employés* in the public service who are honestly anxious to reform abuses, but they are afraid to give the English officials the information they possess. If the English were to leave the country they would, were they to do so, be ruined men. The system of *bakshish* is therefore more flourishing than ever, and the bureaucracy fattens unchecked on the labours of the fellahîn. Places are worth more than they were when there was a chance of inquiries on the part of "Effendina," and the number of applicants for them is undiminished. And yet all the time large salaries have to be paid to the English officials, while the army of occupation is supported out of the pockets of those who had nothing to do with bringing it to the country.

This question of taxation is a serious one, for the Egyptian cares more for his pocket than for his person. The use of the stick will arouse in him no latent hatred; he has been too long accustomed to it. His ideas of justice are not the same as ours, and he sees no more injustice in the physical coercion of the weaker by the stronger than boys at school do, or at all events did. But what he cannot forgive is what he regards as legalized robbery. He loves his piastres with a love which only an essentially agricultural population can feel. Like the French peasant, he is not only hard-working and devoted to the soil, his one delight in life is to hoard. If such a people once get the idea that we are the cause of increased taxation, no amount of reforms, no amount of what we term justice, will reconcile them to our rule.

Increased taxation, however, is not the only evil from which the Egyptian is suffering, and which, with great show of reason, he ascribes to the presence of the English. Trade is dead, and he can find no market for his produce. The English Government still continues to talk about a temporary occupation of Egypt, and proposes to evacuate the country as soon as what it conceives to be its work there has been accomplished. The consequence is that no one who has capital to lose can venture to put it into a country the future Government of which is a matter of uncertainty. Added to this, the trade with the Soudân is at an end, while the grain crops have largely failed during the present season. It is little wonder therefore that great distress prevails among the better class of fellahin, who are too proud to let their sufferings be known. But as they sit outside their huts they mutter curses upon the English who have brought misery upon them, and wonder when it will end. Of course, at places like Luxor the people have been further impoverished from another cause, the absence of tourists. This is a cause which is likely to be permanent as long as the Mahdi remains in the background.

These, then, are the results so far of the English occupation of Egypt. The fellah has to pay for an army of occupation as well as for a dual Government which is less efficient than that which existed two years ago; at the same time, he is being ruined by the stagnation of trade occasioned by the refusal of the English Cabinet to undertake the full responsibility of governing Egypt. The misfortunes which have befallen him are ascribed to the English, and a store of sullen hatred is accumulating in his mind towards the people who have brought them on him. This is a people, too, whom he no longer fears and respects, since he believes them to have been beaten by his own champion 'Arâbi.

The situation is further complicated by two other facts, neither of which seem to be fully appreciated in England. One of these is the



fanatical spirit aroused by 'Arâbi among the Mohammedan portion of the population; the other is the danger which menaces Egypt from the Soudân. I had always supposed that the modern Egyptian was free from the fanaticism which distinguishes the Moor; but I have been forced to change my opinion. At the present moment the Mohammedans and Christians of Upper Egypt, where the Christians are very numerous, are watching each other like cat and dog. Rightly or wrongly, the "Copts" believe that a general massacre of them had been arranged for the very day that followed the entry of the English troops into Cairo. They still believe that if the English were to withdraw, or the Mahdi to appear, it would be a signal for their destruction. This sudden outburst of fanatical feeling is most remarkable, and only shows how difficult it is for the foreigner to discover the inner secrets of the native character or to protect himself from surprises. Here are people who have been living together as brethren for centuries, bearing the same burdens, leading the same lives, and following the same customs, and who yet suddenly develop a deadly hostility one to the other. The "Copts" like us as little as the Mohammedans do, and for the same reasons; but whereas the Mohammedans are looking forward to the day when we shall be driven out of the country, the "Copts," out of fear of their Mohammedan neighbours, pray that we shall remain there. At the same time, as an intelligent Copt explained to me, their position is a very difficult one. If we declared that we would stay in Egypt, their course would be clear, and they would loyally support and aid us in our efforts to govern the country and reform its abuses. But so long as we profess to be there only temporarily it is impossible for them to do so, or to give any occasion to the Mohammedans to aver that they are in league with the foreign invader. Hence the position of a large and important section of the community is an extremely uncomfortable one. If the English leave the country they believe they will at once be massacred; on the other hand, the doubt whether we shall remain prevents them from assisting us in the task of restoring order. When it is remembered that most of the subordinate official posts are filled by "Copts," and that the secrets of the bureaucratic machine are practically in their hands, it may be imagined how valuable their assistance would be. The fact that the "Copts" are so largely identified with the Government has no doubt something to do with the ill-will borne towards them by the Mohammedan fellahîn, and it cannot be denied that the conduct of individual "Copts" in their anxiety to become rich not unfrequently justifies the hostility of their poorer and weaker neighbours.

Besides having to reckon with the latent fanaticism of the Mohammedan portion of the Egyptian population itself, we have further to reckon with an unknown quantity in the shape of the so-



called Mahdi. The Soudân has always been as dangerous a neighbour to Egypt as the French in Algeria found Tunisia, and from time to time, when the tribes in the south have been united under a strong and energetic leader, Egypt has been overrun and conquered by them. The Egyptian fellah has always been deficient in fighting qualities, and since the days of the Shepherd kings has been at the mercy of every foreign invader who was tempted by the wealth and fertile fields of the Egyptian valley. Unfortunately, it is as difficult to-day as it was in the age of the Pharaohs to watch the progress of the movement in the south, and to know exactly what is happening there. The reports transmitted by the telegraph are usually fabrications, many of which emanate from the bazaars of Khartûm. That the Mahdi has emissaries in Upper Egypt is, however, certain; I myself came across one of them this winter in the district of Salamîyeh.

The movement of which the Mahdi is the real or nominal head has a threefold origin. It is due partly to the misgovernment and extortions of the Egyptian officials who have been sent to administer the Soudân, partly to the well-meant attempts of Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon to suppress the slave-trade, partly to a genuinely religious uprising. It is therefore directed against the Egyptian Government, against the English, with whom the Egyptian Government is now identified, and against the Christians. It appeals accordingly to the sympathy of the Mohammedan fellah of Upper Egypt on a twofold ground, and it is consequently not surprising that the fellah in his secret heart wishes it success. It matters little to him whether or not Mohammed Ahmed of Dongola has the orthodox signs of the long-expected Mahdi or "Director;" if he is successful, that is proof sufficient that he is really the true prophet. I found the belief universal that he was indeed the Mahdi, and that the cannon-balls and bullets fired at him fell harmlessly at his side, or were taken up in his hands and thrown back upon the foe. Of course the "Copts" refuse to admit his pretensions, while the Mohammedans of the official class, who have everything to lose, are equally convinced that the man who has driven them from the Soudân cannot be an authority in matters of faith. Were the Mahdi's soldiers to appear in Upper Egypt, however, their convictions would probably be shaken, more especially as the invaders would come as champions of the Moslem creed, and as opponents of the English, who have tried to rob them of their slaves.

But it is not likely that the Mahdi's first appearance in Egypt would be in Upper Egypt at all. Fortifications have been thrown up at Wadi Hefa and Assuan, and troops have been sent to the First Cataract, in oblivion of the fact that the ordinary road used by the natives in journeying from the Soudân to Egypt does not follow



the winding banks of the Nile or the terrible march through the desert south of Korosko, but runs through the oases on the western side of Egypt, striking the Nile at Siût. Egypt on this side presents a long and vulnerable frontier, which it would be next to impossible to defend, and the line of march would offer no obstacle to the hordes whose wants are few and who would be strengthened by the prospect of booty or the certainty of going to Paradise if they were to die by the way.

But an immediate invasion of Egypt is not to be feared. It is the Mahdi's interest to play a waiting game, and events have proved that he is fully aware of the fact. Upper Egypt is not yet prepared to welcome him; the longer he remains in mysterious seclusion the more his reputation will grow, while the measure of suffering and of discontent with English misrule is not yet full. Perhaps General Gordon may succeed in arresting his northward march altogether, but the past history both of Egypt and of religious upheavals in the Mohammedan world is not encouraging. In any case as long as he lives and preserves his authority in the Soudân he will be a standing danger to the security of Egypt. It is impossible for us to attack him in his stronghold, but unfortunately it is a stronghold from which he may emerge at any time and strike a blow when it is least expected. If Egypt were prosperous and contented the danger would be minimized. But this, as I have tried to show, is far from being the case. Every day the discontent is intensifying and being concentrated on the English. For whatever goes wrong the English, and the English alone, are held to blame. And the Egyptian fellah has a good memory; he is grateful for acts of kindness, but equally unforgiving when he considers himself wronged. The wrong is brooded over until it becomes a passion and the favourable moment for revenge arrives.

Mr. Gladstone has recently said that "order is restored in Egypt, regular industry is proceeding on a regular footing." Regular industry, if by that is meant agricultural industry, has never ceased to be carried on, but as I have pointed out it is not proceeding on its "regular footing," and great distress accordingly prevails at present in Upper Egypt. Order is restored indeed, for the revolution has been suppressed and Alexandria is quiet. But as long as it is necessary to retain the army of occupation it can hardly be said that the machinery of government is working normally. The one thing that is lacking in Egypt at present is a feeling of security, and until this is restored it is hopeless to expect any real improvement in the condition of affairs. If we would only admit the logic of facts and cease to talk about evacuating the country, confidence would return and trade revive. Our officials would no longer be thwarted by the passive resistance of a great bureaucratic body,

and would instead be aided by many members of the bureaucratic class itself. No educated man in Egypt believes that we can leave it, and yet as things are no one dares to act upon this belief. Meanwhile the fellahin are convinced that we are obnoxious intruders whom the Khedive has called to his temporary assistance, and to whom all the present evils of the country are due. The hatred which is in consequence being nursed against us would be dangerous enough even if there were no Mahdi in the background. And this hatred is unrestrained, in Upper Egypt at least, by the wholesome awe which results from the display of force. At any moment therefore a spark may fall which would set the whole combustible material on fire. Because things are quiet at present, let us not be deluded into the supposition that they will always remain so. Those who are best acquainted with Egypt have no such delusion, and hence the general feeling of insecurity that prevails there. As long as it exists we cannot look for a return of prosperity to the country. The rule, or rather want of rule, of England will prove a worse evil to it than the tyranny of the Turks. If we cannot, or will not, face the responsibilities of our position, better to follow the counsels of Mr. Labouchere, and leave the task of providing Egypt with a Government to the power which in Algeria and Tunis has shown how well she understands the duties imposed by conquest. France would be only too glad to do what England has left undone.

A. H. SAYCE.



THE BALLAD OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN,  
1883.

PART I.

THE still white coast at Midsummer,  
Beside the still white sea,  
Lay low and smooth and shining  
In this year eighty-three;  
The sun was in the very North,  
Strange to see.

The walrus ivory lay in heaps  
Half-buried in the shore,  
The slow stream slid o'er unknown beds  
Of golden ore,  
Washings of amber to the beach  
Light waves bore.

Sprays of white, like foam-flowers,  
Betwixt the skies and seas,  
Swayed and poised the sea-gulls  
In twos and threes,  
Clustered like the stars men call  
Pleiades.

The white marsh-flowers, the white marsh-grass  
Shimmered amid the grey  
Of the marsh-water—mirrored  
Over and under, they  
Stood stiff and tall and slender,  
All one way.

The upper spake to the lower,  
"Are ye, or do ye seem?"  
Out of the dim marsh-water  
Glided as in a dream  
The still swans down a distance  
Of moonbeam.

The willow-warbler dropped from the spray  
Sweet notes like a soft spring shower,  
There was a twitter of building birds  
In the blackthorn bower,  
All broken from bare to gossamer  
In an hour.

A garden white lay all the land  
In wreaths of summer snow,  
The heart of the year upspringing  
Swift and aglow,  
In pale flame and slender stalk,  
Smooth and low.

The white heath and white harebell  
Let their chimes rise and fall,  
The delicate sheets of wood-sorrel  
Unfolded all,  
For a bed of bridal—  
Or a pall?

Powdered with pearl, auriculas,  
And beds of snowdrop sheen,  
Frostwork of saxifrage, and fair balls  
Of winter green:  
There was no room for foot to pass  
In between.

One only pink, the fragrant bloom  
Of all blooms boreal,\*  
Every face of every flower  
With looks funereal  
Bent to earth, and faintly  
Flowering all.

\* *Linnæa borealis.*



Down in the closely crowded camp  
Of the fresh snowdrops lay,  
Fever and famine-stricken,  
None his name to say,  
Sick to death, a traveller  
Cast away.

Brother might be of Balder  
The beautiful, the bold,  
By Northern stature and by limbs'  
Heroic mould,  
And the uncurled faint hair  
Of pale gold.

Faintly the words were uttered,  
Low, betwixt moan and moan :  
" Here in the wilderness,  
Lost and alone,  
I die, and far away,  
Hast thou known ?

Fame, and story of wonder,  
Wind of rumour had blown  
My name to thine, my feet  
Up to thy throne :  
What has the world been since ?—  
Thee alone.

I passed and bowed before thy face,  
And once thy eyes met mine ;  
Once I have kissed thy hand—  
Hast thou no sign ?  
Here with my last sad breath,  
I am thine."

The white hares nibbled fearlessly  
Among the tender green ;  
The silver foxes stayed and watched,  
Quick-eyed and keen ;  
The little ermine soft of foot  
Stole between.

But the white world changed and quickened  
To a red world, the same ;  
For with splendour as of sunset  
And sunrise flame,  
From the highest heaven to the lowest,  
Midnight came.

The pulsing colours of the sky  
Deepened and purified,  
All glorious chords of gold and red  
Struck out and died, .  
Stilled in one heavenly harmony  
Spread out wide ;

In one ethereal crimson glow,  
As if the Rose of Heaven  
Had blossomed for one perfect hour,  
Midsummer Even,  
As ever in the mystic sphere  
Of stars seven.

An opening blush of purest pink,  
That swiftly streams and grows,  
As shoreward all the liquid waste  
Enkindled flows,  
Every ripple of all the sea,  
Rose on rose.

—Through the heavens of midnight  
Came a bitter cry,  
Flesh and spirit breaking,  
Mortal agony ;  
Died away unanswered  
Through the sky.—

But all the dim blue South was filled  
With the auroral flame,  
Far out into the southward land  
Without a name,  
That dreamed away into the dark,—  
When one came,



Suddenly came stepping,  
Where the roseate rift  
Of the boreal blossoms  
Crossed the snowy drift  
In a trailing pathway,  
Straight and swift.

Her robes were full and silken,  
Her feet were silken-shod,  
In sweeping stately silence,  
Serene she trod  
The starry carpets strewing  
The soft sod.

The eyes of the veronica  
Looked out and far away,  
A golden wreath around her head  
Of light curls lay,  
And rippled back a shining shower,  
In bright array.

About her neck the diamonds flashed  
In rivers of blue fire ;  
But whiter her soft shoulders than  
Her white attire,  
And tenderer her tender arms  
Than heart's desire.

She fronted full the crimson flood  
Of all the Northern space,  
And all the hue of all the sky  
Was in her face ;  
The Rose of all the World has come  
To this place.

A vision of white that glowed to red  
With the fire at heaven, at heart,—  
Nor paused nor turned,—but straight to him  
Who lay apart,  
On she came, and knelt by him,—  
Here thou art !

At the first hour after midnight,  
As in the eider's nest,  
The weary head sank soft into  
A heavenly rest;  
Is it a bed of roses,—  
Or her breast?

At the second hour the cold limbs  
Felt comfort unaware;  
Flickering, a golden glow  
Warmed all the air:  
Is it the hearth-flame lighted,—  
Or her hair?

At the third hour, round the faint heart  
Failing in chill alarms,  
Is it some silken coverlet  
Still wraps and warms  
In close and closer clasping?—  
Or her arms?

At the fourth hour, to the wan lips  
There came a draught divine:  
Some last reviving cup poured out  
Of hallowed wine,—  
Or is it breath of hers  
Mixed with thine?

At the fifth hour all was dimness  
Alike to him and her;  
One low and passionate murmur  
Still moved the air;  
Is it the voice of angels,—  
Or her prayer?

At the sixth hour there stirred only  
The soft wave on the beach;  
Two were lying stilly,  
Past sound or speech,  
Fair and carven faces,  
Each by each.



PART II.

The Summer Palace stood by night  
Lit up in dazzling sheen ;  
The doors unfolded, and the pomp  
Stirred in between ;  
—To a burst of royal music  
Came the Queen.

Her eyes like stars of speedwell  
Shone down the great saloon ;  
She came, and all before her  
Knew it was June ;  
The passing of her presence  
Was too soon.

The little curls around her head  
Were all her crown of gold,  
Her delicate arms drooped downward  
In slender mould,  
As white-veined leaves of lilies  
Curve and fold.

All in white,—not ivory  
For young bloom past away,—  
Blossom-white, rose-white,  
White of the May ;  
'Twixt white dress and white neck,  
Who could say ?

She moved to measure of music,  
As a swan sails the stream ;  
Where her looks fell was summer,  
When she smiled was a dream ;  
All faces bowing towards her  
Sunflowers seem.

O the rose upon her silent mouth,  
The perfect rose that lies !  
O the roses red, the roses deep,  
Within her cheeks that rise !  
O the rose of rapture of her face  
To our eyes !

The tall fair princes smile and sigh  
For grace of one sweet glance,  
The glittering dancers fill the floor,  
The Queen leads the dance ;  
The dial-hands to midnight  
Still advance.

Dance down to the melting music !  
Hark to the viols' strain !  
Their notes are piercing, piercing,  
Again, again ;  
The pulse of the air is beating  
Throbs of pain.

Does the dancing languish slower ?  
O the soft flutes wail and sigh ;  
In silver falling and calling,  
They seek reply ;  
And the heart is sinking, sinking,  
Why, ah why ?

O the high harp-strings resounding !  
So long, so clear they are :  
A cry is ringing in heaven  
From star to star,  
Rising sharper and fainter  
From afar.

The Queen has danced from end to end ;  
O the caudles burn so bright !  
But her blue eyes look far away  
Into the night ;  
And the roses on her cheeks and lips  
Have grown white.

O why is the Queen so pale to-night ?  
And why does silence fall,  
As one by one they turn to her,  
Upon them all ?  
Whence comes that cold wind shivering  
Down the hall ?



The hour draws close to midnight,  
The banquet board is spread ;  
The lamps are lit, the guests are set,  
The Queen at the head :  
For the feasting at kings' tables  
Grace be said !

The shaded light of rubies  
Streams from every part  
Down the golden supper ;—  
Who is sick at heart ?  
O hush ! for the Queen is listening,  
Lips apart.

She sits with wide and open eyes,  
The wine-cup in her hand ;  
And all the guests are ill at ease,  
Nor understand ;  
Is it not some enchanted  
Strange far land ?

The twelve long strokes of midnight  
With clash and clang affright ;  
The rose-glow seems to darken  
Before their sight ;  
But the Queen has swooned back heavily,  
Cold and white.

They lifted her, a burden  
Like broken lily-flowers ;  
They laid her on her own bed,  
Within her bowers ;  
They mourned, and they tended her,  
For six hours.

At the first hour after midnight,  
The Queen nor spoke nor stirred ;  
At the second, by her bedside,  
No breath they heard ;  
They said, " Is she living ?"  
At the third.

At the fourth hour they watched sadly  
 At her feet and her head ;  
 At the fifth, standing idle,  
 No word they said ;  
 At the sixth, " Bring candles  
 For one dead."

Swept low down across the East,  
 Through the morning grey,  
 A flock of white clouds swiftly,  
 Dim, far away ;  
 Like a flight of white wings :—  
 What were they ?

Through the palace suddenly,  
 Through every floor,  
 Wailed a wind and whistled,  
 Shook every door,  
 Rattled through the windows,  
 Then passed o'er.

And as they stood with tapers tall  
 Around the Queen, there came  
 A soft and far-off fluttering,  
 Over her frame,  
 And from between her sleeping lips,  
 One faint flame.

They take her hand, they call on her,  
 She answers them likewise ;  
 She sits upright, she looks around,  
 With her blue eyes,  
 And a smile as of thy secrets,  
 Paradise !

\* \* \* \* \*

Winter is here, and has not brought  
 The traveller of renown ;  
 Why has he not come back again  
 To court and town ?  
 Rumours and questionings pass  
 Up and down.



Is it only the wolves of the Northland  
Know where his bones lie white ?  
Only the swans could tell us,  
In southward flight ?  
Is it only the wind could whisper  
To the night ?

The Queen sits still and smiling,  
She hears the talk prevail,  
She speaks no word, she gives no glance,  
She tells no tale ;  
In the golden shadow always  
She is pale.

HARRIET ELEANOR HAMILTON KING.

## THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.

THERE are two views respecting British possessions between which statesmen will have soon to choose. Imperialism regards all the parts of the motley heritage, the Colonies, India, and the military dependencies alike, as portions of an Empire not less inalienable than Kent, and in its romantic mood it throws over them all the drag-net of some poetic name such as the "Expansion of England" or the "Greater Britain." Anti-imperialism considers the case of each possession or class of possessions separately, declining to be bound to the perpetual retention of anything which is not found expedient to retain. Imperialism taunts Anti-imperialism with want of spirit. Anti-imperialism replies that moderation is gaining ground, though less rapidly, it may be, among the rulers than among the people, as is indicated by that strange survival of Bourbon and Napoleonic ambition, the foreign policy of France : and at the same time that the world has begun to learn that dependencies are not strength, otherwise perhaps Bismarck would be annexing his Tonquin. Furthermore, Anti-imperialism prays Imperialism to note that England, while she is grasping territory at the Antipodes, is in some danger of having a hostile republic cut out of her own side.

To lend moral strength to Imperialism it has been contended that the miscellaneous acquisitions embraced in the Empire are all of them historically parts and parcels of a great design which has been pursued by England through the last three centuries, and which formed the real motive for her policy even in the war of the Succession and that with Napoleon, though everybody supposed at the time and has believed ever since that the balance of power in Europe was the real, as it certainly was the ostensible, object of the contest. It is not pretended, apparently, that distinct proofs



can be found of this in the speeches or despatches of the statesmen and commanders who were engaged, or in the writings of contemporary historians, journalists and pamphleteers. Such unconsciousness is surely incredible. England was the great maritime and commercial country; in war she used her strong arm, which was her navy; she looked out across the Atlantic to the New World; her people were hardy, daring and above all others adapted by their political training for colonization.

This seems the plain account of the matter. New England, the vital germ of the American Colonies, was not a political expansion but a religious secession: the enterprise was thwarted by the Government, while, if the Puritans had been in power, it would never have been conceived. Maryland and Pennsylvania were also religious secessions; other settlements had their origin in gold-seeking. Cromwell conquered Jamaica to deal a blow against Spain, and to open the Spanish waters to English enterprise; but he offered it as a more genial home to the New Englanders, and his Colonial policy, so far as there is any trace of it, appears to have been emancipationist. That he made war on the Dutch to wrest from them Colonial empire is a view not in accordance with the facts. He made peace with the Dutch as soon as he came into power. The Republican Council of State it was that made war on them for their demonstrations of antipathy to regicide and their refusal to listen to overtures of union. The wars of the Restoration against the Dutch Republic can be more identified with the policy of Cromwell than can the Restoration itself. Commercial jealousy may have been at work here as in the Navigation Laws, but commercial jealousy is not Colonial aggrandizement. The chief aim of Chatham was surely to humble France. He did not plan the conquests in India, nor did he launch Wolfe upon Quebec till he had failed in descents upon the French coast.

France afterwards, to revenge herself on England, supported the revolt of the American Colonies. In the apprehension of the actors the transatlantic war was apparently secondary to that on the European scene. No series of events could be less visibly connected with the main policy of the national Government than the foundation of the British Empire in India. The Company was chartered for a mercantile object, while its first acquisitions of territory were almost clandestine and depended on the coincidence of its territorial establishment in India with the dissolution of the Mogul Empire. English character appeared in these achievements, but not the purpose of the English Government, or the aspirations of the English people. The extension of the Empire in India has been almost wholly undesigned. The Government has been always fixing a limit, but has been drawn beyond it by collisions with barbarous

powers, till the collision with the Sikhs brought on the annexation of the Punjab. Most of the West Indian Islands, as well as the Cape and Mauritius, were added to the Empire by the merest accidents of war. Pitt and other War Ministers, unable to cope with the great armies of the enemy on European battlefields, expended their forces in taking the outlying dependencies of France and her vassal allies. Their conquests were supposed of course to have a military and commercial value, but the annexation of sugar islands full of negroes can hardly have been regarded as an expansion of the English nation. The real marks of Napoleon's ambition, we are now told, was Colonial empire in the New World. Yet he sold Louisiana to the United States, while he dreamed first of Empire in the East, and then of making Paris the capital of Europe. Fancy can weave a web of connection over almost any group of historical facts, as well as over the stars of which she made the constellations. But Cardinal Newman's theory of development has at least as substantial a basis as the theory which in this heterogeneous collection of Anglo-Saxon colonies, Oriental provinces, negro sugar islands, and military dependencies sees the result of a systematic, or at least of a continuous effort to create a Greater Britain.

The Indian Empire stands by itself, as Expansionists see, though they cannot help bringing it in to make up bulk and prevent their Greater Britain from being the Less. It is enough of itself to task the governing powers of an Imperial country, even if it were not, as it certainly is, bringing Egypt in its train. The moral title of England to the possession it is needless to discuss. India was conquered in the age of conquest; France, Spain, Portugal, or Holland would have conquered it if she could. Nor does the conqueror in this case trample on nationality, for there is no nation, there is nothing but strata of race deposited by previous conquests, and caste. Aggressions, or suspected aggressions, on caste have been the cause of all the mutinies, not excepting the last, and there has been nothing like a political rebellion. The English are the caste of government, the Moguls who came not from the mountains but from the sea. Of withdrawal, at all events, nobody now thinks. Not only would immense investments and a vast field of action be lost, but the country would be delivered over to a plundering anarchy. In the British provinces there would be left no germ of government or rallying point of order. The cultivated Bengalee with his aspirations and his Ilbert Bill is a child of the conquest, and would become extinct on the morrow of withdrawal. It would not be to the purpose therefore here to attempt the difficult task of striking the balance between the good and the evil of the connection, either as regards the Imperial or the subject people. England has to lay in one scale grandeur, true or false, a field of action for her youth, salaries



and pensions, profitable investments, secure free trade with the two hundred millions, payment of a portion of her army, and the addition of the Sepoys, whatever it may be worth, to her military power. In the other scale she has to lay the perils and responsibilities of distant Empire, diplomatic embarrassments, wars with Russia, increased naval expenditure, and, in addition to these, the sinister influence of empire on freedom, of dealings with barbarism on civilization, of such works as the massacre of the mutineers on the moral character of the British nation. In former days the nabobs in Parliament fearfully avenged the oppressed Hindoo. It was from the first evident that the change of route from the Cape to Suez would entail the occupation of Egypt with a new set of responsibilities and dangers. On the side of the Hindoo the question is not less complex. The subject race may be said, without fear of contradiction, to be governed more for its own good than ever before was the conquered by the conqueror. It is saved from war and Pindarrees. It multiplies apace, and the pressure on the means of subsistence, caused by its increasing numbers, is at least in part the source of sufferings which some Indian reformers have ascribed wholly to taxation. It has railways, encouragement of agriculture, British markets for Indian wheat, a regular police, just judges, security of property, postal communications, aid in local famines, schools for the few who can use them, suppression of Thuggism and Suttee, Christian missions, association in the lower part at least of the work of government. On the other hand, the ruler is an undomicilable alien, divided by a gulf of sentiment, as well as of race and language, from the subject millions; he alights, but he does not settle; he settles less than ever now that communication with his home has become rapid; whatever he accumulates he carries away; nor can he divest himself of the insolence of the conqueror, always greatest in the lowest grades. Taxation is heavy. Wellington said: "India is a fine country; it would be a shame to govern it ill; it will be ruinous to govern it well." The Ryot has to bear the cost of an army of occupation on double pay, a civil service with salaries at exile rate, the drain of pensions and the expense of European administration. The civilization produced among the millions is not that of a nation but that of a flock of sheep, all tended and sheared alike. Native character, energy, thought, art, whatever they may be worth, perish; there will be no other Taj Mahal. It seems that on the whole the people prefer a native dynasty, with its barbarisms and its fits of tyranny, to the British rule with its civilization and beneficence. Native dynasties under British control are restrained from excesses of misrule, but they are guaranteed against revolutions, the rough remedy of the East for insufferable incapacity or oppression. Never was an attempt made on so grand a scale or so much in earnest to wed conquest with beneficence.

The result our grandchildren will know, if the Empire last so long. Two dangers threaten—financial deficit, which entails the fell and foul necessity of the opium trade; and the democratic spirit of the European community, which fancies that it can enjoy British liberties in a military Empire, and among them, the liberty of lording it over the Hindoo. Wisely did the Company discourage European settlement. If you have an Empire, you must have an Emperor; and only a Viceroy with absolute power, though responsible to British opinion, can possibly do justice to the subject race. Of all tyrannies in Hindostan the tyranny of a small British community would be the worst. We see how the white oligarchy have behaved in Jamaica. The more democratic England herself becomes, the more difficult it will be for her to rule the Indian, or any other, Empire. An Indian Empire would soon be the political ruin of the United States. Of abandonment, however, as was said before, nobody thinks, not even those who, caring perhaps more for the character of England and for her liberties than for the increase of her wealth, wish that the Indian Empire had never been. To talk of conferring independence on the self-governed colonies *and* giving up India, is like talking of setting up your adult son in the world *and* putting away your wife.

Fortresses such as Gibraltar and Malta are no more expansions of England than are the guns upon their battlements. In the question between a retention and abandonment of such places, military reasons alone ought to prevail, for the pride is surely senseless which clings to a weak post in war. The retention of Malta offends no nationality, and since the opening of the Suez route it has become more indispensable than ever. The retention of Gibraltar deeply offends Spanish nationality, and has always thrown Spain into the arms of England's enemies, except when Bonaparte's aggression compelled her to accept British aid. It was the sense of this probably that made Chatham and afterwards Shelburne willing to resign so invidious a possession. Cobden was surprised to find that the Spaniards hated their British deliverers more than their French invaders; but they told him that they had got rid of the French while they had not got rid of the British. When the Continent was closed by Napoleon, Gibraltar was useful as a trading post; and afterwards it had a less reputable value as a smuggling station. It serves no such purpose now. It does not command the Strait, though it might do so in the days of sailing, when ships were at the mercy of winds and currents. Surely if Spain were to offer Ceuta in exchange, reason would bid England at least consider the offer. What difference steam and the improvement of artillery have made in the conditions of maritime war and in the tenability of outlying fortresses in case of a war with great naval powers, it is for



military and naval men to say. Some difference they surely must have made.

The West Indies are scarcely more parts of a Greater Britain than the fortresses. To acquire them was natural in days when, besides the vague notions of the strength derived from territorial aggrandizement, the mercantile system still prevailed; but few will now doubt that it would have been more profitable to buy their sugar than to possess them. England incurred the responsibility for slavery and exposed her politics and society to the corrupting influence of West Indian slave-owners who avenged the wrongs of the negro as the nabobs avenged those of the Hindoo. Then she incurred the expense of emancipation, and afterwards the trouble of dealing with the lazy shiftlessness of the emancipated slave, the discontent of the ruined slave-owner and that inevitable conflict between the whites and the blacks which culminated in the Jamaica disturbances and the exploits of Governor Eyre. While slavery existed in the United States and was aggressive, England was bound to defend the freedom which she had given the negro; but nothing threatens negro freedom now. No doubt the best government for the mixed population, and the most likely to hold the balance of justice even between whites and blacks, is that of a British ruler responsible to home opinion. But it is not easy to see what interest England herself has in a connection which would be most onerous and dangerous in case of war. However at present the question of the West Indies sleeps.

That of the Colonies proper does not sleep. Progressive concessions of self-government extending at last to tariffs, and in the case of Canada to something like the negotiation of commercial treaties, have brought the Colonial dependencies to the verge of independence. At this point there is a reaction of sentiment among Imperialists, and while a return to Downing Street government is seen to be out of the question, proposals are put forth for politically reincorporating the Colonies with the mother country under the name of Imperial Federation. This idea has been hovering in the air and perplexing our counsel long enough: it is time that it should present itself in some practical form. Let a plan for a legislative reunion of the Colonies with Great Britain be brought into the British Parliament, and let decisive judgment be passed upon it there. Under the administration of Lord Beaconsfield, though Imperialism ruled the hour, no practical step was taken. It is almost useless in the meantime to ask over again the questions which have so often been asked. What Colonies are to be included in the Federation? South Africa and the West Indies with their mixed populations as well as Australia and Canada? How can the representation be distributed so as to give the Colonies a real voice? What relation is the Federal Parlia-

ment to bear to that of the United Kingdom? A double legislature of course there must be, since Australians could not be allowed to vote on matters purely British or Englishmen on matters purely Australian. But how would Party work under those conditions? How would confusion be avoided if, on a question of peace or war, the party which had the majority in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and held the strings of the British purse, happened to be at variance with the party which led the majority in the Federal Parliament? How would the Federal Cabinet and the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, supposing they differed, adjust the difference? That the Colonies would ever consent to surrender their power of self-taxation, to allow their tariffs to be regulated by an assembly in London, to contribute to Federal armaments and pay for wars in Afghanistan seems hardly credible to one who lives in a colony. Representatives resident in England and under the influence of its society would soon lose the confidence of their constituents in the Colonies. It is equally difficult to believe that England would ever allow her foreign policy to be controlled by Colonial politicians. Even to assemble the Conference for the framing of the Federal constitution would not be easy: by the changes of party in the Colonies delegates would be losing their credentials almost as soon as they had taken their seats. And all this for what object? For material strength or for moral influence? How would any increase of either be obtained? Would any substantial benefit accrue to a motley set of communities scattered over the whole globe and divergent in their characters and circumstances from membership of this vast political aggregation? And if no substantial benefit was felt by the masses in any of the Colonies, how long would the huge frame be held together? By bringing different and often adverse interests face to face, Federation itself evokes local jealousies and centrifugal forces of various kinds which, unless the sense of common interest is too strong for them, will break up the union. We know how difficult it was to maintain union both among the Dutch provinces and in America.

Federationists bewail British ignorance of the Colonies. Englishmen, they say, do not know one Australian Colony from another. Few Englishmen know a Canadian from an American, and I have seen a proclamation of the Privy Council in which Ontario was called "that town." This ignorance does not denote any want of kindly feeling, but it does denote an absence of community of interest which would be fatal to Federation. Nor can it be removed by political machinery, much less, as some enthusiasts seem to suppose, by the magic of a change of name.

Governorships of Colonies, like the monarchy which they represent, are now constitutional pageants, with scarcely a shred of political



power left. Yet there is a real political bond between the mother country and the Colonies, and one which, unlike the nominal authority of the Colonial Office or its delegate, may endure for ever, though, strange to say, most writers on Colonial subjects, perhaps even Colonial Secretaries, are unconscious or very dimly conscious of its existence. That bond is mutual citizenship, which enables the Englishman and the Colonist on landing in each other's countries at once to exercise all political rights and enjoy all political privileges, without any process of naturalization. It would be looking too far into the future to talk of a possible extension of this political fraternity to the old Colonists of England in the United States. But that would be a Greater Britain indeed.

The particular phrase "Greater Britain" however I do not much affect. It seems to me, with the set of ideas and political speculations to which it belongs, to carry with it a fallacy something like the belief that the earth was the centre of the solar system. Standing on his historical island, the British Expansionist sees all the other communities of the race revolving round him, and fancies that they neither have, nor ever will have, any relations but to him. He fondly imagines that it was only owing to some unlucky defect in the old Colonial policy that the United States did not remain for ever in colossal babyhood as an appendage of Great Britain. Perhaps but for some defect in the Colonial policy of the Saxons, England might have remained an appendage of the old country on the Elbe. Surely it is conceivable that these young nations, under other stars, may be destined to live a distinct, perhaps even a greater, life of their own, though they must always cherish their ancestral connection with old England, and will be sure to cherish it the more the greater they grow, because their greatness will reflect enhanced interest and importance on the land from which they spring.

Language, literature, intercourse, history, transmitted habits, institutions and forms of thought, are the agents which propagate whatever of old England it is possible or desirable to propagate over the young English-speaking nations. The Governorships do not propagate English sentiment: they propagate only aristocratic sentiment, and that only in the circle immediately around them, the mass of the people remaining entirely unaffected and democratic to the core. Lord Beaconsfield tried to make one of them the means of propagating monarchical sentiment, but there surely can be little doubt as to the result. Etiquette is an essential part of constitutional monarchy, and at etiquette, when an attempt was made to introduce it, the people first stared with astonishment and then laughed.

In war England would have to defend the Colonies. They have not, nor would their thrifty farmers and mechanics consent to

maintain, a standing army or a navy. The Canadian militia, which has been magnified by loyal orators into a host of four hundred thousand men organized and ready for the field, is really about forty thousand strong. The men are drilled for twelve days in each year at the expense of the State, while some corps, especially in the cities, drill more frequently on their own account. The ten thousand Canadians offered through Lord Dufferin would have been simply recruits, excellent recruits no doubt, to be taken into the pay of England. Being without staff, commissariat or material, a Colonial force would scarcely be ready for the field within the brief time allowed by the swift march of modern war. It is hard to see then how these distant dependencies can be other than sources of military weakness, whatever the native valour of their inhabitants may be. As to prestige, which they are always said to afford, it is a paste-board wall, and the illusion, if it exists, would be dissipated by the first bullet which came that way. The old commercial value of Colonies, as everybody knows, exists no longer. Instead of being restrained, in the interest of the English producer, from "manufacturing a horse-nail," they now lay import duties on English goods to encourage their own manufactures, and England could hardly apply to them the screw of retaliation which, if she wishes it, she can apply to foreign nations. So that the two original reasons for keeping Colonies in a state of dependence are at an end.

So much perhaps is generally admitted. But it seems more difficult to get people to give up the idea that dependencies have some special value as receptacles of emigration. Yet the volume of emigration to the United States is greater than to the Colonial dependencies; and of the emigrants who land in Canada, half, sooner or later, find their way across the line. It is true that, landing in a colony, the emigrant at once enjoys political rights, whereas in a foreign country he requires naturalization; but the object of the poor in emigrating is to find bread, and the political question is of little, if any, importance in their eyes. Nor is the feeling towards the mother country much affected by the presence of her flag. The French in Canada and the German in the United States show as much of it as any Englishman in the Colonies. Nothing could exceed their excitement at the time of the war between France and Germany. Canadian politicians the other day, when the mother country was struggling with rebellion in Ireland, passed a vote of sympathy with the rebels, under the pressure of the Irish vote, just as American politicians would have done. Of her criminal population England is no longer relieved by her Colonies. Nor will she in future be relieved of her pauper population. Canada is at this moment protesting against any more consignments of pauperism from Ireland. The belief that these communities, because they are young,



must welcome an addition to their population, of whatever kind, is natural; but it is a mistake. They are young in years; but they have lived fast. There is already a good deal of destitution in the cities, and many employments, especially those of a lighter and more intellectual kind, are almost as overcrowded as in the Old World. At Toronto an advertisement for a secretary at £120 a year brings seventy-two applications. In Canada those who have money to invest in farms may do well. Otherwise the only demand is for good farm-labourers and domestic servants. I would, in passing, call special attention to this fact.

The Colonies, on the other hand, could trade with the mother country, if they were independent, as well as they can now. As dependencies they can claim the protection of her armaments in war, but it is from their connection with her and her Imperial diplomacy, and from that alone, that their liability to be involved in war arises. Not one of them has enemies of its own. The idea that the United States are disposed to aggress upon Canada cannot survive a year's intercourse with their people. Americans look upon the whole question with singular indifference, and are not at all inclined to precipitate events. A Republic which forcibly annexes must incorporate unwilling citizens, who would at once form a party of disunion. If there is ever any danger in that quarter, the cause will be the anti-continental attitude and policy of Canada, which again have their main source in the influence of English reaction on the Canadian politicians. Territorial rapacity, since the fall of slavery, does not exist in the United States. This has been shown in the renunciation of St. Domingo and in the absence of any tendency to annex Mexico, though she has given frequent provocation and would fall an easy prey.

Nobody who has not lived in a dependency can be fully aware how complete is the want of national spirit, or how great the evils of the want of national spirit are. No pride is felt in the country; its name when uttered as an appeal awakens no enthusiastic response in any breast; in the real attachment of the citizen it ranks below sectional associations of all kinds, the fondness for which in fact springs partly from the lack of the larger sentiment. Nobody is willing to make any great sacrifice for a dependency, or passionately desires to link his name with its glory. Political ambition does not look to it for the highest honours or social ambition for the highest grade. Patriotism, in short, can hardly be said to exist, while Imperialism, supposing it to be a worthy substitute, is beyond the mental range of the great mass of the people. The effect is inevitably felt not only in the tone of public life but in the character of general aspiration. The very productions of a dependency are apt to be rated low by its own people. Laborious attempts have

been made to give Canada a national hymn, but a national hymn can come only from the heart of a nation. The restless craving for the notice and patronage of England, which some Englishmen think so gratifying, arises in truth partly from a lack of English self-reliance and self-respect. Belgium does not crave for notice and patronage, nor does Ecuador. The Imperial Federationists are thoroughly right in saying that to make the Colonies truly British they must be placed on a footing of perfect equality in every respect with the mother country, whether they are right or not in thinking that equality can be attained by any means but independence. If England wishes to feel that she has bestowed on the communities which own her as their mother, not only life but a life as noble and fruitful as her own, she is taking the wrong road to the fulfilment of her wish by keeping the Colonies in a state of dependence.

There is a fancy that the presence of a Governor refines Colonial manners. Manners are a delicate question on which to offer an opinion. Otherwise I should venture to say that the manners of the men upon this continent who have raised themselves by honourable industry and commerce would bear comparison in all essential respects with those of any class or caste in the world, so long as the men are themselves. When made flunkeys they are naturally of all flunkeys the worst, because they can have none of those traditions by which in old Europe servility is softened and refined. Whatever may be the social defects of Colonists, they must find the cure for them in themselves and in their own social system, which is thoroughly and unalterably democratic. Let aristocracy be what it may in its native land, to inoculate Colonial society with it is to inoculate a living body from a corpse.

And so with politics. Democracy no doubt in the Colonies, as in the United States, is crude. But it will have to find in itself the means of correcting its own crudity and of combining with securities for freedom securities for order and for the ascendancy of public reason over interest and passion. In this arduous and perilous task it cannot be helped by any artificial intrusion of conservative institutions from the Old World. What is, or is supposed to be, conservative in England is practically the reverse of conservative in Canada or Australia. The phantom presence of a delegated royalty, instead of restraining the excesses of faction, which are the greatest danger of the democratic community, rather encourages them, or at least paralyzes the moral forces which might combat them, since it creates a false impression of the existence, apart from the factions, of a stable government, invested with supreme authority and able to save the country if violence and corruption should bring it to the verge of ruin. It masks from the people, in short, the peril of the political situation and weakens their self-control. As to the knight-



hoods, which English Imperialists are always proposing to multiply, nothing could be better founded than the protest, which I read the other day, of an Australian against such an attempt to create a mock aristocracy where real aristocracy cannot exist. The titles are and must be conferred by the Colonial Office very blindly, at the instance probably of Colonial Premiers, whose party necessities, rather than their sense of merit, are their guide in the selection; and they are sometimes bestowed on men who are as far as possible from being cynosures of honour. As the Australian says with truth, the people are beginning to learn that they cannot with confidence trust the management of their affairs to men whose strongest tie is not so much to the Colony as to the British aristocracy of which their order is a minor grade. The knowledge of this has combined with the sense of incongruity to lead some Colonial politicians to refuse their titles.

All Governors of course are not alike. One man comes without any personal object, performs with simplicity the duties of his office, speaks, when he has to speak, like a representative of royalty, sets a good example of liberal but unostentatious hospitality, tempers the violence of Colonial politicians a little behind the scenes and abstains from meddling with the destinies of a country in which he is only to sojourn for a few years. Another man comes with the personal object of advertising himself and providing a stepping-stone for his ambition. He corrupts society around him by the profusion of his entertainments, and the people at large by stump speeches full of noxious flattery, squanders public money, gives perhaps by the influence of his rank over the politicians a turn, and of course a reactionary turn, to the course of affairs at some important crisis; then waves a graceful adieu, while his responsibility vanishes with the smoke of the parting salute. If Canada had a chance of becoming a nation independent of the United States, she owes the loss of it, in no small measure, to a Governor-General of the more active kind.

These are general considerations and applicable to all the Colonies alike. But who, in the name of common sense, would regard as identical, and propose to treat on the same footing, the cases of Australia, South Africa and Canada? Australia lies in an ocean by herself, she entangles England in no liabilities or responsibilities beyond the possible necessity of protecting her in a maritime war. The Native question, even in New Zealand, is pretty well at an end, after costing England an immense sum of money and many gallant lives, expended in an inglorious warfare which, had the Colony been independent, would probably have been avoided by forbearance and negotiation. South Africa also lies by itself, and entails only the Native question, which in this case is far more serious, yet would apparently

be settled by the Colonists if they were left to themselves, and if no Colonial Secretary were there to plan, in his aspiring mood, a South African Empire and to press upon the South Africans a counterpart of Canadian confederation, which they find totally unsuited to a group of provinces filled with a motley, and to a large extent uncivilized, population. But Canada, besides naval protection, would entail in case of war the defence of an open military frontier three thousand miles in length, and, what is far more serious, she involves England in the affairs of another hemisphere, and embroils her, ever and anon, with the United States. Canada, on the other hand, is cut off from the commercial life of the continent of which she is economically as well as geographically and ethnologically a part, with consequences to her prosperity which no energy on the part of her inhabitants can countervail. She is distinguished by another feature from the Colonies in Australia. Though partly British, she was originally and still is partly French. There could not be a greater proof of the unfamiliarity of Englishmen with the concerns of their transatlantic "Kent" than the serene assurance with which even writers on the special subject assume, that, thanks to the action of a wise policy, New France has ceased to be at all an obstacle to the consolidation of a British North America. It is possible that had the Imperial power been out of the way, and had the political and social forces of this continent been left to operate without restraint, New France might long ago have been assimilated and absorbed. But as it is, the fruits of Wolfe's victory have been lost. Instead of being absorbed, New France is absorbing. Her population, which multiplies almost as rapidly as the Irish, and in some measure from the same causes, instead of receding is advancing beyond its boundaries, and either thrusting out or swallowing up such British elements as had found place within its confines. The British population of the city of Quebec is reduced to less than seven thousand, and we are told that even the eastern townships are becoming more French. At the same time the feeling of French nationality is apparently growing stronger than ever, the connection with Old France is more than ever cultivated, and Old France responds so warmly as to suggest political aspirations on her part. Gallicanism, the quiet and submissive religion of the old *régime*, which with other characteristics of the France before the Revolution had survived in this outlying remnant, has given way to the more stirring spirit of Ultramontanism embodied in the Jesuit, who after a mortal struggle with the Gallican Sulpicians has gained the ascendancy in the Province. In case of war between England and France the heart of New France would be on the side of her mother country, and little reliance could be placed on the militia of Quebec.

It is assumed that Canadian confederation is a triumphant success ;



and British statesmen, proud of this offspring of their conservative genius, wish to press imitations of it on Australia and South Africa. A triumphant success it is for the politicians, who are naturally attached as a class to a system which, with its multiplicity of Governorships, Cabinets and Parliaments, central and provincial, secures to them an almost unrivalled number of places, administrative and legislative, with salaries attached, besides affording them a most exciting game. But few Canadians who are not politicians would speak with the same confidence. The maritime provinces are separated from British Canada not only by the wilderness through which the Inter-colonial Railway runs, its trains hardly taking up a passenger or a bale of freight on the road, but by New France, which cuts off the flow of British sentiment almost as completely as it could be cut off by any barrier of Nature. An inhabitant of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick still speaks of Canada as a different country, to which he belongs only in an official sense. New France forms almost a nationality apart, acting in her own interest. The other day her representatives at Ottawa refused to vote assistance to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the bond that is to be of a United British America, unless the Government would agree to pay a heavy fee to their Province. They stayed out of the House till the bargain had been struck, then came in and gave their votes. The relations between the central and the provincial authorities are far from being adjusted, and a bitter quarrel has been going on between the Government of Ottawa and that of Ontario. By the consummate address of one man and his profound knowledge of everybody's character, motives and price, things have been and are held together; but that man is seventy, and nobody pretends to say what will happen when he is gone. In the meantime, as Australians and South Africans, before they embrace Federation, will do well to note, the debt of Canada has been doubled while that of the United States has been reduced, and there has been an enormous development of faction, intrigue, demagogism and corruption.

Imperialism in Canada has now entered, as all Englishmen have been made aware, on a vast undertaking, the object of which is to extend the Canadian dominion to the Pacific and to weld the scattered and disconnected provinces into an Empire of British North America, which shall balance the power of the United States and wrest from American democracy half the continent over which it seemed destined to spread. To understand the character and forecast the probable result of the enterprise, it would be necessary to have a map of the Canadian dominion not representing it as one vast block, including the North Pole, but marking out the cultivable and habitable portions, and at the same time showing the portion occupied by the French. It would then be seen that the four masses of territory

which it is proposed to consolidate are severed from each other by the most estranging barriers of Nature, while one of them, Canada proper, is divided between two nationalities; and that all of them are connected geographically and commercially with the States of the American Union on which they border to the south. The maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island, are severed from Canada proper by an irreclaimable wilderness, while they are connected with Maine and with New England. Canada proper, besides being divided internally between the British Colony and New France, is severed from Manitoba and the prairie region of the North-west by the great fresh-water sea called Lake Superior, while it is united to the State of New York and to Pennsylvania, from which it draws its coal. Manitoba and the North-west are severed from British Columbia by a triple range of mountains and connected with Minnesota and Dacota, between which and them there is only a political line across which people of the same race shake hands, while British Columbia is connected with the Pacific States. These obstacles are to be surmounted, Nature is to be vanquished, and the commercial outlet of each territory, placed by her to the south, is to be wrested round to the east and west by a line of political railways constructed at an enormous cost to the Canadian people. This is the western wing of a system of political roads, of which the eastern wing is the Intercolonial, constructed at a dead loss to the country of forty millions of dollars, and which, when the shorter line through American territory now in course of construction shall have been opened, will hardly be workable except at an expense which the Dominion will not bear. Meantime the two portions of the English-speaking race, between which for the purpose of Imperialism it is proposed by prodigious outlay to put division and establish antagonism for ever, are actually fusing before one's eyes. There are now seven hundred thousand Canadians in the United States. Canadians of all grades and callings go there to push their fortunes with just as little compunction as a Scotchman goes to England. When Canada sets up a military college for the training of officers to command her troops against the Americans, the first cadet who passes takes himself off to practise as an engineer at Chicago. Churches, associations, conventions of all kinds, totally disregard the line. Of Canadian commerce not a little is in American hands. From the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a national enterprise all Americans are to be strictly excluded; yet the company includes a New York firm. Montreal, the greatest commercial city, is closely connected with the States. New York is becoming at once the money market and the pleasure capital of Canada. American bank-notes pass freely in Canadian commerce; in fact, there is almost a monetary union. The descendants of the American loyalists, United



Empire Loyalists as they are called, keep up their historical celebrations, on which everybody looks with interest. But even among them, though the memory of their romantic origin is cherished, the anti-American sentiment can hardly be said to be intense. In the breast of the mass of the people it has almost ceased to exist. It is hardly stronger than the Scotch jealousy of England.

Mr. Bright, it seems, was told the other day by a Canadian politician that if he ventured to advocate union with the States before any meeting in Canada he would be hurled from the platform. That the politicians or most of them would wish to hurl him from the platform there can be no doubt—for a special reason already assigned. But I am not so sure about the people, though the press as well as the representation being in the hands of the politicians who have party organizations of extreme rigour, it is not easy to say what the sentiments of the people are. A very shrewd observer, who had been in politics, said to me once that if the people of the province of Ontario were any day to be told that they were the people of the State of Ontario, hardly a finger would be moved in opposition. There is no political movement, nor is it possible in the face of the party organizations that there should be, but along the border there is a strong and growing sense of the evil of the Customs line.

The practical effect of this great anti-continental enterprise, of which the Canadian Pacific Railway is to be the instrument, bids fair to be the very opposite of that which its projectors desire. Before, the Dominion, though not compact, was perhaps compact enough for nationality. Geographical and, with it, economical unity will now be utterly lost, while the North-west territory, immensely the largest of the whole series, when it is peopled as its boundless fertility promises, will, by its natural gravitation towards the States of the Union adjoining it on the south, hasten, probably, the slow step of annexation.

Nature has apparently dedicated the North American continent, inhabited as it is by men of the same tongue and of kindred character, to union, which does not preclude freedom of local self-development, to popular government, and to a reign of peace which, established here, may in time exercise a happy influence on the Old World and redeem its industrial millions from the oppression of the military system. No man of sense would wish to forestall the progress of sentiment or to hurry the march of events in any direction. But why should the people of England wish to thwart the beneficent councils of Nature and to introduce into a new world disunion, antagonism, the balance of power and the eventual possibility of war? The interest of a reactionary party may be served by such a policy, but what good will it do to the people? England, if she will leave the

North American continent to itself, may have the firm and hearty friendship of its countless inhabitants, heightened by that affection for the mother country which never, not even in the Alabama times, has died out of the American breast. What more does she want, what more can she hope permanently to retain? Her pretended dominion on the other side of the Atlantic is mere weakness and danger, which her withdrawal would convert into strength and safety. Such is the conviction of at least one Englishman living on the American continent, who left his native country far too late in life to form any attachment half so strong as his attachment to her, and, though the reverse of a Jingo, believes himself to be heartily loyal, not only to her interest but to her greatness.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

P.S.—I have just read Mr. John Morley's paper on this subject. He clearly shows the difficulties which would beset the political architect in framing such a structure as Imperial Federation. But the speculative discussion has gone on long enough. It is time that the Imperial Federationists should fall to work if they believe in the practicability of their scheme.



## EURIPIDES AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER.

**A**MONG the services which Browning has rendered to literature, not the least conspicuous is his interpretation of Euripides. In "Balaustion's Adventure" and "Aristophanes' Apology," he has not only given a poet's rendering of two characteristic plays, the "Alcestis" and the "Phrensiad Hercules," but he has given the student sympathetic guidance to their deeper meaning. He has enabled English readers to estimate at their true worth the criticism of A. W. Schlegel, and at the same time he has opened a striking view of speculations and desires which found a place in the mind of a great Athenian when Athens was greatest. Euripides is indeed the true representative of democratic Athens. He was of honourable descent, and had enjoyed the discipline of most varied culture. Gymnast, artist, and student, he had made trial of all that the city had to teach; and as holding a sacred office in the service of Apollo he had an inheritance from older religious feeling. It may almost be said that Euripides lived and died with the Athens which has moved the world. His lifetime included the highest development of Athenian art and literature, the rise and the fall of Athenian supremacy. He was born on the day of Salamis (480 B.C.). He produced his "Medea" in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.) His "Trojan Women" was exhibited in the year of the expedition to Sicily and the recall of Alcibiades (415 B.C.). He died in 406 B.C., the year before Ægospotamos. He belonged wholly to the new order which is represented by the age of Pericles. Though he was only a generation younger than Æschylus, his works, when compared with those of his predecessor, represent the results of a revolution both in art and in thought.

But however different Æschylus and Euripides are in their views of existence, and in their treatment of life upon the stage, they are alike

interesting to the student of the history of religious thought. Both speak with deep personal feeling. Both offer a partial interpretation of mysteries which fill them with an overwhelming awe. For both life with its infinite sorrows is greater than art. In this respect they differ from Sophocles, by whom they are naturally separated. Sophocles is not the poet as prophet, but the poet as artist. For him all that is most solemn, or terrible, or beautiful in human experience becomes simply an element in his work. He shows the perfection of calm, conscious mastery over the subjects with which he deals, but he does not speak to us himself. He has no message, no questionings, no convictions, beyond such utterances as harmoniously complete the consummate symmetry of his poems. It is otherwise with Æschylus and Euripides. Both are deeply moved and show that they are deeply moved, by religious feeling, as a spiritual and not an æsthetic force. But the feeling in the two cases is widely different.

Æschylus is the exponent of the old faith of Greece—stern, simple, resolute, strong in self-restraint. Euripides, on the other hand, has to take account of all the novel influences under which he had grown up; the speculations of Ionian philosophy, the larger relations of national intercourse, the force of a new domestic life. Once again Asia had touched Europe and quickened there new powers. Greece had conquered Persia only that she might better receive from the East the inspiration of a wider energy.

At the same time the political circumstances under which Euripides wrote helped to intensify the thoughts which were stirred by the teachings of Heraclitus and Anaxagoras. The glorious struggle of the Persian war, in which Æschylus had taken part, with its apparently plain and decisive issue, was followed by results widely different from that final triumph; and Euripides had to witness the long horrors of civil conflict, the shaking of the popular creed under unexpected disasters, paroxysms of popular fanaticism, the moral dissolution of the plague. He felt the grievous turmoil of opinion and action, and he reflected it. His constitution fitted him for his work. He was by nature inclined to ponder the problems of life and not to enter upon affairs. He was a student of men in books as well as in society; and the popular tradition which assigns to Anaxagoras a decisive influence over his view of the world may certainly be accepted as true; though nothing is less likely than that he was diverted from philosophy to the stage by the fate of his master. For Euripides is essentially a poet, and not a speculator. He deals with the mysteries of being from the side of feeling rather than of thought. A passionate fulness of human interest is the characteristic mark of his writings, and the secret of his power. He touched the common heart because he recognised the different phases of its ordinary sorrows and temptations and strivings.



The brusque lines of Philemon are a unique testimony to his personal attractiveness :—

" If, as some say, men still in very truth  
Had life and feeling after they are dead,  
I had hanged myself to see Euripides."

His verses had a still wider persuasiveness. After the disaster at Syracuse, prisoners found relief and even freedom if they were able to recite passages from his poems ; and a chorus from the " *Electra*" is said to have saved Athens from destruction when it was taken by Lysander.

The significance of Euripides as a religious teacher springs directly from his position and his character. He looks from the midst of Athenian society, a society brilliant, restless, sanguine, superstitious, at the popular mythology, at life, at the future, with the keenest insight into all that belongs to man, and what he sees is a prospect on which we may well dwell.\*

#### I.

In order to understand the treatment of the popular mythology by Euripides, we must bear in mind the place which was occupied by the Homeric poems in contemporary Greek education. It is not too much to say that these were (if the phrase may be allowed) a kind of Greek Bible. Every Athenian was familiar with their contents ; they furnished the general view of the relations of gods and men, of the seen and the unseen, which formed a fixed background to the common prospect of life. This being so they produced the impression that the divine forces corresponded with human forces, differing only in intensity and range. The gods were held to be of like passions with men, but stronger and wiser, with the vigour of undecaying energy. Such a conception affords an adequate basis for the ordinary duties of worship, and was not superficially at variance with morality. But more careful reflection showed that the beings of the Homeric Olympus failed to satisfy the ideal of spiritual sovereigns ; that a mere increase in the scale of human qualities could not supply a stable foundation for reverence ; that the worshipper must look beyond this crowd of conflicting deities if he was to find an object on which he could rest with supreme trust.

Such difficulties had not received a clear expression in the time of *Æschylus*, nor would he have been disposed to deal with them. The

\* Though it is impossible to use isolated expressions of the characters of a dramatist as evidence of his own belief, the general convergence of their opinions may be fairly taken as giving his judgment from various points of sight. In the endeavour to obtain a just view of the teaching of Euripides on the line of subjects mentioned above, I wrote out every passage in his extant plays and fragments which seemed to bear upon them, and the reader will judge how far they combine to give an intelligible result.

The references are given throughout to the edition of Nauck in Teubner's " *Bibliotheca*." The translations are sufficiently close, I hope, to enable the scholar to recall the original words at once, and at the same time, to convey the meaning faithfully to the English reader.

wants and sorrows of men vanish in his sight before the awful majesty of an inscrutable divine purpose. With Euripides the case was different: Man, and not Destiny, was the central subject of his art. His Orestes, for example, is not the instrument of a divine will, prompted, tortured, delivered by external powers, but a son racked with Hamlet-like misgivings, and finding within himself the justification and the punishment of his deed. Euripides, in other words, regarded the human and the divine as factors in life, alike real and permanent. He aimed at dealing with the whole sum of our present experience. He was therefore constrained to bring the popular creed in some way into harmony with absolute right and truth; to give a moral interpretation to current legends; to show that life, even as we see it, offers ground for calm trust on which man may at least venture to rest. Plato banished poets from his ideal republic on account of the moral difficulties raised by their representations of divine things. Euripides endeavoured to find a more practical remedy for an evil which he could not but feel: he sought to penetrate through the words and figures of the traditional teaching which the poets adopted to the truths which lay beneath, and so to preserve the symbols of primitive belief without doing violence to moral instinct.

In attempting to fulfil this work, Euripides frankly acknowledges its difficulty. All investigation of the divine is, he lays down, necessarily beset by difficulty. This difficulty is increased by a superficial view of the course of human affairs. It is made insoluble by the literal acceptance of the details of mythology.

Under various circumstances Euripides makes his characters affirm the mysteriousness of the questions involved in theology. They may not either be dealt with or set aside lightly. The poet refuses to acquiesce in those perfunctory utterances of professional diviners in which many found relief;

"Why do ye, seated at oracular shrines,  
Swear that ye know the secrets of the gods?  
Men have no power to fashion such replies:  
For he that boasts he knows about the gods,  
Knows only this, the art to win belief."<sup>\*</sup>

There is a complexity, a manifoldness, in the vicissitudes of providential government which at once arrests human attention and baffles it:

"What mortal dares to say that he has found  
By searching what is God, or what is not,  
Or what between—the utmost bound of thought—  
When he regards the work of Providence  
Moving with rapid course, now here, now there,  
Then elsewhere, with a sudden change of fate,  
Conflicting, unexpected?"<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Philoct. fr. 793.

<sup>†</sup> Hel. 1137, ff. Comp. Hel. 711.



This first difficulty is inherent in all religious speculations; and the burden of ignorance may be borne with patience as belonging to man's nature. But a greater difficulty lies behind. The appearance of injustice is harder to endure than darkness, and Euripides dwells with sorrowful persistence on the moral inequalities of life. He finds in this the sorest trial of faith. The passionate exclamation of Bellerophon:

"'Tis said by some that there are gods in heaven.  
There are not, are not; if men will not still,  
Bound by their folly, use the old wives' tale.  
Nay, look yourselves,"\*

finds frequent echoes in his plays. So it is that the herald Talthybius, looking at the prostrate form of Hecuba, exclaims:—

"Zeus, shall I say that thou regardest men?  
Or that we hold in vain this false belief,  
Thinking there is indeed a race of gods,  
While fortune sways all human destinies?"†

And this apparent miscarriage of justice is as great negatively as positively. The failure of virtue to gain recognition is not less perplexing than undeserved suffering. For—

"If the gods, to man's degree,  
Had wit and wisdom, they would bring  
Mankind a twofold youth, to be  
Their virtue's sign-mark, all should see,  
In those with whom life's winter thus grew spring.  
For when they died, into the sun once more,  
Would they have traversed twice life's racecourse o'er;  
While ignobility had simply run  
Existence through, nor second life begun."‡

A final difficulty lies in the letter of the divine legends. According to these, the gods act as no good man would act. Euripides meets the difficulty boldly. He affirms consistently that the legends about the gods, which tend to confuse human intuitions of right and wrong, of truth and duty, are not literally true. When Heracles recovered from his phrensy, and looked upon his murdered wife and children in bitterest sorrow and shame, Theseus sought to bring him comfort by recalling facts from the popular mythology; but Heracles rejects the consolation and replies:—

"I neither fancy gods love lawless beds,  
Nor, that with chains they bind each other's hands,  
Have I judged worthy faith, at any time;  
Nor shall I be persuaded one is born  
His fellows' master! since God stands in need—  
If he is really God—of nought at all.  
These are the poet's pitiful conceits."§

Elsewhere Euripides refers to the legends of the birth of Helen

\* Beller. fr. 288. Comp. fr. 892, 893; Seyr. fr. 185. Contrast, fr. 981.

† Hec. 488.

‡ Herc. Fur. 635 (Browning).

§ Herc. Fur. 1341 (Browning). Compare Antiope, fr. 209.

and the banquet of Thyestes, only to reject them.\* The ground is given by Iphigenia—

"I think no Deity can be unjust."

And Bellerophon expresses the thought still more decidedly—

"If gods do aught that's base they are not gods.†

Following out this principle, Euripides ventures to openly condemn the gods for the actions attributed to them. At the close of the "Electra" the Dioscuri, addressing Orestes, who stands awestricken by the side of Clytemnestra, so pass judgment:—

"Just is her punishment, but not thy deed;  
And Phœbus, Phœbus—well, he is my king;  
I am dumb: though wise, not wise he spake to thee."‡

And the messenger who relates the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi concludes:—

"So did he [Apollo] to Achilles' son,  
Who offered retribution; he the king,  
Who giveth oracles to other men,  
The judge of righteousness to all the world,  
And bore in mind, like a malicious churl,  
Old grudges; how could such a one be wise!"§

Here, then, Euripides is directly at issue with much of the popular faith. How, it may be asked, can such language, widely different from the reckless banterings of Aristophanes, be reconciled with due respect for the divine? The answer seems to lie in the fact that Euripides draws a clear distinction between the Olympian gods and the One Being to whom they also minister. He was inclined to treat the Olympian gods as in some sense personifications or embodiments of human attributes. It is said that Anaxagoras interpreted the Homeric stories as symbolic,|| and his scholar sought in the same line a worthy meaning for the current mythology. In this sense Hecuba, addressing Helen, gives a striking interpretation of the Judgment of Paris. It was no contest of actual deities, but of conflicting passions. Aphrodite herself could have moved Helen and Amyclæ to Troy without leaving Heaven. But the Aphrodite who came with Paris and carried off the bride of Menelaus was the feeling which Paris stirred in Helen's breast.¶

But while Euripides here finds in the soul itself the powers which man is tempted to place wholly without, it does not follow that he denies the objective existence of beings corresponding to human passions. On the contrary, he seems to recognise a correspondence between human feelings and impulses and supernatural forces, of which the Olympian deities were representatives. The origin of that which is extraordinary is referred to divine agency. Death and

\* Hel. 21; El. 737; Iph. Taur. 389.

† Beller. fr. 294, 7.

‡ El. 1244. Compare 1301 ff.

§ Androm. 1161. Compare Ion. 444. ff.; Orest. 28, 162; Iph. Taur. 35.

|| Diog. Laert. ii. 11.

¶ Troad. 969 ff.



Madness are real powers external to man. Strife and Ambition, Hope, Justice, and Persuasion, derive their force from something without which is akin to them.\* From time to time men move in a mysterious intercourse with spiritual beings. Hippolytus in his first joy can say to Artemis :—

“ I feel thee near, and answer thee in word  
Hearing thy voice, yet seeing not thy face.”†

It is not then surprising that imperfections should be found in beings which, even when they are felt to be most present and energetic, are essentially limited and human in their characteristics. But they can bring no repose or confidence to the soul. The poet as a religious teacher must look beyond himself, beyond the many gods—those colossal human figures, symbols or sources of man's conflicting passions—for that which gives unity to the view of existence.‡ And here it is that the “theology” of Euripides becomes of the highest interest. Philosophers had sought the principle of unity in some primal element; Euripides, though his language is naturally vague, seems rather to seek it in a vital force, which slowly differentiates and moulds all things. The force is distinct from the matter through which it is manifested. Human thought is incompetent to define it exactly or simply. Under one aspect it is revealed as law, under another as intelligence, under another as will. All are harmonized in that for which we feel. Thus Hecuba gives expression to her prayer of thanksgiving, when Menelaus declares his purpose of taking vengeance on Helen, the curse of Troy :—

“ O Thou  
That bearest earth, Thyself by earth upborne,  
Whoe'er Thou art, hard for our powers to guess,  
Or Zeus, or Nature's law, or mind of man,  
To thee I pray, for all the things of earth  
In right Thou guidest on Thy noiseless way.”§

From this point of sight the whole visible world appears as a progressive revelation of the One source of life. Euripides dwells on the prospect with evident delight. Heaven (Æther) and earth symbolize for him the force and the matter through whose union all the variety of things come into existence. But he teaches that even these two were once undivided. Perhaps he thought of matter as the first self-limited expression of force. Thus, in one of his earliest dramas, “Melanippe the Wise,” he says :—

\* Hel. 1002; Antig. fr. 170; Iph. Aul. 392; Phœn. 798; 531. Compare Hel. 560. Iph. Aul. 973.

† Hippol. 85; compare *Ibid.* 1391.

‡ The famous line with which the Melanippe originally opened obviously pointed to the Zeus of mythology, as different from the Supreme Sovereign :—

“ Zeus, whoso'er Zeus is, for by report  
I know him only” (Fragm. 483).

Compare Herc. Fur. 1263.

§ It is interesting to contrast Euripides' view of the divine origin of civilization (Suppl. 201) with Critias' view of the human origin of theology in the Sisyphus (Plut. Plac. Phil. 1, 7, p. 880).

"Not mine the tale : my mother taught it me :  
How heaven and earth were undivided once,  
And when they grew distinct with separate forms,  
They bore, and brought to light all things that are—  
Trees, birds, and beasts, the creatures of the sea,  
And race of men."<sup>\*</sup>

This primal marriage of Heaven and Earth finds renewal in the vital processes of Nature :—

"The earth longs for the rain, when the parched land,  
Fruitless through drought, lacks the life-giving shower ;  
The glorious heaven longs, as it swells with rain,  
To fall upon the earth, with deep desire ;  
And when they meet commingled—earth and heaven—  
They give to all, whereby the race of men  
Lives and is glad, being and rich support."<sup>†</sup>

So things come into existence, and then in due time they are dissolved. Nothing is lost, but each element returns to its source, and enters into new combinations as the great cycle of life finds fulfilment :—

"Great earth and sky supreme are source of all ;  
The sky supreme is sire of gods and men,  
And earth receiving fertilizing showers,  
Gives mortals birth, gives birth to tribes of beasts  
And that whereby they live ; so she is called  
Mother of all, by just prerogative.  
Then that which springs from earth to earth returns.  
And that which draws its being from the sky,  
Rises again up to the skyey height,  
And nothing dies of all that comes to be,  
But being sundered, each first element,  
Freshly combined, displays some novel form."<sup>‡</sup>

There is then nothing strained, when Euripides identifies the Heaven (Æther) with the One supreme sovereign power :—

"See'st thou this boundless Æther high aloft,  
Enfolding earth about with moist embrace,  
Believe that this is Zeus : hold this for God."<sup>§</sup>

For, according to his conception, it suggests at least all that is contained in the sublime description of God—than which he has no grander :—

"The Self-existent, who in heaven's expanse  
Holds in His large embrace all things that are ;  
Round whom the light, round whom in dusky shade  
The chequered night and the unnumbered host  
Of stars move gladly in unceasing dance."<sup>||</sup>

Euripides gains, in fact, from his dynamical view of Nature a vivid practical belief in the divine :—

"Wretched is he who when he looks on this  
Perceives not God, and does not cast afar  
The crooked cheats of airy speculators,  
Whose baneful tongue hazards on things unseen  
Words void of judgment."<sup>¶</sup>

\* Troad. 884.

† Melanippe, fr. 488.

‡ Fragm. 890. Compare Æsch. Danaid, fr. 38.

§ Chrysipp. 836. Compare fragm. 1012 ; and Vitruv. viii. 1.

|| Fragm. 935. Compare fragm. 867, 911. Still, in another sense, he speaks of Æther as "the dwelling of Zeus."—Melan. fr. 491.

¶ Peirith. fr. 596.



At the same time, the partial, fragmentary, imperfect deities are given back.\* These, though not absolute, bring the divine near to men. Through these men may rise to that by which they also are strong. The highest instincts of humanity can look for satisfaction without. These, which are a divine manifestation—

"In each of us our reason is a god"†—

must have a perfect fulfilment in the divine. Men may confidently attribute to the gods the consummation of that which is noblest in germ in themselves. They can trust even to the severity of righteousness. He who looks for weak forgiveness of wrong done is faithless to his own heart:—

"So thou dost think the gods are merciful,  
When one by oath seeks for escape from death,  
Or bonds, or deeds of foeman's violence;  
Or shares his home with blood-stained criminals:  
Then truly they were less intelligent  
Than men, setting the kind before the just."‡

And the course of life, with all its inequalities, offers such glimpses of righteous retribution as are sufficient to support faith in the final triumph of supreme justice.§

This faith springs naturally from the underlying sense of the unity of the source of all things. The gods themselves, offspring like men of the one Being, are bound by law. They are not arbitrary, capricious powers, but subject to a sovereign right. Apollo may not rescue Alcestis from death by his divine might, though the task is open to the effort of a human champion. Artemis bows to the ordinance which limits the action of one deity towards another, though obedience costs her the life of Hippolytus.||

"The gods are strong, and law which ruleth them;  
For 'tis by law we have our faith in gods,  
And live with certain rules of right and wrong."¶

Man, in other words, is born religious, and born with the faculty to recognise that which claims his devotion.

We have seen that the many gods are in one aspect ideals answering to human powers. Viewed under another light, they present different aspects of the One to whom they are finally referred. In different circumstances men necessarily conceive of God differently. He may bear this title or that, and the worshipper may dimly realize the unity of characters popularly divided:—

\* *Fragm.* 905.

† *Fragm.* 1007. The line is also attributed to Menander.

‡ *Fragm.* 1030.

§ *Ænom.* fr. 581; *Bacch.* 1325; *El.* 582. Compare *Herc. Fur.* 347.

|| *Hec.* 799. Compare *Ibid.* 847.

¶ *Hipp.* 799.

"I bear an offering of drink and meal  
 To thee that rulest all, whatever name  
 Thou lovest, Zeus or Hades; and do thou  
 Receive this fireless sacrifice poured forth  
 Of earth's abundant fruitage at my hands.  
 For thou amidst the gods that dwell in heaven  
 Wieldest Zeus' sceptre; and o'er these beneath  
 Sharest the rule of Hades."\*

Euripides, therefore, is perfectly consistent when he affirms man's dependence on the gods, while he denies the historic truth of the ancient legends:—

"No issue comes to men without the gods.  
 We strive for many things, led on by hope,  
 And toil in vain, as knowing nothing sure."†

"Apart from God no man is prosperous,  
 Or comes to high estate. I rate at naught  
 The fruits of mortal zeal without the gods.‡

"Why do they say that miserable men  
 Are wise, O Zeus? For we depend on thee,  
 And do but that which answers to thy will."§

For this is only to affirm in another form that unity of being for which he searches. Man cannot isolate himself. He is strong by sympathy. On the eve of a battle, fought for the maintenance of a common right, Theseus, the type of the true king, says—

"One thing we need, that the gods side with those  
 Who honour justice: heaven and right combined  
 Give victory; but virtue profits naught  
 To mortals if it have not God to help."||

Fate and the divine will are not two adverse forces, but complementary views of the same force. So the Dioscuri declare that they were forced to yield to "destiny and the gods," and counsel Electra that

"Henceforward she must do  
 What Fate and Zeus determined should be done."¶

Such general convictions, while they destroy the root of many superstitions, give a solemn sanction to the obligations of reverence and worship.

"He hath no reason who lays cities waste;  
 Temples and tombs—shrines sacred to the dead—  
 He desolates, and then is lost himself.\*\*

"Three virtues thou must put in act, my son;  
 Honour the gods, thy parents, and the laws,  
 The common laws of Greece. So shalt thou win  
 The victor's glorious wreath of fair renown."††

And Heracles in a remarkable phrase connects the success of his descent to Hades with his initiation in the Mysteries.‡‡

But Euripides has strong words of condemnation for the unworthy

\* Fragg. 904. Compare fragm. 938, 1011.

† Thyest. fr. 395.

‡ Fragg. 1014.

§ Suppl. 734.

|| Suppl. 594. Compare Hec. 1029.

¶ El. 1247; Hel. 1660. For Euripides' view of Providence and Fate, see Hippol. 1102 ff.; Heracl. 608 ff.; Fragg. 149, 217, 264, 354, 494, 1167; and the common refrain with which he closes the *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchæ*, *Helen*, and *Medea*.

\*\* Troad. 95.

†† Antiope, fr. 219.

‡‡ Herc. Fur. 613.



use which men had made of religious feelings. The right of sanctuary, which had been designed to protect the innocent, was unjustly turned into defence for the guilty :—

“ If a man  
Seek refuge at an altar, stained with crime,  
I will myself, regardless of the law,  
Drag him to justice, and not fear the gods :  
For evil men must bear an evil fate.”\*

Especially he dwells upon the impostures of soothsaying, by which the real voice of the gods was corrupted.

“ The oracles of Loxias are sure ;  
As for man’s art, I will have none of it.”†

“ He has the true diviner’s skill  
Who has the gods for friends.”‡

“ He is best soothsayer who guesses well.”§

It is not the form of religious service, but the spirit which is precious. Acceptable worship must be accompanied by piety and effort.

“ Who offers sacrifice with pious heart  
Obtains salvation, though his gift be small.”||

“ Do what thou canst, and then invoke the gods.  
God helps the man who toils to help himself.”¶

From what has been already said, the profound significance of the Dionysian worship for Euripides will be at once clear. In that worship Nature found the fullest recognition as the revelation of the Divine. Man sought fellowship with God in the completeness of his being. The organ of knowledge was confessed to be, not the intellect, but life. Thus the *Bacchæ* is no palinode, but a gathering up in rich maturity of the fruit of the poet’s earlier thoughts. Man cannot, he shows with tragic earnestness, attain to communion with the divine by pure reason, a part only of his constitution. He must keep himself open to every influence, and so by welcoming the new in time prove his loyalty to the old. The aged seer Teiresias strikes the keynote of the play when he affirms the coequal supremacy of ancestral belief and present revelation. In this way the majesty of the living whole of human existence is vindicated against philosophic or ceremonial one-sidedness.

“ We trust no human wit in things divine.  
The faith our fathers handed down, and that  
Which we have welcomed, growing with our growth,  
No reasonings shall o’erthrow, even though it find  
The subtlest treasures of man’s loftiest thought.”\*\*

The fresh unfolding of the divine bounty requires, he pleads, grateful acknowledgment :

\* Fragn. 1036. † Elect. 399. ‡ Hel. 759. Compare *Ibid.* 753.

§ Fragn. 963. The line is also attributed to Menander. Compare *Iph. Ant.* 955.

|| Fragn. 940. Compare *Dan fr.* 329.

¶ *Hippol.* 435. Comp. *Iph. Taur.* 910 ; *El.* 80.

\*\* *Bacch.* 200.

"Two powers there are 'mong men,  
First before all, O youth : our mother Earth,  
Demeter, call her by which name thou wilt,  
Who stayeth mortals with the staff of life ;  
And the late-come, the son of Semele,  
Who formed the rich draught of the clustered vine  
And brought the gift to men."\*

Seen in this light, the Dionysian worship is the witness to a real belief in the vitality of religion as answering to the completeness of man's nature. It does not aim at superseding that which went before, but at bringing it nearer to actual experience. Men must worship as men, feeling at once the richness and the limits of their endowments :—

"Dwelling afar in heaven the Deities,  
Behold the deeds of men :  
It is not wisdom to be wise  
And follow thoughts too high for mortal ken."†

"Blest above all of human line,  
Who, deep in mystic rites divine,  
Leads his hallowed life with us,  
Initiate in our Thiasus ;  
And purified with holiest waters,  
Goes dancing o'er the hills with Bacchus' daughters."

So in manifold and solemn strains, unsurpassed in classical literature for calm sweet strength, Euripides lays open the joy of worship. The joy of the Dionysian worship with which he begins passes into the larger joy of universal piety :—

"'Tis but light cost in his own power sublime  
To array the godhead, whoso'er he be ;  
And law is old, even as the oldest time,  
Nature's own unrepealed decree."‡

"Hold thou fast the pious mind ; so, only so shall glide  
In peace with God above, in peace with men on earth,  
Thy smooth painless life.  
I admire not, envy not, who would be over-wise :  
Mine be still the glory, mine be still the prize,  
By night and day  
To live of the immortal gods in awe :  
Who fears them not  
Is but the outcast of all law."§

## II.

The theology of Euripides takes its shape from his conviction that all Nature and all Life is a manifestation of one Divine Power. His view of human life corresponds with this conviction, and his view of being is concentrated in his view of humanity. All that is human claims his sympathy ; and it may be said conversely that all that claims his sympathy is seen in its connexion with man. He practically anticipates Browning's judgment that "little else is worth study than the incidents in the development of a soul."

This largeness of sympathy with all that is human is shown by the great range of his characters. Heroes, Greeks, barbarians,

\* Bacch. 274.

† *Ibid.* 392.

‡ *Ibid.* 72 (Milman).

§ *Ibid.* 893 (Milman) ; comp. Heracel. 902.

¶ *Ibid.* 1002 (Milman).



peasants, slaves, women, children, play a part, and a noble part, in his dramas. It was a reproach against him that he made all utter great thoughts alike. The charge is so far true that he strives to give to each the voice of a common humanity. He admits no exclusive prerogative of race, or sex, or birth. The yeoman in the "Electra" is as chivalrous as Achilles in the "Aulic Iphigenia."

Euripides thus deals frankly and gladly with all the elements of life, and he deals with actual life as he saw it. There is much that is mean and frivolous, and even repulsive, in the portraiture, but still the picture never ceases to be true to experience. His characters are not ideal, but the strangely mixed beings who are fashioned in the turmoil of passion and interest. It is perhaps for this reason that his women are both better and worse than his men. Through them Nature is revealed more directly; and it is a singular injustice of traditional criticism that the poet should be represented as a woman-hater who has left more types of female self-devotion than any other dramatist. The plays which exhibit the spontaneous intuitive sacrifice of Macaria; the thoughtful, reasoned resolution of Iphigenia; the tender, wifely dutifulness of Alcestis; the romantic love of Evadne, show the strength of woman in the most varied phases of its characteristic beauty.

Not less striking are the sketches of children which Euripides has given. Eumelus in the "Alcestis," Molossus in the "Andromeda," the sons of the father chiefs in the "Suppliants," add characteristic touches to the action; and the appeal of Iphigenia to the infant Orestes to plead for her life with silent tears, is conceived with pathetic tenderness.\*

Generally, indeed, the stress which Euripides lays on domestic life is worthy of study. The scene between Menelaus and Helena is a unique example in Greek tragedy of the love of husband and wife.† Again and again the affection of parents for children, and of children for parents, is presented as full of supreme joy: "Children are men's souls," "A Heaven-sent charm of awful power."‡

"Lady, this splendour of the sun is dear,  
And fair the broad calm of the watery plain,  
But nothing is so bright or fair to see  
As to the childless, stung with long desire,  
The light of new-born children in the home."§

"Wretched the child  
Who serves not those that bare him with the meed  
Of noblest toil. One gives and gains again  
From his own children what he gave himself."||

The relations of the family lead up to the relations of the State, and when the claims of the family and State come into conflict the latter must prevail; for all life has a social destination and duty.

\* Iph. Aul. 1124.

§ Danae, fr., 318.

† Hel. 622 ff.

‡ Andr. 417; Alcm. fr. 104.

|| Suppl. 361. Comp. Fragm. 848.

In the "Erechtheus" the queen offers her daughter willingly for the deliverance of Athens. "Children," she says, "are born to us

"That we may save our altars and our land.  
We call the city one, and many find  
Their home there: how can I then ruin these  
When I may give one life to ransom all?"\*

But Euripides had a keen sense of the perils of public life,† and there can be no doubt that he describes his own ideal in the lines:—

"Happy the man whose lot it is to know  
The secrets of the earth. He hastens not  
To work his fellow's hurt by unjust deeds,  
But with rapt admiration contemplates  
Immortal Nature's ageless harmony,  
And how and when her order came to be.  
Such spirits have no place for thoughts of shame."‡

And again in a lighter, more joyous strain:—

"Well! I am not to pause  
Mingling together—wine and wine in cup—  
The Graces with the Muses up—  
Most dulcet marriage; loosed from Muses' law,  
No life for me!  
But where the wreaths abound, there ever may I be!"§

Thus Euripides takes account of the manifold fulness of human existence, but the whole effect of life, as he sees it, is, in its external aspect at least, clouded with great sorrow. There is no music to charm its grief.|| At the best it is chequered, like the face of the earth, with storm and sunshine—

"I say the heaven men call so, as time rolls,  
Shows in a parable the fate of men.  
It flashes forth bright light in summer-time;  
And deepens winter's gloom with gathered clouds;  
And makes flowers bloom and fade and live and die.  
So too the race of men with happy calm  
Is bright and glad, and then is clouded o'er.  
Some live in woe, some, prosperous for a while,  
Fade like the changes of the changeful year."¶

"Such is the life of miserable men,  
Not wholly happy, nor yet wholly sad,  
Blest for a while, and then again unblest."\*\*

For the most part, however, pain outweighs pleasure. The consciousness of the instability of joy disturbs present delight with the prospect of inevitable change. There is no prerogative of immunity from suffering:—

"He must not think that he will ever find  
Unaltered fortune who has had no fall;  
For God, I ween, if God He must be called,  
Wearies of dwelling always with the same.  
A mortal's joy is mortal. They who make  
The present bind the future in their pride  
Prove when they suffer what man's fortune is."††

\* Erechth. fr., 362, 14.

† Ion. 595, ff.; Med. 294, ff.; Hec. 254, ff.

‡ Fragu. 902.

§ Here. Par. 673 (Browning).

¶ Med. 193.

\* Daval. fr. 332.

\*\* Antiope, fr. 196.

†† Fragu. 1958. Coesp. Andromeda, fr. 132; Alex. fr. 63; Auge. fr. 275; CEd. fr. 558. Suppl. 331.



Death is the one certain limit of suffering,\* and, therefore, it is not strange that to men in some moods it should seem "better not to have been born;"+ or, as it is expressed at length,—

" 'Twere well that men in solemn conclave met,  
Should mourn each birth as prelude to great woes :  
And bear the dead forth from their homes with joy  
And thanksgiving, as free at last from toils."‡

"Life is called life, but it is truly pain."§

"Not to be born is one, I say, with death ;  
And death is better than a piteous life."||

Nevertheless, those who are born to suffering cling to life—

"Mortals are sad  
In bearing earth to earth: yet it must be.  
Life must be reaped, like the ripe golden grain,  
One is and one is not."¶

For there is, after all, a mysterious uncertainty about the future, and men shrink from that which is beyond their experience. They—

"Long to look upon the coming day,  
Bearing a burden of unnumbered woes.  
So deep in mortals lies the love of life,  
For life we know, but ignorant of death,  
Each fears alike to leave the sun's dear light."\*\*

Meanwhile, man has a hard struggle to maintain, but he is able to maintain it. Whatever we may be tempted to think, Justice is a real and a present power. She does vindicate her authority, not in a remote future and on some other scene, but essentially here and now—

"Thinkest thou  
To overcome the wisdom of the gods ?  
That justice has her dwelling far from men ?  
Nay, she is near : she sees, herself unseen,  
And knows whom she must punish. Thou knowest not  
When she will bring swift ruin on the base.  
'Tis true the working of the gods is slow,  
But it is sure and strong."††

There is no ever-present, overwhelming weight of physical or moral necessity which crushes him. He is allowed from time to time to see that greater labours are the condition and the discipline of greater natures. And in spite of the obvious sorrows of life he can discern that a divine purpose is being wrought out which will find accomplishment. "There is at present great confusion in the things of gods and men."‡‡ But the source of the disorder lies not with God but with man.§§ And in due time the inequalities and injustices which form the bitterest trial of the good will be righted, and that on the present scene of human conflict and failure, not by any sudden divine intervention or startling catastrophe, but by the sure working of the forces which are already in action :—

\* Fragm. 908.

† Fragm. 900.

‡ Cresph. fr. 452.

§ Fragm. 957.

|| Troades, 636. Contrast *ibid.* 632.

¶ Hypsip. fr. 757.

\*\* Phoenix, fr. 813. Comp. Hippol. 193.

†† Bacch. 882.

‡‡ Iph. T. 572.

§§ Pel. fr. 609.

"Think you that deeds of wrong spring to the gods  
On wings, and then some one, on Zeus' book,  
Writes them, and Zeus beholding the record  
Gives judgment? Nay, the whole expanse of heaven  
Would not suffice if Zeus wrote there man's sins;  
Nor could he send to each his punishment  
From such review. Justice is on the earth,  
Is here, is by us, if men will but see."\*

The criminal is alarmed by unreal terrors, and then comforted by an unreal security:—

"Justice will not assail thee, fear it not,  
Not thee nor any other that doth wrong,  
And pierce thy heart; but moving silently  
With lingering foot, whene'er the hour is come,  
She lays her heavy hand upon the base."†

For it is said truly "that Justice is the child of time," of time "that looketh keenly, he that seeth all."‡ But in the end she makes herself felt:—

"The man that for the passing hour doth wrong,  
And thinks the gods have failed to see the deed,  
Thinks evil, and is taken in his thought.  
When Justice finds a space of quiet time,  
He pays full vengeance for the wrongs he did."§

"Slow come, but come at length,  
In their majestic strength,  
Faithful and true, the avenging deities;  
And chastening human folly,  
And the mad pride unholy  
Of those who to the gods bow not their knees."||

The retribution which is thus indicated is often not complete at once. The sins of parents are visited on their children,¶ even as a later generation gathers the ripe fruit of earlier labour. A larger field than that which is offered by a single life is necessary for the revelation of this fulfilment of a just will; and it is a characteristic of the tragedies of Euripides that he introduces gods not so much to solve immediate difficulties in his plots, as to point out how in the future a righteous result will be assured. In no less than thirteen plays divine characters disclose the future issues of the action which will vindicate the mysterious course of Providence. And in this wider view of life the personal fate of the individual actors finds hardly any place.\*\*

A wide view of life is required for the discernment of the justice of the divine government; and a wide view of life is necessary also for the fulfilment of human destiny. One chief cause of the sufferings and failures of men lies in the partial and inadequate view of the claims of being which is taken by those who are noble and good

\* *Melanippe*, fr. 508. *Comp. Andromeda*, fr. 150.

† *Fragm.* 969. *Comp. Fragm.* 266, 588, 646, 1030.

‡ *Antiope*, fr. 223; *Melanippe*, fr. 509. *Comp. Beller.* fr. 305.

§ *Phrix.* fr. 832.

|| *Bacchæ*, 882 (*Milman*).

¶ *Fragm.* 970; *Alcm.* fr. 83.

\*\* *Comp.* fr. 21.



within a narrow range. This truth is brought out with impressive power in the characters of Pentheus and Hippolytus. Both are, up to a certain point, blameless and courageous, but they are unsympathetic to that which lies beyond their experience and inclination. They contemptuously cast aside warnings against self-will. They refuse to pay respect to the convictions of others, or to admit that their view of life can fall short of fulness. With tragic irony Pentheus is led to his ruin by a guilty curiosity, and Hippolytus, in the pathetic scene of his death, lays bare his overwhelming self-confidence. He can forgive his father, but he is defiant to the powers of heaven, and in the terrible line,

"Would that the curse of men might reach the gods,"\*

he reveals at once the strength and the weakness of his character.

In this connexion Euripides appears to indicate one use of suffering. The discipline of life as he regards it is fitted to give to men a truer and larger sense of human powers and duties than they were inclined to form at first. This lesson comes out prominently in the "*Alcestis*." In one aspect the drama is the record of a soul's purification. Admetus obtains life at the price which he was ready to pay for it, and he finds that it ceases to be the blessing which he sought. He sees in his father the full image of himself, and fiercely condemns the selfishness which he has shown. Little by little he fully realizes that what he has gained by consciously sacrificing another to himself is of no avail for happiness, and he is prepared to receive, cleansed in heart, that which has been won for him by the spontaneous effort of Heracles. This contrast of the two sacrifices and the two prizes is of the deepest meaning. Man cannot simply use another at his will for his own good; but he can enjoy the fruits of another's devotion. The life which *Alcestis* gave for her husband at his entreaty proved to be only a discipline of sorrow; the life which was wrested from death by human labour could be imparted to one made ready to welcome it.

In *Pentheus* and *Hippolytus*, Euripides has shown the failure of partial virtues; in *Heracles*—the man raised to heaven through toil—he seems to have wished to show a type of the fulness of life. The hero in the "*Alcestis*" keenly enjoys the pleasures of the feast in the close prospect of a terrible labour; and when he hears of his friend's loss he hastens to meet death with a kind of natural joy. He proves in act that the reward of victory is a new conflict, and with genial vigour accepts the condition of progress.

But even here there is a want. Man, as he is, cannot with impunity wrestle with Death and rob Hades of its terrors. At the

\* *Hippol.* 1415.

moment when Heracles seems to have prevailed over the common enemy, and to have brought deliverance to his own house, Madness comes, and he works himself the ruin which he had just averted.\* He, too, must feel his weakness. And so it is that in this last trial he rises to his greatest height. He sees the full measure of his calamity. He acknowledges that for him henceforward there is no hope. Where he looked for glory and joy, there can be only horror and pain. And feeling this, at the bidding of Theseus, he dares to live. In a fuller sense than before he has conquered death,† and he is ready for his elevation. The conception rises to the height of spiritual grandeur, and there is no nobler picture in Greek literature than that of the broken-hearted hero leaning on the friend whom he had rescued from the shades, and patiently going to meet exile and irremediable grief.‡ Toil consecrated by self-surrender could not but lead to heaven.

## III.

A hero like Heracles is raised to heaven, but what has the unseen world for common men? To this question Euripides has no clear answer. He looks, as we have seen, for the vindication of righteousness on earth. His references to another order are few and vague. In this respect he holds the common attitude of the Athenian in the presence of death.§ There is, as Professor Gardner has pointed out, no trace of scenes of future happiness, or misery, or judgment, on early Greek funeral sculptures. The utmost that is represented is the farewell of the traveller who is bound for some unknown realm. And in the inscriptions which accompany them the future practically finds no place. The world to come is not denied so much as left out of sight. It is not a distinct object either of hope or of fear. Euripides, indeed, has recognised, twice at least, in memorable words the mystery of life and death, the powerlessness of man to attain to a true conception of being :

"Who knows if Life is Death,  
And Death is counted Life by those below?  
"Who knows if Life, as we speak, is but Death,  
And Death is Life?"||

But in the latter place he seems to shrink back from the positive hope which he has called up into mere negation, and he continues—

"Nay, lay the question by;  
But this at least we do know: they that live  
Are sick and suffer; they who are no more  
Nor suffer further, nor have ills to bear."

Elsewhere dim visions are given of the possibility of new modes

\* Herc. Fur. 922 ff. Comp. Hartung, *Eurip. restit.* ii. 29.

† *Ibid.* 1146.

‡ *Ibid.* 1393 ff.

§ Compare Professor Gardner, C.R., Dec. 1877, pp. 148 ff.

|| Polyid. fr. 639; Phrix. fr. 830.



of existence hereafter, and he suggests that the clinging love of earthly life is not more than an instinctive shrinking from the unknown:—

"We seem possessed by an unhappy love  
Of this strange, glittering, being upon earth,  
Because we know not any other life,  
And cannot gaze upon the things below,  
But yield to idle tales."\*

But more commonly his characters give unqualified utterance to the dread of Death:—

"This light is very sweet to men to see,  
The realm below is naught. He raves who prays  
To die. 'Tis better to live on in woe  
Than to die nobly."†

"Death, my dear child, is not all one with Life;  
For Death is nothing, but in Life Hope lives."‡

Death, under this aspect, is presented as extinction, dissolution, in which there seems to be no room for further restoration:—

"He that but now was full of lusty life,  
Quenched like a falling star, hath rendered back  
His spirit to heaven."§

"Suffer the dead to be enwrapped in earth,  
Suffer each element thither to return  
Whence first it came; the spirit to the sky,  
The body to the earth. For 'tis not ours,  
But lent to us, to dwell in while life lasts,  
And then the earth which formed it takes it back."||

"Bless thou the living: every man when dead  
Is earth and shadow: nothing turns to nothing."¶

But, of all the utterances on the future, the most pathetic in its utter hopelessness is that of Macaria. With generous and unhesitating devotion she offers herself for the deliverance of her kindred. She bids farewell to her aged guardian, Iolaus. She prays for the efficacy of her sacrifice. She asks for burial as her just recompense. And then she concludes: "This"—this salvation which I have bought, this grateful remembrance which I have gained—

"This is my treasure there,  
In place of children, for my maiden death,  
If there be any life beneath the earth.  
I pray there may be none. For if there too  
We shall have cares, poor mortals doomed to die,  
I know not whither we can turn; for death  
Is held the surest medicine for woes."\*\*

Once only, as far as I know, is there any reference in Euripides

\* Hippol. 193; comp. Ion. 1066; Iph. Aul. 1507.

† Iph. Aul. 1250; comp. *ibid.* 537; contrast *ibid.* 1368 ff.  
Fragm. 961.

‡ Troad. 632.

|| Suppl. 531.

¶ Meleag. fr. 536; Comp. Suppl. 1140. This conception of the dissolution of the elements of man's being is of frequent occurrence in funeral inscriptions. It occurs on the monument to those who fell at Potidæa in 432 B.C.; though sometimes a personal continuance of the soul "in the realm of the blest" seems to be implied.—Comp. Prof. Gardner, *loc. cit.* pp. 162 ff. Lenormant, "La voie sacrée Eleusinienne," i. 51, 62 f.

\*\* Heracl. 591. Comp. Antig. fr. 176; Alc. 937.

to future punishment. The words have been regarded as an interpolation; but the fact that they occur in the "Helena" justifies the thought that the poet may have allowed himself to adopt in part an Egyptian belief, with which he could not have been unacquainted. Theonoe, a prophetess, sister of the king Theoclymenus, who wished to marry Helen by force in violation of the laws of hospitality, promises Menelaus her help in rescuing his long-lost wife. She cannot, she admits at once, be partner in her brother's crime:—

"Vengeance there is for this with those below,  
And those above, for all alike. The mind  
Of those that die lives not, indeed, but has  
Immortal feeling, grown incorporate  
With the immortal æther."\*

The thought suggested by the last lines is, as far as I know, unique. The isolated life of the individual appears to be contrasted with a conscious participation in the divine life as man's final destiny. This participation is necessarily limited by Euripides to a part of man's nature; but in fashioning the thought he seems to have reached the loftiest idea accessible before the Gospel.

If, however, this be, as I believe, a true expression of the mind of Euripides, it is a solitary flash of light in the general gloom. When he speaks, as he does rarely, of the dead as still conscious, he does not conceive of them as more than the cold shadows of the Homeric Hades. Neoptolemus invites the spirit of Achilles to drink the blood of Polyxena offered in his honour.† Theseus, in reply to Heracles, says that in Hades he was weaker than any man.‡ Those beneath the earth have no strength, no joy.§ At one time they are supposed to be conscious of things above, and then again to be ignorant of them. Hecuba, in the same play, speaks of Priam as ignorant of her calamity, and anticipates the protection of Hector for his son Astyanax in the realm of the dead.|| Orestes addresses his father in Hades as he shrinks from fulfilling the terrible duty required of him, and Electra nerves his indecision with the reply:—

"All this thy father hears. 'Tis time to go."¶

Megara, in the "Hercules Furens," appeals to her lost husband in words which perfectly express the conflict of vague hope and fear:—

"Dearest, if any mortal voice is heard  
In Hades, Heracles, to thee I speak . . .  
Help, come, appear, though but a shade to me,  
For coming thou wouldst be defence enough."\*\*

Once, in the "Hecuba," Euripides has ventured to introduce the dead upon the stage. The ghost of Polydorus opens the crowning tragedy of the fall of Troy. With natural inconsistency the disem-

\* Hel. 1013.

† Hec. 536.

‡ Herc. Fur. 1415.

§ Orest. 1084; Cresph. fr. 454.

|| Troad. 1314; 1234.

¶ Iph. Aul. 632.

\*\* Herc. Fur. 493.



bodied spirit speaks now of itself, and now of the unburied body as the "I":—

"I leave  
The chamber of the dead and gates of gloom,  
"I lie upon the shore."\*

Yet even here the shadowy vitality is only a transitory manifestation. The spirit, it is true, has left the body by its own act; it has obtained from the sovereign of the nether realm the power to appear. But all that it desires is burial and a tomb, the symbol of untroubled rest and posthumous remembrance.†

This representation of the Ghost of Polydorus offers an interesting parallel to that of the Ghost of Darius in the "Persæ." Widely different as Æschylus and Euripides are in their views of man and gods, they are alike in their general conception of Hades. The Great King, as Æschylus describes him, though a joyless prince below the earth, appears in ignorance of his people's disaster. He knows the future only as men may know it—from the oracles of the gods. The lesson which he has to give, to those who can yet follow it, is to rejoice in the present blessings of life:—

"I go beneath the gloom of earth;  
But you, ye elders, though in woe, be glad;  
And give your souls to joy while the day lasts,  
For wealth avails not to the dead below."‡

There is one partial exception to the general darkness which Euripides allows to fall over the grave. The plot of the "Alcestis" gives greater play to hope than is allowed elsewhere. The devotion of the heroic wife and the joyous strength of Heracles in the face of trials, which grow with each victory, inspire the spectators with confidence that even the terrors of death may be overcome at last:—

"On each soul this boldness settled now,  
That one who revered the gods so much  
Would prosper yet."§

But the confidence, so far as it exists, rests on the unique merits of Alcestis, and not on the common destiny of man. She is addressed with a prayer as a "blessed deity."|| Still, for her also, Hades is sunless.¶ The future which Admetus looks forward to is, at best, a reflection of the present.\*\* And doubt dashes the loftiest expectation:—

"If there—aye there—some touch  
Of further dignity await the good,  
Sharing with them, may'st thou sit throned by her,  
The bride of Hades, in companionship."††

But Alcestis herself does not rise beyond the legendary picture of the gloomy region of Hades. She sees the two-oared boat and

\* Hec. i. 28.

† Comp. Hec. 319. The reference to "the third day" is remarkable.—See St. John, xi., 39 note.

‡ Alc. 1003.

¶ Alc. 436.

§ Persæ, 839.

\*\* Alc. 363.

§ Alc. 604 (Browning).

†† Alc. 744 (Browning).

Charon, and the darkness of the abode of the departed, and no ray of light falls upon it from the splendour of her devotion.\*

There are, indeed, some few who are exempted from the cheerless lot of the common dead. The kindred of the gods can reach to Heaven. Thetis promises Peleus that she will hereafter make him an immortal god, and that he shall dwell with her in the palace of Nereus.† Heracles rises to Heaven itself.‡ Achilles and Menelaus are to live in the island of the blest;§ and the Muse, his mother, promises Rhesus she will obtain for him life as "a human deity" though she will never see his face.|| But in speaking of these unusual blessings Euripides keeps within the limits of the epic legend. He repeats the old traditions, but he does not extend them. With these exceptions even the gods, who show in the future the triumph of righteousness, are silent as to the retribution of an unseen state. They promise no happiness, they denounce no suffering in the invisible order. The powers of the unseen world do not come within their view. This is shown most remarkably at the close of the "Hippolytus." Artemis appears in order to bring consolation to her dying worshipper. It might have seemed almost necessary that she should draw a bright picture of future unhindered companionship, of free fellowship untroubled by passion, of purity triumphant and unassailable. But of this there is not a word. All that she offers is the prospect of a pitiful vengeance and the honour of celebration upon earth.

Vitruvius mentions that the tomb of Euripides was still a place of frequent resort in his time (c. B.C. 15). It was situated, he says, just above the confluence of two streams. The waters of the one were noxious and unfit for human use; the waters of the other were pure and refreshing, and pilgrims drank of them freely.¶ The description reads like a parable of the position of the living poet, and it is completed by a tradition preserved by Plutarch. The tomb, he relates, when it was completed was touched by fire from Heaven, in token of the favour of the gods. This divine consecration was given besides only to the tomb of Lycurgus.\*\*

Euripides certainly suffered, and thought and wrote, at the meeting-point of conflicting currents of opinion and hope. He reflects and, to a certain extent, interprets the effects which followed from the dissolution of the old life and the old faith under the calamities of the Peloponnesian war and the influence of foreign culture. He treated the drama as Socrates treated philosophy; he brought it to the common concerns of daily experience, to the trials and the passions

\* Alc. 252 ff.

† Andr. 1254, ff.

‡ Heracl. 9, 871, 910 ff.

§ Andr. 1 c.; Hel. 1676.

|| Rhes. 967.

¶ Vitruv. viii. 16.

\*\* Plut. Lyc., 31.



of simple men and women. So it is that he is the most modern of the ancient tragedians, because he is the most human.

The view of man's condition and destiny which he gives is unquestionably sombre. He has visions of lofty truth from time to time, but he does not draw from them any abiding support for trust. In his tragedies, the sorrows and failures of the good make themselves felt in their present intensity; the anticipations of ultimate retribution rest rather upon a rational conviction that it must be, than upon that sense of a divine fellowship which draws from the fulfilment of duty an inspiration of joy under every disappointment.

The religious teaching of Euripides corresponds, in a word, with that most touching and noble sentence which Plato, in this case perhaps with more than usual truth, quotes from a conversation with Socrates on the evening of his death. "In regard to the facts of a future life, a man," said Phædo, "must either learn or find out their nature; or, if he cannot do this, take at any rate the best and least assailable of human words, and, borne on this as on a raft, perform in peril the voyage of life, unless he should be able to accomplish the journey with less risk and danger on a surer vessel—some word divine."<sup>\*</sup>

We can then study in Euripides a distinct stage in the preparation of the world for Christianity. He paints life as he found it when Greek art and Greek thought had put forth their full power. He scatters the dream which some have indulged in of the unclouded brightness of the Athenian prospect of life; and his popularity shows that he represented truly the feelings of those with whom he lived, and of those who came after him. His recognition of the mystery of being from the point of sight of the poet and not of the philosopher, his affirmation of the establishment of the sovereignty of righteousness under the conditions of earth, his feeling after a final unity in the harmonious consummation of things in the supreme existence, his vindication of the claims of the fulness of man's nature, are so many testimonies of the soul to the character of that revelation which can perfectly meet its needs. Let any one carefully ponder them, and consider whether they do not all find fulfilment in the one fact which is the message of the Gospel.

It cannot be a mere accidental coincidence that when St. Paul stood on the Areopagus and unfolded the meaning of his announcement of "Jesus and the Resurrection," he did in reality proclaim, as now established in the actual experience of men, the truths which Euripides felt after—the office of feeling, the oneness and end of humanity, the completeness of man's future being, the reign of righteousness, existence in God.<sup>†</sup>

BROOKE F. WESTCOTT.

<sup>\*</sup> Phæd. p. 85, C.

<sup>†</sup> Acts xvii. 23 ff.

## NEO-CHRISTIANITY AND MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD.

THE distinguished author of "Literature and Dogma" would not, one feels sure, misunderstand a critic who should describe him as the founder of a new religion. He has suffered too much from misunderstandings himself—and that, too, in the very work which he has just republished—to construe such a description with excessive sternness of literality. Indeed, one may say that it is not in his nature to do so. He is incapable of the mistake of treating the charge (or the compliment) with the matter-of-factness of an attorney's plea to a statement of claim—with a demand for "further and better particulars" as to time and place of the alleged foundation of the said new religion, and a summons to produce copies of any correspondence relating to the hire of the Agricultural Hall. Mr. Arnold, in a word, will at once perceive the applicability of his now well-known distinction to the criticism in question. He will see that it is a "literary" and not a "dogmatic" account of the facts; and he will refrain accordingly from replying, as of course he might easily reply, that he is not the expositor of new truths, but the interpreter of old ones, and that just as "presbyter" was only "priest writ large," so the creed for which he seeks to secure acceptance is neither more nor less than "Christianity writ small." One can confidently claim his assent to the general proposition that "interpretation" is often a transforming agency in theology, and that commentaries have before this been known to make a vast deal of difference in the accepted meaning of an author's text. Whether the body of commentary which is contained in Mr. Arnold's well-known volume would, if accepted as sound, transform the character of the popular religion, and thus entitle (or condemn) the commentator to the description given of him at the outset of these remarks is, of course,



the question to be proved. It is only "begged" provisionally, and for the sake of convenience in discussion. The simplest method of treating the theory propounded in "Literature and Dogma," is to assume for the purpose of criticism that it really is designed to lay the foundation of a new creed; and from that standpoint to inquire into its conformity or otherwise with the intellectual or moral evidences which all creeds presuppose, and the spiritual purposes which they are intended to fulfil. Should it appear that the theory stands this test, the question, whether it is or is not a legitimate development of popular Christianity, will be one of interest rather to the professional theologian than to mankind at large; while if, on the other hand, the theory fails to satisfy these requirements, it may be dismissed without more ado both by those who find the popular Christianity suffice them, and by those who do not. Moreover, and as a further plea in defence of the nomenclature under justification, one may at least expect Mr. Arnold to admit that even if the views propounded in "Literature and Dogma" be only the "development" they profess to be, they are at any rate a development which the "man in the street" would regard as of an extremely startling kind. If—*per impossibile*, as I cannot but think it—he should have any doubts on this point, there is an easy way of resolving them. He need only submit the creed to such representatives of popular Christianity as (for instance) Messrs. Moody and Sankey, or even Mr. Spurgeon, and ask them what they think of it for an exposition of the same religion as they themselves profess, with only the human excrescences pared away, and none of the Divine essentials left out. "Jemmy of the Round House never preached a Gospel sermon in his life," was the criticism of one famous Evangelical pulpit orator upon another in whose discourses Mr. Arnold, we may safely surmise, would have failed to detect any lack of the narrowness and bitterness, and irreverent familiarity with mysteries, which he justly regards as the note of Anglican and Nonconformist Calvinism. One cannot help diverting oneself occasionally with the speculation as to what this discriminating "taster" would have thought of the theological flavour of "Literature and Dogma," and its claim to be considered as, in all but the absence of certain accidents of superfluous dogma, a "Gospel sermon" of a true kind.

It is to be assumed that Mr. Arnold, whose aim, additionally emphasized in the issue of a cheaper edition of his volume, is, before all things to popularize his views—it is to be assumed, I say, that he has subjected them in imagination to the ordeal of criticism at the hands of ultra-Philistine orthodoxy. Indeed, there are signs in his preface, and in the significant omission of a certain passage to which he there refers, that he has done so. Any deceptive appearance to the contrary is a mere affair of style. It is part of

Mr. Arnold's inimitable manner—a point in his graceful and captivating tactics—to make it appear that he is not really asking much of even the most startled of his hearers; that those who seem furthest from him are really not so very far removed; and that the path that leads from one to the other is a great deal smoother and easier than it looks. That is, as it has always been, Mr. Arnold's urbane and dexterous method of procedure; and, of course, it is apt, despite its dialectical merits, to beget a twofold misconception. It leads some people into the error just referred to—that, namely, of supposing that their instructor is unconscious of the immense demand which he is really making upon them, the vast spiritual effort he is exacting from them, as reasoners and thinkers about religion; while in other minds it encourages the precisely converse mistake of fancying that the undertaking to which he has devoted himself is as simple a matter as his air of confident composure would appear to imply. It is, however, almost needless to add that in view of Mr. Arnold's high repute for sagacity and penetration, the latter of these misconceptions is likely to be much the more common of the two. One does not lightly suspect so clear an intelligence of having underrated the difficulties of its task; and most people, therefore, will be more ready to believe that the task itself is easier, and his handling of it more successful than is actually the case.

Before examining the grounds of this belief, it may be proper, though it can hardly be necessary, to premise, that Mr. Arnold's attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* between Christianity and modern thought must command the sympathy of every one who shares the very general inability to see how Western communities are to live "either with it or without it." To no such man can it be otherwise than natural to wish such an attempt success, or otherwise than painful to be convinced of its failure. That, however, would be no justification for making believe that it has succeeded where one can find nothing but proofs that it has failed; and at almost every step in Mr. Arnold's process of accommodation, such proofs in my humble judgment abound.

Let us first endeavour to formulate Mr. Arnold's view of the popular Christianity which he is seeking to reform. Let us see what and how much in it he holds to be true, essential, and eternal, and what and how much of it he holds to be false (or not verifiable), unessential, and perishable. Next let us examine the process by which he proposes to separate the latter elements from the former. And lastly, let us inquire where he finds and how he demonstrates the value of the residuum.

Popular Christianity, then, according to Mr. Arnold's view of it, contains two, and as far as can be gathered, only two, essential and eternal truths—namely, its assertion of the claims of righteousness



as the only way of peace for man, and its indication of Christ as the model of righteousness appointed for man's imitation. With these, however, are associated a number of beliefs—such as the belief in miracles, in prophecy, in a materialistic future state, in the Trinity, and even in the personality of the Supreme Being, which are either, as in the first three examples cited, demonstrably groundless; or, as in the two latter instances, unverifiable; and all of which are either losing, or have already lost, their hold upon men's minds. True and false beliefs alike, however, claim their warrant from the same sacred writings, and either have been or are supposed to have been affirmed alike by the same inspired writers; and to prevent the false therefore from fatally discrediting the true, the doubter must be provided with some exegetical instrument to distinguish those texts and passages of Scripture which contain matter of vital truth, and which were intended to be accepted in their fullest exactitude of meaning, from those which differ from them in contents and intention, as the figurative and poetic differ from the literal and historic. And this instrument is not theology but "culture"—culture which, by giving the reader "experience of the way in which men have thought and spoken," will "enable him to feel what the Bible writers are about, to read between the lines, to discern when he ought to press with his whole weight, and where he ought to pass lightly." When culture has thus enabled him to separate the false and perishable from the true and eternal elements of Christianity, and he has thus escaped the danger of being forced by the stumbling-block of the one to loose his hold upon the other, he will once more find in the Bible the one indispensable and irreplaceable instructor and inspirer which alone can guide and stimulate men to that only ordering of their actions whereby they may attain the highest happiness of which their nature is capable.

Such, briefly stated, is the sum and substance of the religious problem as it presents itself to Mr. Arnold, and of his proposed solution of it. Here are the defects which he finds in the popular Christianity, and here is the reformed religion which he would substitute. And the first objection which he foresees will be taken to it is that it is not a religion at all. He anticipates the inquirer who would ask him wherein it differs from a mere system of morality, and the Bible from a mere manual of ethics; and he is ready with his reply. The Scriptural injunctions to righteousness can be distinguished from mere moral precepts by what he holds to be an unmistakable mark of difference. They amount to religion, because they contain not simply morality, but morality "touched with emotion;" and morality touched with emotion is religion. That, it seems, is Mr. Arnold's sole criterion; and, no doubt, its presence will always be sufficiently recognizable wherever it occurs, if only it

will serve the purpose to which he would apply it. But will it do so? Is it a self-evident truth that morality touched with emotion is religion? No doubt the morality of all religions is touched with emotion; for, religion being an emotional state, its moral deliverances naturally partake of its own character. But much as it suits Mr. Arnold's humour to gird at that formal logic, which no one handles more deftly than himself, he will hardly carry his slights so far as to amuse himself with the "simple conversion of the universal affirmative." He will not argue that, because all religious morality is touched with emotion, therefore all morality touched with emotion is religious. No morality could be more profoundly touched with emotion than that of a child who strives to be "good," in order to earn the gold watch or the pony-ride which has been promised as the reward of its infantile virtue. If an intense and passionate sense of the "importance of conduct" were in itself religion, such a child's attitude would be religious; and since that conclusion is clearly inadmissible, it is obvious that the emotion which, by enkindling morality, transforms it into religion, must be emotion of a particular kind. But of what kind? Mr. Arnold would doubtless reply: "Of that kind which we know as an ultimate fact that the contemplation of righteousness is able to produce." But though this emotion may be in itself an ultimate fact of consciousness, the fact that it is identical with the emotion felt by the Bible writers is not only not ultimate, but is even uncertain. In other words, it is impossible to feel sure that, if religious feeling in general were reduced to a mere enthusiasm for righteousness, we should continue to find its best expression in the Bible. It is, as we know, a part of Mr. Arnold's case, that the writers of the Bible, or, at any rate, of the Old Testament, were animated by precisely this vague and indefinite enthusiasm themselves, neither more nor other; but this is exactly the least solid plank in the whole platform of Mr. Arnold's theory. With much that he says about the "literary" and "unscientific" character of the Scriptural references to a Supreme Being and His relations with man, to heaven and hell, to justification and redemption, it is easy to agree. Much of this language may undoubtedly be described as "not that of dogmatic metaphysics," but of "poetry and eloquence"—language not definitive of conceptions fully grasped by the thinker, but "thrown out at an object of consciousness not fully grasped, which inspired emotion." But to attempt to make out that all of it is to be so described is, to say the least, a very arduous undertaking. And to indoctrinate those "masses," whom Mr. Arnold is especially desirous of reaching with this view of the Scriptural phraseology, must surely be a feat beyond the power of even the most persuasive of teachers. There are texts in the Bible, and especially in the New



Testament, which men, who study them with at least some of the advantages of culture, and with all the advantages of impartiality, find it impossible not to regard as no less dogmatic in their intent and purport than the definitions of the Athanasian Creed. But if, then, those who can already claim some "experience of the way in which men have thought and spoken," and who fancy, on these grounds, that they, too, can "feel what the Bible writers are about,"—if such persons find themselves altogether unable to agree with Mr. Arnold as to the figurative and unscientific character of many Scriptural utterances, what probability is there that the unskilled rejector of Christianity will ever be brought by force of culture to adopt interpretations which so entirely fail to commend themselves at present to many, one might say, indeed, to the majority of fairly-cultivated men. How much culture, for instance, would be required to persuade an ordinary free-thinking member of a Mechanics' Institute that, when St. Paul reminds Timothy that "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory," his language was merely "thrown out" at certain great "objects of consciousness not fully grasped;" that he did *not* mean to make any dogmatic or "scientific" statement as to the Incarnation and the Ascension; and that his words can be quoted and applied, in some figurative and non-natural sense, by men who regard the Incarnation and the Ascension as mere mythical accretions about the human person of Christ, and the word "God" itself as simply a compendious synonym for the "something, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness."

For we must not allow ourselves to forget the enormous difficulty of the task which Mr. Arnold has set himself. He starts, as we have seen, with an equipment of spiritual material which seems hardly adequate to do more than fit out a respectable morality, and with this he proposes to construct a scheme of belief which shall be not only something more than a mere morality, but something more (in the sense in which species is more than genus), than a mere religion. The construction of a religion would not satisfy him; it must be a religion of a specific kind—a modernized form of Christianity. Not only so, but it is to be a form of Christianity founded and largely relying upon the same sacred writings as the older form, and insisting to the full as much upon their supreme spiritual sufficiency and eternal value. Nor only so, but it is to be, with all this, a Christianity which shall specially commend itself to the intelligent acceptance of those whom the detected errors of these very same sacred writings have mainly contributed to estrange from the Christian faith. It is easy enough of course to invent a new religion; and the experience of our race beyond the Atlantic shows that it is not even very difficult to start a new form of Christianity. By exclusive

insistence upon a few texts of Scripture, and steady rejection of all others that appear to conflict with them as honest interpolations or perversions. It is even possible to have such a new form of Christianity in the Bible. But never before has any teacher undertaken to accept Scripture as a whole, to impute no fraud or even conscious exaggeration to its writers, no sophistication of its records to their grammars, and even no rooms of interpretation, except in the shape of excessive and unimaginative literalism to its commentators—and has yet hoped to employ it successfully for impressing mankind with the truth of a religion which its contents have principally made them doubt. Other “harmonisers” of Scriptural utterances with human reason have felt the need of putting forth their utmost ingenuity of accommodation upon individual texts. Yet others, who have attempted to find a rational basis for the waning faith of their contemporaries, have found themselves compelled to give up the harmonising attempt altogether, and have taught a Christianity in which the Bible and its specific teaching have been as far as possible thrust quietly into the background. Mr. Matthew Arnold is the first teacher who has insisted with equal force on a religion which men have begun to question, and upon the documents which have led them to question it. He is the first who has not only made no attempt to skirt the stumbling-block, but has boldly claimed it for a stepping-stone. “Why not, indeed?” he would probably ask. “A stumbling-block to one man may well be a stepping-stone to another; it is so, in fact, to the man who is endeavouring to ascend. For him the obstacle ceases to impede, and becomes actually necessary to assist progress; and the whole purpose of my ‘Literature and Dogma’ is to teach men to ascend from a lower conception of Christianity to a higher. As long as their religious thought keeps trying to advance upon its present materialistic level, their reason will find a positive obstruction in the language of Scripture; but, once they have properly spiritualised their religion, the sacred writings will cease to be a hindrance, and begin to be a help to the perception of its truth.” It would perhaps be neither easy nor, even if easy, profitable to contest this view of the case. For we see that though the Bible is full of difficulties for every sect which accepts it; yet every such sect, after once having convinced itself of the truth of its general theory of religion, contrives to ignore or explain away the texts which appear to conflict with its doctrines; and those converts to Mr. Arnold’s theory of religion who cling as tenaciously as he does to the Bible, might be trusted to bend it to their views by the same courageous exegesis. For practical purposes, therefore, we may waive further controversy as to the truth of his principle of Biblical interpretation. Let us assent, for sake of argument, to the immensely comprehensive proposi-



tion that the Bible writers in every one of their supposed affirmations of Christian dogma were dealing in "literature," and not in "science." Let us admit that when they seem most positively to predicate this or that of the Supreme Being, such predicates are merely expressions "thrown out at an object of consciousness not fully grasped, which arouses emotion." Let us allow, in short, that when they say most distinctly "This is so," they merely mean, "This is a matter about which we feel very strongly, and we therefore relieve our minds by formulating precise statements about it which, however, you are not to take literally." Let us assent, provisionally, to this immensely comprehensive proposition, on the ground that whether it be true or not, its practical adoption would be made to follow somehow or other on the acceptance of Mr. Arnold's theory of religion; and we can then proceed unembarrassed to the consideration of what the natural claims of this theory are. If it can win adherents upon its own merits, the Bible, we may allow, will be accommodated to it. The literal and pseudo-scientific interpretation of Scripture will, we may allow, give place to the literary and poetic interpretation of it, if only the new ideal of religion, which demands this latter species of Biblical exegesis, can be made to supplant the old. Can it, then, be made to do so? What are its points of superiority to the old ideal, and how do they commend themselves as such to those doubters, and, above all, to those doubters among the "masses," whose dissatisfaction with the evidences for the present form of the popular religion is impelling them to make shipwreck of their faith altogether?

It is obvious, to begin with, that the superiority of the new ideal must be an intellectual superiority; for the difficulty of the doubters is an intellectual one. They do not complain that they find the Christian morality unsatisfying, but that they find it associated with a variety of propositions addressed to the reason which appear to them to be either demonstrably false or not demonstrably true. Of the proportions of this intellectual difficulty Mr. Arnold is fully sensible. He perceives that it goes much farther back than any mere question of the credibility of miracles; that it touches the great fundamental dogma upon which all religions of the ancient type are founded; and courageously, indeed, does he meet it. "I see," he says to them in effect—though not of course in the precise words which follow:—

"I see," he says to them, "that your great difficulty relates to the very existence of a personal God. You do not deny the existence of such a Being, but you hold that it is not verifiable or verified; and I agree with you. It is not, and at present it cannot be verified; and that which cannot be verified, can form no sure and satisfying basis for a religion. To resettle your religion on such a basis, you require some verifiable conception; and I will tell you where to find one. You will find it in our common human consciousness of

an 'Eternal Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness.' There you have your substitute—your verifiable substitute for the supposed personal God, who enjoins certain conduct upon you. And since your personal God rewards right conduct as well as enjoins it, and I have, therefore, also to meet this requirement of a religious faith, I refer you to the equally verifiable truth, that 'to righteousness belongs happiness.' For the name of God, then, wherever it occurs in your creed, substitute 'The Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness,' and for 'heaven,' substitute 'The happiness which belongs to righteousness,' and there is your religion. What more can you want?"

"What less could I have?" is the reply which the above bare statement of the case would suggest, and it speaks volumes for the persuasive grace of Mr. Arnold's style, that his own exposition for a time so effectually disarms it. Yet, except under the wand of the enchanter, it is difficult to understand how any mind disturbed in the older foundations of its faith could be expected to find repose and satisfaction in such a creed as this. As long ago as the appearance of the first edition of "*Literature and Dogma*," it was pointed out by many of its critics that its proposed basis of religion had really no more scientific certainty, was no more verifiable than that which it was designed to replace; and some such critics, indeed, went so far as to say that it actually added to the difficulties that it pretended to remove. The "Eternal Power," the "something not ourselves," and "the making for righteousness," are each of them, it was urged, conceptions no more directly given in consciousness than that of a "Personal God." Nothing is given in consciousness but the subjective fact of certain impulses; and the other so-called "certainties" are simply so many conjectures explanatory of the fact. We do not *know* that the impulses in question proceed even from an external Power, still less from an eternal one, or that, if they do, that Power makes for righteousness alone and not for unrighteousness also. We do not know this, these critics said, and there is no possible means of ascertaining it. So, they concluded, there are three unverifiables, not one unverifiable. But though I cannot recall any attempt on Mr. Arnold's part to answer these criticisms, and though to me, at any rate, they seem unanswerable, yet here also one might be willing to waive defects in his theory if, in other respects, it satisfied. We may admit, too, that if we miss the scientific certitude which was promised us in the new basis of religion, it does not, at any rate, like the conception of a God at once Infinite and Personal, involve any "antinomy of the reason." We may or may not feel convinced of the existence of "a Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness;" but we are not, at all events, repelled from the conviction by the further necessity of believing that that Power is both absolute and relative, both finite and infinite, both conditioned and unconditioned. The "masses" for whom Mr. Arnold writes might, perhaps, put up with less than



a scientific certitude of the existence of that which is to stand to them in the place of their old contradictory conception of a Personal God, if only the new idea supplied them with the satisfaction of their intellectual and spiritual wants. But to what extent does it do this? To me it appears so wholly inadequate to its professed purpose as to make it difficult to think that Mr. Arnold has actually realized the condition of those sceptical "masses" to whom he endeavours to stretch out a helping hand. It would almost seem as if he had mistaken what they *need* for what they *desire*, and would consequently accept. No doubt, what they need is some form of elevating belief in the "not-ourselves," which may serve to moralize their lives if immoral, and spiritualize them if moral; and no doubt, also, the creed presented to them by Mr. Arnold would, if its vagueness could be got over, give them what they need. It is unquestionably an elevating faith, and they need the stimulus and purification which such a faith would furnish. But to say that their desires in this matter are limited to their needs, is surely to credit them with an already attained elevation of thought and aim, which would render them practically independent of Mr. Arnold's ministrations. If the mind of the working-man who rejects the popular Christianity were ripe for the reception of Mr. Arnold's improved form of the creed, or if it could be educated into such condition of receptivity, he would not gravitate, as it is complained that he does, towards the doctrines of Mr. Bradlaugh. He would already have reconstructed, or would be in the way to reconstruct, his religion for himself.

And when we come to examine this Neo-Christianity, what do we find? Is it really, as it almost claims to be, a return to the faith once delivered to the saints but since degraded by materializing anthropomorphic man into the incredible and unspiritual creed of Exeter Hall? To me it appears to be equally removed from both, and to be, in a spiritual sense, as much below the one as it is above the other. Let us test it by Mr. Arnold's own test. Religion, he says, is "morality touched with emotion;" but this, it has already been contended, will not carry us very far. We must know what sort of emotion it is touched by. Emotion about what? We all know what sort of emotion it was which touched the morality of the Fathers and the Saints, of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, of St. Francis and St. Teresa. It was simply that expressed in the old-fashioned phrase, "the love of God;" and that emotion is almost by the force of terms excluded in the present case. Even Mr. Arnold has never gone so far as to say that we can "love" the "eternal something not ourselves which makes for righteousness." Clearly, therefore, the emotion by which his religion is touched must be one of a different kind. What, then, is it? What is the superadded

element of excitement which, in ascending from "Honesty is the best policy," up to "To righteousness belongs happiness," converts the "morality" of the one utterance into the "religion" of the other? The question is one to which "Literature and Dogma" supplies no very certain answer. At one time Mr. Arnold seems to suggest that the emotion arises out of a sense of the unspeakable importance of righteousness to the individual; at another time he appears to identify it with the joy or contentment arising from the consciousness that we are co-operating with and not resisting the great external forces which direct the destinies of mankind. Between these two emotions there seems to me to be no necessary connection—the one indeed being merely a feeling of *awe*, while the other is a feeling of *satisfaction*. Let us ask ourselves, then, how far either of them is fitted to fortify the moral impulses of a unit among the "masses"—say a sceptical working-man—and elevate them into a religion. We may take the second first as being the easier to dispose of; for, so far from its being true that a sceptical working-man would be inspired to righteousness by reflecting on the joy of co-operating with the great external forces which direct the destinies of mankind, it is not even true of four out of five of his most highly cultivated "betters," and in all probability it would not have been true of Mr. Arnold himself if he had been born a few years earlier. The very idea itself is the extremely recent growth of a highly scientific age. And though it is quite conceivable that it may, in course of time, become as familiar to every working-man as it now is to every physicist; and though it is further conceivable, and, for aught we can tell, probable that the idea thus familiarized will then take its place in all minds as the emotional sanction of righteousness, converting morality into religion, there is absolutely no ground for supposing that it will, at that distance of time, be made to fit into any form of Christianity, old or new.

If this idea, then, is incapable of supplying the requisite religion-making emotion, how stands the case with the alternative idea which still remains to be considered? Will a sense of the unspeakable importance of righteousness to the individual supply the place now filled in some minds by the fear, and in others by the love, of God? And before proceeding with this inquiry, we may pause a moment to note the singular courage which Mr. Arnold has shown in adopting so frankly egoistic a basis for his religion. Nothing, of course, can afford a stronger support, if only the facts can be relied upon to support *it*; and one cannot but admire the confidence with which Mr. Arnold assumes that they will. How unlike those nervous pottering Positivists, with their ridiculous talk about "altruism," their preposterous exhortations to men to "live for others"—and exhortations which clearly indicate their miserable suspicion



that to righteousness does *not* necessarily belong happiness, except in so far as a man can find happiness in reflecting on his private contributions to the welfare of others ! And do we not know, too, that these unfortunate thinkers have actually had to invent a Patent Future State of their own, and to dream a dream of immortality in the grateful memories of posterity,—a vision which seems so real and dazzling to us as we gaze upon it, entranced by the *haschisch* of Mr. Frederic Harrison's eloquence, and which fades away so completely when we awake ? Mr. Arnold's system, however, is superior to all such adventitious allurements as this. He declares boldly that to righteousness belongs happiness, and he relies apparently upon its unspeakable importance in this regard to awaken the emotion which is to touch the morality of our sceptical working-man. But can any one seriously believe that our sceptical working-man, finding a roll of £100 notes after being six months out of work, with a wife and eight children dependent upon him, half his furniture pawned, and a distress hanging over the remainder—can any one seriously believe that if this man's honesty has lost the support of his former belief in the popular Christianity, the emotions aroused by the improved form of this religion will sustain him in the right path ? He has parted with his belief in Heaven, not because it is too materialistic—for nothing can be more materialistic than the miseries from which it would be a refuge—but because he has learnt on general grounds to disbelieve in its existence. He has no clear idea of the external forces which direct the destinies of man, and he is not particularly anxious to co-operate with them. The only "Power not himself" of which he has any experience he names "misfortune;" it has all the air of being "eternal," and what it seems to "make for" is starvation. There is nothing to prevent him from making for the shipping office where he thinks of booking his passage to his preferred colony except the voice of Mr. Arnold exclaiming: "To righteousness belongs happiness. Try it; you *can* try it; you will find it *is* so." But to this he replies, "I know I can; I have tried it, and I find it is not so. I have been righteous for thirty years, and I never had a stroke of luck in my life until to-day."

Surely the truth is, that Mr. Arnold's Neo-Christianity is essentially a religion for the cultivated and comfortable, for those who are removed from the grosser temptations, who have learnt by experience that the exercise of the virtues under these conditions on the whole increases the sum of their comfort, and who feel that that touch of emotion which elevates morality into religion will give the finishing refinement to their happiness. They can find that emotion nearly anywhere,—in Buddhism, in Pantheism, in Positivism, in almost any "ism"; but whenever they have to look about for it, as Mr. Arnold has had to

insistence upon a few texts of Scripture, and sturdy rejection of all others that appear to conflict with them as human interpolations or perversions, it is even possible to base such a new form of Christianity on the Bible. But never before has any teacher undertaken to accept Scripture as a whole, to impute no fraud or even conscious exaggeration to its writers, no sophistication of its records to their guardians, and even no errors of interpretation, except in the shape of excessive and unimaginative literalism to its commentators—and has yet hoped to employ it successfully for impressing mankind with the truth of a religion which its contents have principally made them doubt. Other “harmonizers” of Scriptural utterances with human reason have felt the need of putting forth their utmost ingenuity of accommodation upon individual texts. Yet others, who have attempted to find a rational basis for the tottering faith of their contemporaries, have found themselves compelled to give up the harmonizing attempt altogether, and have taught a Christianity in which the Bible and its specific teaching have been as far as possible thrust quietly into the background. Mr. Matthew Arnold is the first teacher who has insisted with equal force on a religion which men have begun to question, and upon the documents which have led them to question it. He is the first who has not only made no attempt to skirt the stumbling-block, but has boldly claimed it for a stepping-stone. “Why not, indeed?” he would probably ask. “A stumbling-block to one man may well be a stepping-stone to another; it is so, in fact, to the man who is endeavouring to ascend. For him the obstacle ceases to impede, and becomes actually necessary to assist progress; and the whole purpose of my ‘Literature and Dogma’ is to teach men to ascend from a lower conception of Christianity to a higher. As long as their religious thought keeps trying to advance upon its present materialistic level, their reason will find a positive obstruction in the language of Scripture; but, once they have properly spiritualized their religion, the sacred writings will cease to be a hindrance, and begin to be a help to the perception of its truth.” It would perhaps be neither easy nor, even if easy, profitable to contest this view of the case. For we see that though the Bible is full of difficulties for every sect which accepts it; yet every such sect, after once having convinced itself of the truth of its general theory of religion, contrives to ignore or explain away the texts which appear to conflict with its doctrines; and those converts to Mr. Arnold’s theory of religion who cling as tenaciously as he does to the Bible, might be trusted to bend it to their views by the same courageous exegesis. For practical purposes, therefore, we may waive further controversy as to the soundness of his principle of Biblical interpretation. Let us assent, for the sake of argument, to the immensely comprehensive proposi-



tion that the Bible writers in every one of their supposed affirmations of Christian dogma were dealing in "literature," and not in "science." Let us admit that when they seem most positively to predicate this or that of the Supreme Being, such predicates are merely expressions "thrown out at an object of consciousness not fully grasped, which arouses emotion." Let us allow, in short, that when they say most distinctly "This is so," they merely mean, "This is a matter about which we feel very strongly, and we therefore relieve our minds by formulating precise statements about it which, however, you are not to take literally." Let us assent, provisionally, to this immensely comprehensive proposition, on the ground that whether it be true or not, its practical adoption would be made to follow somehow or other on the acceptance of Mr. Arnold's theory of religion; and we can then proceed unembarrassed to the consideration of what the natural claims of this theory are. If it can win adherents upon its own merits, the Bible, we may allow, will be accommodated to it. The literal and pseudo-scientific interpretation of Scripture will, we may allow, give place to the literary and poetic interpretation of it, if only the new ideal of religion, which demands this latter species of Biblical exegesis, can be made to supplant the old. Can it, then, be made to do so? What are its points of superiority to the old ideal, and how do they commend themselves as such to those doubters, and, above all, to those doubters among the "masses," whose dissatisfaction with the evidences for the present form of the popular religion is impelling them to make shipwreck of their faith altogether?

It is obvious, to begin with, that the superiority of the new ideal must be an intellectual superiority; for the difficulty of the doubters is an intellectual one. They do not complain that they find the Christian morality unsatisfying, but that they find it associated with a variety of propositions addressed to the reason which appear to them to be either demonstrably false or not demonstrably true. Of the proportions of this intellectual difficulty Mr. Arnold is fully sensible. He perceives that it goes much farther back than any mere question of the credibility of miracles; that it touches the great fundamental dogma upon which all religions of the ancient type are founded; and courageously, indeed, does he meet it. "I see," he says to them in effect—though not of course in the precise words which follow:—

"I see," he says to them, "that your great difficulty relates to the very existence of a personal God. You do not deny the existence of such a Being, but you hold that it is not verifiable or verified; and I agree with you. It is not, and at present it cannot be verified; and that which cannot be verified, can form no sure and satisfying basis for a religion. To resettle your religion on such a basis, you require some verifiable conception; and I will tell you where to find one. You will find it in our common human consciousness of



an 'Eternal Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness.' There you have your substitute—your verifiable substitute for the supposed personal God, who enjoins certain conduct upon you. And since your personal God rewards right conduct as well as enjoins it, and I have, therefore, also to meet this requirement of a religious faith, I refer you to the equally verifiable truth, that 'to righteousness belongs happiness.' For the name of God, then, wherever it occurs in your creed, substitute 'The Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness,' and for 'heaven,' substitute 'The happiness which belongs to righteousness,' and there is your religion. What more can you want?"

"What less could I have?" is the reply which the above bare statement of the case would suggest, and it speaks volumes for the persuasive grace of Mr. Arnold's style, that his own exposition for a time so effectually disarms it. Yet, except under the wand of the enchanter, it is difficult to understand how any mind disturbed in the older foundations of its faith could be expected to find repose and satisfaction in such a creed as this. As long ago as the appearance of the first edition of "*Literature and Dogma*," it was pointed out by many of its critics that its proposed basis of religion had really no more scientific certainty, was no more verifiable than that which it was designed to replace; and some such critics, indeed, went so far as to say that it actually added to the difficulties that it pretended to remove. The "Eternal Power," the "something not ourselves," and "the making for righteousness," are each of them, it was urged, conceptions no more directly given in consciousness than that of a "Personal God." Nothing is given in consciousness but the subjective fact of certain impulses; and the other so-called "certainties" are simply so many conjectures explanatory of the fact. We do not *know* that the impulses in question proceed even from an external Power, still less from an eternal one, or that, if they do, that Power makes for righteousness alone and not for unrighteousness also. We do not know this, these critics said, and there is no possible means of ascertaining it. So, they concluded, there are three unverifiables, not one unverifiable. But though I cannot recall any attempt on Mr. Arnold's part to answer these criticisms, and though to me, at any rate, they seem unanswerable, yet here also one might be willing to waive defects in his theory if, in other respects, it satisfied. We may admit, too, that if we miss the scientific certitude which was promised us in the new basis of religion, it does not, at any rate, like the conception of a God at once Infinite and Personal, involve any "antinomy of the reason." We may or may not feel convinced of the existence of "a Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness;" but we are not, at all events, repelled from the conviction by the further necessity of believing that that Power is both absolute and relative, both finite and infinite, both conditioned and unconditioned. The "masses" for whom Mr. Arnold writes might, perhaps, put up with less than



a scientific certitude of the existence of that which is to stand to them in the place of their old contradictory conception of a Personal God, if only the new idea supplied them with the satisfaction of their intellectual and spiritual wants. But to what extent does it do this? To me it appears so wholly inadequate to its professed purpose as to make it difficult to think that Mr. Arnold has actually realized the condition of those sceptical "masses" to whom he endeavours to stretch out a helping hand. It would almost seem as if he had mistaken what they *need* for what they *desire*, and would consequently accept. No doubt, what they need is some form of elevating belief in the "not-ourselves," which may serve to moralize their lives if immoral, and spiritualize them if moral; and no doubt, also, the creed presented to them by Mr. Arnold would, if its vagueness could be got over, give them what they need. It is unquestionably an elevating faith, and they need the stimulus and purification which such a faith would furnish. But to say that their desires in this matter are limited to their needs, is surely to credit them with an already attained elevation of thought and aim, which would render them practically independent of Mr. Arnold's ministrations. If the mind of the working-man who rejects the popular Christianity were ripe for the reception of Mr. Arnold's improved form of the creed, or if it could be educated into such condition of receptivity, he would not gravitate, as it is complained that he does, towards the doctrines of Mr. Bradlaugh. He would already have reconstructed, or would be in the way to reconstruct, his religion for himself.

And when we come to examine this Neo-Christianity, what do we find? Is it really, as it almost claims to be, a return to the faith once delivered to the saints but since degraded by materializing anthropomorphic man into the incredible and unspiritual creed of Exeter Hall? To me it appears to be equally removed from both, and to be, in a spiritual sense, as much below the one as it is above the other. Let us test it by Mr. Arnold's own test. Religion, he says, is "morality touched with emotion;" but this, it has already been contended, will not carry us very far. We must know what sort of emotion it is touched by. Emotion about what? We all know what sort of emotion it was which touched the morality of the Fathers and the Saints, of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, of St. Francis and St. Teresa. It was simply that expressed in the old-fashioned phrase, "the love of God;" and that emotion is almost by the force of terms excluded in the present case. Even Mr. Arnold has never gone so far as to say that we can "love" the "eternal something not ourselves which makes for righteousness." Clearly, therefore, the emotion by which his religion is touched must be one of a different kind. What, then, is it? What is the superadded



element of excitement which, in ascending from "Honesty is the best policy," up to "To righteousness belongs happiness," converts the "morality" of the one utterance into the "religion" of the other? The question is one to which "Literature and Dogma" supplies no very certain answer. At one time Mr. Arnold seems to suggest that the emotion arises out of a sense of the unspeakable importance of righteousness to the individual; at another time he appears to identify it with the joy or contentment arising from the consciousness that we are co-operating with and not resisting the great external forces which direct the destinies of mankind. Between these two emotions there seems to me to be no necessary connection—the one indeed being merely a feeling of *awe*, while the other is a feeling of *satisfaction*. Let us ask ourselves, then, how far either of them is fitted to fortify the moral impulses of a unit among the "masses"—say a sceptical working-man—and elevate them into a religion. We may take the second first as being the easier to dispose of; for, so far from its being true that a sceptical working-man would be inspired to righteousness by reflecting on the joy of co-operating with the great external forces which direct the destinies of mankind, it is not even true of four out of five of his most highly cultivated "betters," and in all probability it would not have been true of Mr. Arnold himself if he had been born a few years earlier. The very idea itself is the extremely recent growth of a highly scientific age. And though it is quite conceivable that it may, in course of time, become as familiar to every working-man as it now is to every physicist; and though it is further conceivable, and, for aught we can tell, probable that the idea thus familiarized will then take its place in all minds as the emotional sanction of righteousness, converting morality into religion, there is absolutely no ground for supposing that it will, at that distance of time, be made to fit into any form of Christianity, old or new.

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Surely the truth is, that Mr. Arnold's Neo-Christianity is essentially a religion for the cultivated and comfortable, for those who are removed from the grosser temptations, who have learnt by experience that the exercise of the virtues under these conditions on the whole increases the sum of their comfort, and who feel that that touch of emotion which elevates morality into religion will give the finishing refinement to their happiness. They can find that emotion nearly anywhere,—in Buddhism, in Pantheism, in Positivism, in almost any "ism"; but whenever they have to look about for it, as Mr. Arnold has had to

do in his own case, and now recommends them to do; whenever they have to invent their religion instead of its forcing itself upon them, they may depend upon it that it is an *article de luxe* suitable only for consumption by them and their like, and no more fit to serve those who need religion for their support in poverty, in sickness, and under deadly temptations, than whipped cream is fit to stay the stomach of a hungry man.

It may be answered that meats which have lost their nutritious properties are equally unfit for that purpose; and this, no doubt, is the melancholy truth. What new foods mankind may discover for the sustentation of their moral natures time alone can show, and to time also it must be left to discover whether man, as some of his admirers assure us, has reached that etherealized condition in which he can dispense with food altogether,—has so completely organized morality that he needs no religion to support it. But be that as it may, I find it impossible to believe that Neo-Christianity can be its destined support in the future, or that the draperies which Mr. Arnold has disposed in such graceful folds about the form of the old religion could ever do more than enable her becomingly to breathe her last.

H. D. TRAILL.



## SHIPOWNERS, SEAMEN, AND THE BOARD OF TRADE.

TO reduce to the lowest point the loss of life which occurs in any occupation, but especially in those callings into which the element of danger conspicuously enters, is an object which must command universal sympathy. And to the people of the British Isles the lives of those who go down to the sea in ships will always be precious; and if they have reason to suspect that these seafarers are allowed, through carelessness or wrong, to perish in more than the inevitable proportion,

"As though they floated on their watery bier  
Unwept, and weltered to the parching wind  
Without the meed of some melodious tear,"

they may well raise an outcry against those whose duty it is to remedy the evil.

That this duty primarily devolves on those who equip and send forth our merchant fleets is fully and frankly admitted by them: only secondarily does it lie on that department of Government whose special province it is to watch over all movements of trade. All respectable shipowners will affirm that they share the general solicitude on this subject, and will not complain that other sections of the community should quicken their susceptibilities. "To promote the security of life and property at sea" therefore engages the sympathy and commands the consideration of us all.

To affirm that much of this loss of life is preventible teaches us little, for this statement is equally true of every variety of occupation on shore. To take the effects of *drunkenness* alone,—how many deaths, plainly preventible, occur annually in London? And the more dangerous the calling, the more fatal the effects of intoxication will be. The cabman who falls off his box and is killed, and the bargeman who falls into the river and is drowned through the accursed drink, equally with the skipper who gets up Dutch courage with drink when the gale

is coming on, and loses his ship, forfeit their lives from preventible causes. Does any one need to be told that these causes frequently operate at sea as well as on shore? To cite an instance for which names and dates could be given, and which came under the notice of the court over which Mr. Rothery, with so much evident integrity of purpose, presides: A teetotal ship, with a cargo of produce from the East, calls at Falmouth for orders, and in due course proceeds thence to the Clyde to discharge her cargo. On the passage she strikes on a rock on the Irish coast, and rapidly leaks at the bow; happily, the fore compartment has a watertight bulkhead, which saves her from foundering, or it might have been difficult to divine the cause of her loss at the official inquiry. There it is disclosed that whisky was freely brought on board at Falmouth, and that the commander, under its influence, steered a wrong course and struck the rock. How many casualties result from this cause alone can only be surmised from the number of cases in which captains, officers, and engineers have to be removed for the offence; and certainly a great number of cases never come to light, through the reluctance of all on board to tell tales one of another. Such losses are clearly preventible: but what legislation can prevent them?

The Board of Trade Return of March 6th, 1884, to an order of the House of Commons, shows (on page 70) how large a proportion of the losses at sea are due to the *negligence* of those on board. An analysis is there presented by the Glasgow underwriters of the result of six years' inquiries into the causes of sea casualties, which shews—" (1) that about 7 per cent. only were found due to causes over which the shipowner had more or less direct control, and about 1 per cent. to faults of construction; (2) that out of the remaining 92 per cent. about two-thirds were held due to the negligence of those on board."

But how can we overcome this negligence in men whose habitual exposure to danger has made them forgetful of it? Again, the losses are preventible: but what can legislation do?

Comparing for a moment the dangers of a seafaring life with those of occupations on shore, we have it on the authority of Mr. Thomas Gray of the Board of Trade, that "the mine and the railway are quite as prolific in fatal accidents as the sea service," and that "a man is safer at sea than anywhere else in a fairly good ship, properly manned and carefully navigated, as the very great majority of British merchant ships are."

Very conflicting statements have been made respecting the increase or decrease of loss of life among seamen during recent years; and it is not easy to reconcile the different sets of statistics which have been issued with more or less authority of the Board of Trade. But a careful comparison shows a very marked decrease in the last six years, even including the autumn of 1881, when



such fearful weather was experienced on the Atlantic, causing disaster to the finest vessels in the best sea-going trim, and bringing to a watery grave so many of the brave fishermen of our coasts. And, be it remembered, these six years have exhibited a greater increase in the tonnage at sea than ever before. During these six years the change from sailing ships to steamers has been rapidly proceeding; the mileage run and the stroke of work performed have been vastly greater than before; the shipbuilders have been constructing vessels of altered types; a new body of managing shipowners has come into the field; commanders long accustomed to sailing ships have been gaining their experience in steam; and yet these important changes have been attended by a distinct reduction in the loss of life. It may well be asked under these circumstances what adequate necessity has been shown to warrant sweeping changes in the shipping law under which such improvement has taken place? Shipowners generally will answer, none; and they are now demanding that the alleged case for this legislation shall be made out to the satisfaction of a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

But it will be well not to be diverted by these considerations from the more important inquiry, whether the loss of life at sea can be diminished, and, if so, to what extent; and by what measures this most desirable end can be attained. This is the inquiry on which alone the British public will care to fasten its attention.

It will not be necessary to offer more than a passing remark on the way in which this subject is brought before the public mind, though on this the shipowners feel they have just ground of complaint. When, in the last Parliament, the member for Derby fixed his lance and spurred his horse, and with a glowing enthusiasm of humanity dashed forward, cutting through everything, and regardless of all countervailing considerations, there was sufficient moral sympathy left, even in the hearts of shipowners, to admit some kindly feeling towards Samuel Plimsoll; but when a department of Government takes up a question, we expect that there will be freedom from passion, and, from their ample opportunities of knowledge, that there will be a due regard to all those elements of the account which must weigh in the final settlement of the controversy. A great flutter of feeling, and a great cloud of prejudice, are hardly qualifications for carefully adapting means to ends. If, instead of casting imputations indiscriminately on one of the most important interests in the realm, and receiving with coldness, if not with suspicion, the suggestions (let them come from whom they might), of men who could help him to pick his way along a difficult road, Mr. Chamberlain had frankly taken them into counsel, and invited their co-operation, we should have been saved much irritation in the solution of the question at issue.



But discarding these secondary questions, let us now consider what are the causes supposed to operate most sensibly in swelling the total of loss of life at sea. Undoubtedly, a certain percentage of missing ships must be charged with deficient stability, arising from peculiarity of original construction, or from mismanagement of the water-ballast tanks, or from improper distribution of the cargo, causing the centre of gravity to be too high for safe navigation in case of a sudden and severe squall. Opinions will differ in regard to the importance to be attached to these causes in accounting for the missing ships, and perhaps it may be well at once to proceed to the consideration of that to which the Board of Trade attributes, not without reason, a considerable proportion of those losses—viz.:

*Overloading.*—It is generally assumed that when a vessel is overloaded it arises from the greed of her owner; but while it may be admitted that this is occasionally true, certainly in many instances it must be set down to the ignorance of the commander or other supervisor of the lading, who does not know the safe point at which to stop. Owners of lengthened experience will not, for the little extra freight earned, expose their vessels to the threshing they undergo in a gale at sea when more than properly laden, and they will witness with great satisfaction the adoption of rules of loading which will hinder unscrupulous competitors from trying in this way to get an advantage over them.

Opinion has for some years been ripening on the subject of a compulsory load-line, by which one uniform practice may be enforced on all cargo-carrying vessels, and one fruitful source of danger cut off. For a long time it seemed hopeless to expect that a general rule could be devised; but more than three years ago the Board of Trade urged that the task should be attempted. It was then that the Committee of Lloyd's Register began to take the evidence of their surveyors and of shipowners in every port of the kingdom, respecting the practice of loading adopted by the most reliable members of the trade; and their experts were fairly set to work upon the problem. Besides the access to original survey-reports of ships built under their inspection, which they had in their office, a mass of evidence and of more or less matured opinion flowed in upon them from every quarter; and after twelve months' labour, they felt themselves in a position to put forth a proposed rule, which was subjected to general criticism; and after every opinion entitled to consideration had been duly weighed, the tables of load-line were finally issued in the autumn of 1882. These are based upon the principle of a certain percentage of surplus buoyancy being required, varying according to the type of vessel; and a rule has been laid down by which the principle may be uniformly applied. For the last eighteen months shipowners have been adopting this load-line, though not in such numbers as would have accepted it, if the Board



of Trade had not encouraged the expectation that they would establish a rule; and though the Board have not fulfilled this expectation, they have in some cases actually permitted a depth of loading distinctly beyond that allowed by Lloyd's tables.

In this matter the conduct of the Board of Trade has been a little difficult to understand, for though they might choose to regard with caution the regulations of a public body partly under the influence of shipowners, yet the rule, its basis and its modes of application, were all openly stated, so that the Board's experts had the opportunity of subjecting it to the severest examination. And when Mr. Chamberlain was publicly advised by a most representative deputation of the shipping interest to issue instructions to his surveyors not to stop vessels loaded to the Lloyd's rule, it is not easy to understand his unwillingness: such instructions could have been tentative, and in case of need revocable; but they would have caused large numbers of vessels during the past two winters to be loaded in accordance with these rules and he would have secured the responsibility of a public body for the practice of private members of the trade. After unsatisfactory attempts of the Board to propound a settlement of the question, Mr. Chamberlain has at last taken the wise step of appointing a departmental committee to investigate it, and though the committee does not possess in its composition every element that might have been desired, there is good reason to expect that at the conclusion of their labours a final law of freeboard will be attained. Its application will not be difficult, and its enforcement can be prompt: and if it be a condition of loading demanded alike of British and foreign vessels in all ports to which British authority extends, no interest will suffer, and one important element of danger to life will be successfully eliminated.

It is a very general opinion among shipowners that if a wisely determined rule of loading is strictly enforced, and the existing powers of the Board of Trade are exercised by those in whose competency they can confide, little more will be required to attain the objects defined by the Merchant Shipping Bill. Whether the Board be constituted as at present, or altogether re-constructed, as many think it should be, to meet the necessities of modern commerce and especially of the modern mercantile marine, it may safely be affirmed that no legislature will confer upon it the very large powers, coupled with the freedom from responsibility sought for in different clauses of the present Bill.

The past administration of the Board is not a success, though the words of Burke respecting the Board of Trade of his day may be too strong to apply to it, that "even where they had no ill intentions (which was sometimes the case), trade and manufacture suffered infinitely from their injudicious tamperings." In this very Bill, past error of legislation has to be confessed; and its authors are responsible for the measure



of 1880, which, though enacted with the best intentions towards the sailors, has operated entirely in favour of the crimps. The sailor's freedom from arrest in case of desertion has enabled the crimp to retain his victim, in spite of all the justly directed efforts of the master or owner of the ship. This leads us to a subject which is considered by the authors of the Merchant Shipping Act as one of the causes of danger which ought to be removed—that of *undermanning*. That the voluntary act of insufficiently manning his vessel should entail upon an owner all the consequences of its being pronounced unseaworthy, is perfectly fair; but this is not the case which has most frequently to be considered. A commander who selects his crew days before his vessel sails, with the greatest care, and signs articles with them at the Board of Trade Office, very frequently finds that they do not appear at the appointed hour of departure. Formerly search would have been made for them, aided if necessary by the police, and frequently the seamen have expressed their gratitude to the commander for having rescued them from their evil surroundings. But since the power of arrest has been withdrawn, search is useless. The commander must now accept such hands as the crimp brings down upon the pier-head; and when at sea, and unable to rectify the error, he has to discover what qualifications they possess, and whether they are equal to the duty they have undertaken. Thus the Payment of Wages Act, 1880, has not conduced to the safety of life and property at sea; and in the words of the able letter of the Clyde steamship owners to Mr. Gladstone, "it is at least a debatable point which is the better—to conduct a man on board the ship he has contracted to join, and, if necessary for the attainment of that end, to lock him up; or to leave him in the hands of crimps and immoral characters, in the full possession of liberty to break as many contracts of service as he pleases."

Nor is it only in the home ports that these difficulties are experienced. Vessels visiting the ports of the United States very frequently lose the effective crews with which they enter, and can only obtain inferior crews when they leave, so completely is this matter in the hands of the crimps. It has been suggested that a Consular Convention should be sought; but it is impossible to negotiate for a power of arrest in a foreign port which is not possessed at home.

There can be no doubt, however, that this is a more common cause of undermanning than any other that can be named; and if the Board of Trade are earnest in their desire to remedy it, they cannot do better than repeal the Act of 1880, which in an evil hour they obtained.

Perhaps the strength of a ship's crew is more affected by the state of health in which they come on board than by any other cause, their own previous misconduct often bringing several of them upon



the sick list. And when we take into account the far greater healthiness of the modern fore-castle and the improved diet, the large number of labour-saving appliances now in use, and the freedom from work at the pumps, which in the old-fashioned ships was necessary every watch, it is evident that a scale of manning which was insufficient formerly is very sufficient now. The clause in the Merchant Shipping Bill which refers to this subject is far too vague to define the unseaworthiness of the ship; and it will be unsafe to leave it to each local court to fix a scale of manning of its own.

A large proportion of the loss of life at sea arises from a cause over which the owner has no control—viz., *collision*: and instead of the heavy penalty for this class of disasters being laid on the owner, it is a fair question whether the officers on duty might not be visited more severely than at present. It is matter of common experience that frequently vessels long within sight of each other continue on their course without any change until danger of collision is imminent. Whether a much sharper deterrent, in the shape of personal consequences to the officers in charge, would remedy this frequent carelessness, is uncertain; but if the fear of the penalty were strongly felt, there could be little difficulty in most cases in obviating all danger of collision.

But the question which seems to occupy in the minds of the framers of the Merchant Shipping Bill the most prominent place is that of *over-insurance*. It may safely be affirmed that, in the opinion of shipowners generally, over-insurance exists to a very small extent indeed; for unless there is direct fraudulent intent the expense of the extra premium, burdening every voyage and reducing the credit balance, will deter most managers from practising it. That owners who, as a rule, somewhat under-insure will occasionally find that by oversight they have slightly over-insured, there is no doubt; and if all the cases of excess are calculated, and all those of defect omitted, it will be easy to show that over-insurance exists. If all ships were sent to sea uninsured, possibly greater precautions for their safety would be taken; though there are shipowners who for years have not insured but whose vessels do not appear to have had a smaller share of disaster.

Whatever effect insurance may have in removing anxiety, and consequently in lessening the urgency of the precautions taken, certain it is that the majority of owners must give up the business if they give up insuring their risks. But is there an increment of loss produced by over-insurance, as distinguished from ordinary and reasonable insurance? It is greatly to be doubted; and if a measure designed to limit the amount becomes law, it will probably be found that no effect whatever is apparent on the statistics of loss. But can any reasonable objection be taken to a law which strictly prohibits over-insurance? Certainly not, provided it is clearly defined.

And this brings us to the real difficulty of the question—How should insurance value be defined? A cargo of sugar is shipped in Java for Europe, and insured for the amount of its prime cost, and the policies are lodged with the bank which makes advances upon it. But during the homeward voyage sugar falls in price in the European markets, say £3 per ton; and if the cargo arrives in safety, a severe loss will have to be faced. It is plainly to the interest of the owner of the cargo that he should be paid the full amount of his outlay, which he can only get in case the ship is lost. If the law reduces the insurance value, no shipper can effectually cover his risk; he can never obtain a real indemnity.

But if changes of value thus occur in articles of produce, this is still more the case with ships, and the difficulty of defining their value is much greater. For not only is their value affected by the rise and fall of markets, but as the value of a factory is very different if it be "a going concern" from what it would be if it be closed and put up for sale, so the ship is of much greater value to her owner who knows how to work her successfully than she is found to be if put up for sale by auction.

Further, the owner who purchases a ship may find he has a considerable sum to lay out upon her to fit her for sea. The outlay may be wise or unwise; but if he is to obtain a full indemnity in case of her loss at sea, he must insure the whole that he has spent, quite irrespective of the question whether she would fetch the amount in the market. But further, a ship that has gone on her voyage may be dismasted, and a large expenditure may be incurred for her repair in a foreign port, and the money will only be advanced provided it may be insured when the ship goes to sea. This amount, added to previous outlays, will exceed the actual value of the ship, but can it be forbidden by law to insure it?

Still, if the definition of insurance value is made sufficiently wide to cover all these cases, no owner need complain if he obtains a full indemnity; and we must not forget that in this we have to include the risk of running down other ships, which, strange to say, is excluded from the indemnity contemplated in Mr. Chamberlain's Bill. But with so many points for consideration there will of necessity be ceaseless litigation, unless the value is agreed upon beforehand, not to be reopened by the underwriter in case of loss. Here lies the central error of the Merchant Shipping Bill as regards its insurance clauses; and against this the Committee of Lloyd's have plainly expressed their opinion. And the opposition of the ship-owners to this part of the Bill arises from their perceiving that it does not afford that indemnity for loss which it professes, and offers to an unscrupulous underwriter, if such there be, a thousand chances of evading his liability. Moreover, the desire to remove from the plain practical sense of juries simple questions of fact seems to



indicate a disposition to incline the scale strongly against the interest of shipowners. But they will never consent to give up the legal security enjoyed by all other members of the community. And while the dream of trial without jury may please the minds of lawyers and experts, the Legislature will never be so unjust as to force it upon those who claim the ancient safeguards.

If the insurance law needs amendment in some respects—and that may safely be admitted—let it by all means be revised by practical men, who will know how far it is necessary to go in order to secure a real contract of indemnity, and no more. It is the lack of practical knowledge which this part of the Bill discloses which has caused the great outcry against it, and not any desire on the part of prudent shipowners to provide facilities for those who are reckless. It must never be forgotten that those who embark their fortunes at sea adopt a really hazardous investment; and while the law guards against abuses in this as in every other occupation, it must not discourage those precautions which experience teaches to be necessary, or it will drive the trade out of the hands of the prudent into the hands of the improvident and careless. Shipowners as a body will never object to fair limitations, of whatsoever kind, which will tend to guard the life of the sailor from unnecessary exposure to peril; and if from the first the promoters of this legislation had taken into their confidence the leading and reliable members of the shipping interest, in whom all their brother shipowners could confide, they would have received that help which would enable them justly and accurately to adapt their measures to attain the end in view, without endangering interests which it is their bounden duty to guard.

But it has been the unfriendly tone and attitude of the Board of Trade towards shipowners for many years past which has hindered the framing of suitable measures, and has brought upon the Statute-book so many which have proved abortive, and have required very shortly to be repealed. Nor have we much hope of a better state of things until the constitution of the Board undergoes a radical reform. It is vain to solicit the confidence of the public for a body whose mistakes have made them notorious in all shipping circles; and similar mistakes will continue to be made until a real Board of Trade, with members conversant with shipping business, in whom the whole trade confides, is appointed, not to register the opinions and proceedings of the existing officials, but to take responsible control of the department, and to manage its affairs with the same wisdom and discretion as characterize the governing bodies of so many of the joint-stock undertakings. The State may continue to burden and to hamper the shipping trade, as it has so often done before; but it will never attain its ends in the safe conduct of maritime affairs until it frankly accepts the counsel and assistance of those who alone understand them. It is the plainly expressed opinion of

many shipowners, that it is the laches and mistakes of Board of Trade officers which have conduced not a little to swell the sad total of disaster. Had they been better advised when to interfere and when to abstain, had they, while requiring fittings to guard against one kind of danger, been duly mindful of other dangers which, as the shipowner knew, must equally be guarded against, they would have rendered better service and secured the confidence of those who now only regard them with distrust.

A tone of suspicion seems to run through every line of the present measure; and this is not surprising, when we read, in one of the communications which heralded it, of "a jury possibly prejudiced, and a judge who scarcely knows the stem of a ship from the stern; of evidence of which money can procure any quantity of decisions; which have done more to drown seamen than all the Acts of the Legislature have done to save them," "of a judge who knows little and a jury who know less," of bad rules of evidence, of "the underwriter who has a special interest in over-insurance," and similar imputations all round.

So the shipowner's *bona fides* is to count for nothing; he must be responsible for things utterly beyond any control he could exercise. Under such conditions he could not carry on his business; he does not possess the far-reaching powers for which the Board of Trade gives him credit.

The endeavour to apply to him the provisions of the Employers' Liability Act exhibits the same spirit. However suitable they may be for employments on shore, where the owner can have access to his works at any moment, they are quite unsuitable for ships thousands of miles away from their owners, whose position is thus essentially different from that of every other trader. Indeed the Act would seem rather to operate adversely to the life of a seaman depending for his safety so largely on the help of his comrades, who might put forth less effort in his behalf if they knew that a claim could be made on the owner of the ship in case of his death.

This excessive burden of responsibility can only tend to drive men who have anything to lose from the trade.

The permanent welfare of the mercantile marine of this country must ever be one of the most important aims of its government; but this can never be secured if distrust is fostered between the various sections of which it is composed, and to foster distrust is the natural tendency of such agitation as the present. Severe, however, as the conflict is, it will not pass away without leaving benefit behind it, if it results in the establishment of a competent shipping authority at the Board of Trade, equal to the task of a reasonable, friendly, and watchful oversight over all maritime affairs.

GEORGE LIDGETT.



## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

THE last few months of German foreign policy have not been marked by any great or striking event, but they have decidedly tended to consolidate the peace of the Continent. The Emperor William's interview with the Emperor of Austria at Ischl (August 8), the marked distinction with which he received Count Kalnoky's visit, and the interview of the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs with Prince Bismarck at Salzburg (August 30), have proved that the Austro-German alliance remains the leading feature of the European situation. This alliance, if it has been chiefly Prince Bismarck's work, has secured ample advantages to Austria. She has obtained the union of the Servian, Bulgarian, and Turkish railways with her own, which will open the markets of the Balkan peninsula to her industry; her influence is paramount at Belgrade, whilst that of Russia in Bulgaria has received a severe check from the latest events in that country. It was therefore natural that Count Kalnoky should take an early opportunity of stating in the Hungarian delegation that all rumours of the close understanding with Germany being shaken were totally devoid of foundation. At the same time, Prince Bismarck has always carefully avoided overstraining the bow; he was ready to build a golden bridge for Russia when, unable to resist the turn matters had taken in Bulgaria, she sought for a reconciliation which was sealed by the interviews of M. de Giers with Prince Bismarck and Count Kalnoky. It has further been confirmed by the appointment of Prince Orloff, a personal friend of the Chancellor, as Russian Ambassador at the German Court, and the removal of the Russian troops in Poland, which had given rise to a certain uneasiness in Germany. It need scarcely be said that this "rapprochement" between Germany and Russia has not the slightest tendency to weaken our intimate relations with Austria. Russia has simply been obliged to make the necessary sacrifices in order to come out of her isolation, and to give pledges that she will not interfere with Austria's legitimate influence in the Balkan peninsula. The nucleus of the Austro-German alliance had already been strengthened by the accession of Italy, and

has now received additional force from the visits of the kings of Roumania and Servia to both Imperial Courts; for if nothing has been stipulated in writing, it is nevertheless certain that a virtual understanding has been arrived at with the Governments of those two countries. The manœuvres at Homburg, where around the venerable Emperor were assembled the Kings of Spain, of Servia, and of Saxony, the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Connaught and Cambridge, the Grand Dukes of Hesse and Weimar, and many other illustrious personages, offered a proud spectacle; and from thence the Emperor, who in his eighty-seventh year had gone through all the fatigues with astonishing vigour, proceeded to Rudesheim in order to assist amidst general enthusiasm at the inauguration of Schilling's great monument on the Niederwald, designed to commemorate the victories of 1880-81 and the establishment of German unity. The raillery of the French press at the pilgrimage of those quasi-independent kinglets of recent date, who as vassals of the empire had come to do homage to their liege lord, only served to show how keenly our neighbours resented the success of Prince Bismarck's policy; and the wanton insult of King Alfonso by the Parisian population on his visit to the French capital gave fresh opportunity for a brilliant counter-move in the Spanish journey of the Imperial Prince. It is perfectly conceivable that this visit, during which the Prince, by his winning personal qualities, succeeded in conquering all the sympathies of the Spanish nation, did not contribute to improve the temper of French public opinion; but if this irritation is manifested by the war waged against the employment of German clerks and workmen, it deserves to be noted that nevertheless the official relations of both Governments have remained friendly, and that M. Ferry has even lately, in his speech on the Tonkin credit, frankly acknowledged the perfectly loyal character of the German policy towards France.

We are sorry not to be able to consider as an equal success the visit of the Imperial Prince to Rome. Although, *après-coup*, the Government press tried to represent that journey as nothing more than a visit to the King of Italy, in the course of which the Prince could not well avoid paying his respects to the Pope, it is evident that this was a mere pretext. The Crown Prince had been several times in Italy; he had seen King Humbert, besides, in the course of last summer at Monza; and no duty of international courtesy obliged him, on his return from Madrid, to make the long *détour* by Rome. He would not have gone there unless his intention had been to see the Pope, and therefore from the beginning the whole interest of the journey centred in the interview at the Vatican, and not in the stay at the Quirinal, however brilliant the reception might be which the Italian Court and Government, as well as the population of the Eternal City, gave to the heir-apparent of the German Crown. In order to make that interview possible a comedy of etiquette and ceremonial was deemed necessary—a sort of quarantine, as John Lemoine said, through which the Prince had to pass in order to present himself, disinfected from all Italian taint, before the Holy Father. He was lodged in the Palazino, a newly erected side-building of the Quirinal, which is considered not to be comprised in the excommunication pronounced by Pio Nono over the palace; the Prussian Minister announced the intention of the Prince



to visit the Pope, to the Secretary of State; Cardinal Jacobini called at the Prussian legation, feigning to believe that the Prince resided there; and the next day the Prince started for the Vatican from the embassy in hired coaches with servants in plain clothes.

Now, we perfectly admit that the Prince could not enter the Cortile San Damaso in State carriages of the Italian Court, and that all these precautions, little as they must have been to the taste of his royal hosts, may have been unavoidable if the visit was to take place; but what we ask is, was this comedy worth the trouble?—had the visit a corresponding substantial result?

Of course the mere fact of an interview between two such august personages will always have a certain importance,\* nor need it be said that the reception of the Prince was marked by all the distinction due to his high rank, and that he observed towards the Pope the dignified and yet winning courtesy of which he is a master. But although little trustworthy information has transpired about what passed in the Pope's closet, we shall hardly go wrong in believing that the conversation had rather an academical than a practical character. We are perfectly sure that there was no question of a reconciliation between the Quirinal and the Vatican, nor of an international conservative league, for which, as some clerical papers pretended, the Prince asked the Pope's support. Leo XIII. only slightly touched on the precarious situation of the Papacy, excusing himself for not being able to give a better reception to his illustrious visitor, and the Prince acknowledging that this was a subject that might occupy the general politics of the future. The ecclesiastical conflict was of course the subject of a certain exchange of views and observations; but the conversation on that topic must certainly have been of a general character, for it was impossible that the Prince should have been charged to negotiate the settlement of any definite question, and therefore he could merely listen when the Pope explained his grievances and his dispositions regarding the religious pacification in Prussia, and assure Leo XIII. of the readiness of the German Government to do all in its power in order to come to an arrangement satisfactory both to the State and the Church. But it need hardly be said that by such polite generalities no definite progress can be made towards a settlement of the pending questions; on the contrary, the negotiations are completely at a deadlock, and the ecclesiastical conflict remains the great stumbling-block of the domestic situation.

It will be recollected that the law of July, 1883, abolished the obligation of notifying the appointment of revocable ecclesiastics, whilst maintaining it for definite appointments; but the provisions of the May laws for the education of the clergy remained in force, and most of the younger ecclesiastics having been trained in foreign seminaries, there were very few auxiliary priests who satisfied those educational conditions. It was therefore necessary that the candidates should be exceptionally relieved from the necessity of fulfilling those requirements. The Government was willing to do this, and the Minister of Public Worship addressed a circular to that effect to the bishops, who,

\* A remarkable consequence of the visit was the change in the attitude of the French Government in its ecclesiastical policy, MM. Ferry and Spuller seeing that under these circumstances it would not be wise to push things to the extreme.



however, declined to enter into any communication on the subject, and after having discussed the question in a secret meeting at Mayence, referred it to the decision of the Pope. To refuse any concession in this instance, where the question was that of the removal of the most stringent requirements in the spiritual charge, would have been wanton stubbornness, and the Curia, notwithstanding its *non possumus* in principles, is very skilful in devising expedients. Therefore, whilst protesting against those requirements which were to be dispensed with, the Pope allowed that for once, exceptionally, the lists of the auxiliary priests might be collected in the dioceses, and then presented by the Bishop of Culm, as the senior of the Prussian bishops. If the Government celebrated this concession as a considerable victory, it might be acknowledged that it has become very modest, for the whole question was a mere formality. The great difficulty remains—namely, by whom the auxiliary priests are to be appointed in those dioceses the bishops of which have been deposed, it being impossible that the Bishop of Culm should exercise rights which canonically belong to the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen. The Government, therefore, firmly resolved not to re-admit those dignitaries to the exercise of ecclesiastical functions, insists that the Pope should oblige them to resign, whilst it has shown a conciliatory spirit by granting a free pardon to the deposed Bishops of Limburg and Münster, and by revoking the stoppage of the ecclesiastical salaries in all the dioceses except Cologne and Posen. It may at first sight appear strange that the Curia demurs to this request, for personal regards have ever been of small account in its policy, and it has never hesitated to sacrifice even faithful servants when it was deemed necessary in the interests of the Church. Thus, even Droste-Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, the foremost champion of Ultramontane interests, was obliged to accept a coadjutor when an understanding with Gregory XVI was arrived at after the accession of Frederic William IV. If, therefore, the Curia was convinced that those two prelates were the only impediment in the way of a satisfactory settlement, they would be asked to make the same sacrifice; and if it refuses to do this, it must be for substantial reasons. It is perfectly understood at the Vatican that Prince Bismarck's aim is to re-establish the exterior frame of the hierarchy, but to adjourn *ad calendas græcas* the substantial revision of the ecclesiastical legislation. In making the conflict thus to disappear in its most galling personal features, he hopes to persuade the Catholic population that the Government has done everything to meet their spiritual wants, and that if peace is not established the fault lies solely with the litigious Centre party. In this way he hopes to weaken the powers of the only Parliamentary party which has successfully withstood him, and at the same time to keep the clergy at the mercy of the Government. But it is evidently not for the interest of the Curia to help the Chamber in bringing about such a result; therefore it turns a deaf ear to the urgent request of the Government to insist upon the resignation of the two Archbishops, unless great concessions should be made by Prussia as to the liberty of the Church respecting the discipline and the education of the clergy, and equally refuses to admit the limited obligation of notification for the definite appointments.

Thus the negotiations are going round in a vicious circle, though the



Government have made considerable concessions. The Bishops of Limburg and Münster were deposed because they refused to submit to the May laws; they have not acknowledged that in doing so they were wrong, nor have they promised to obey those laws in future, yet they have received a free pardon, and have re-entered their dioceses in triumph, thus demonstrating that by persevering in its resistance to the State the Church will in the long run prevail. Nevertheless the Catholics are not satisfied; the Curia, while yielding nothing, accepts every concession simply as an instalment of a debt, and the Centre party declare that they will never desist from their demand of a thorough revision of the ecclesiastical legislation and of a full redress of their grievances. The leaders of the party at the beginning of the session brought in a motion to re-establish the abolished Articles (15, 16 and 18) of the Constitution, which granted autonomy to religious communities. They put off the debate on account of the Crown Prince's journey, the result of which they wanted to see, but again brought it forward as soon as they were satisfied that no understanding had been reached by that visit; and although they were beaten, the spirit of bitterness in which that debate and the subsequent discussions on the budget of the Catholic clergy were conducted, showed how far we are as yet from any settlement. The most remarkable speech was perhaps that of the progressist leader, Dr. Haenel, who frankly avowed that he had been a warm partisan of the May laws, but that the Government itself having broken through them, the whole system ought to be abandoned and give place to different and comprehensive legislative measures, ensuring the rights of the State as well as the liberty of the religious communities. But although it is perfectly clear how impossible it must be to persevere in the present beaten track, we have little hope that this will be admitted by the Chancellor, and thus the piecemeal legislation and the bartering will go on, whilst the opposition of the Centre party remains unbroken, and it holds the tongue of the balance of parties in all other questions.

This will be seen in the fate of the Bill by which the Government proposes to readjust direct taxation in favour of the poor. Prince Bismarck's original scheme was to have only one direct tax, the income-tax on incomes from £300 upwards, and to raise the bulk of the revenue by indirect taxation. Against this plan the House of Deputies protested last year, because its execution would have overthrown the whole system of taxation in Prussia: it only granted exemption from taxation for incomes below £45, and certain reductions to the classes next above that minimum, and adopted a series of resolutions for the reform of personal direct taxation. The present Bill proposes to exempt all incomes below £60, and to reduce the tax on all incomes which do not amount to £150; the impost beginning at 1 and gradually rising to 3 per cent. at which point it is to remain stationary. In order to supply the loss thus caused to the revenue, a duty is to be imposed on the interest of securities, beginning at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on incomes of £30, and increasing to 2 per cent. on incomes of more than £500. The main features of these proposals appear to be rational, and it is only to be regretted that the Government is unwilling to yield in two important points. It is perfectly certain that the income-tax would yield a much larger revenue if the taxpayers were obliged to



declare their incomes themselves, instead of being assessed by mixed commissions, as at present; and it is equally certain that the new tax on the interest of securities will yield much more than the loss caused by the exemption and the reduction on the lower incomes. The majority are unwilling to leave this surplus in the hand of the Government; they want the English system of determining the rate of the impost from year to year; but this is considered by the ministry to savour too much of parliamentary rule. Besides, there is a difficulty in the connexion between imperial and local taxes: the latter are raised in form of additional payments to the first, and it is asserted that if the lower classes were to be exempted from the State income-tax, it would be impossible to do as much for local taxes, since in the smaller towns and in the country the wealthier inhabitants are too few to bear the whole weight of taxation. Finally, this economic question is connected with the suffrage, which is determined by the amount of taxes paid by the members of each class, the Liberal party insisting that those who in future will be exempt from income-tax should not be deprived of their votes.

The fate of the Bill is therefore still doubtful, and will mainly depend on the vote of the Centre party. Still more will this be the case with the Bill on working men's insurance against accidents, which is to be discussed in the next Session of the Reichstag, and the principles of which, as the *North German Gazette* has taken care to inform us, are entirely the conception of Prince Bismarck. Now, it must be admitted that for once the Chancellor has deigned to profit by the criticism of his opponents: the plan is simpler, and at the same time far bolder, than in the earlier drafts, and it has been received in a friendly spirit by the unprejudiced organs of public opinion. There is no longer any question of creating a vast bureaucratic organization spreading over the whole empire, the State subvention is abandoned, the workmen are no longer to be forced to contribute to the insurance fund, and last year's plan of forming associations based on the degree of danger to which the labourers are exposed is given up, because the feeling of liability to similar dangers can never create a community of interest. In order to render all manufacturers and mine-owners liable for any accident that occurs in their own line of business, the present Bill proposes to form professional associations in the following way:—Every person who comes under this Act is bound to make a statement to the local authorities as to the branch of business in which he is engaged and the average number of men he employs. These returns are to be submitted to the Imperial Assurance Board, the functions of which are rather of a controlling than an administrative character. The masters in every branch of industry are then to apply for license to form an association, which will be granted, unless it is found that the number of persons concerned is too small. A meeting of these masters will be called, at which a member of the Board is to be present, and in which each master will have a number of votes corresponding to the number of men he employs. The meeting will elect an acting committee, representing the association, and enjoying corporate rights with considerable freedom of action, subject only to the superintendence of the Imperial Board. If the masters do not apply for the license, the Board is entitled to



compel them to perform the duties imposed by the law. In a similar way it is proposed to organize the workmen; they are to be represented in each branch by from nine to eighteen delegates, who form the Labourers' Committee. This committee is bound to send a member, when an accident has happened, to assist the police in investigating its cause, and to nominate two of the Court of Five, who assess the compensation due to the injured; two others will represent the masters, and the president, who has the casting vote, will be appointed by the local administrative authorities. An appeal from this Court may be made to the Central Board, which is to consist of a president and at least two other members, nominated for life by the Emperor; of four members of the Federal Council, appointed by that body for a term of four years; and of four representatives of the associations, two of whom will be elected by the masters and two by the men.

The plan is, as we said before, simpler than that of last year, yet it would be premature to decide, from the mere outlines which have been published, whether it can be made to work. The first question that arises is, whether even this machinery is not too complicated for its aim—namely, to make all masters effectually liable for any accident that occurs in their line of business, and to remedy the grievances of the working men, who complain that they are baffled by the vexatious delay and litigation of private insurance companies. When it was proposed last year to form the associations on the principle of similar risk, it was calculated that every association would on an average have to decide three or four cases annually: will it be different with the present professional associations, and is it advisable to form such a vast apparatus for so little work? Each association is to embrace all the masters and workmen of every branch of industry in the whole empire; and as it is obviously impossible to direct their business from one centre, it will be necessary to form local sections, which will in fact transact the real business; so that the associations themselves will lead a rather shadowy life, and realize only in a small degree the community of interests on which they are to be based—unless, when they are formed, they undertake other business also. This may be the intention of the Chancellor, who aims at nothing less than the organization of the whole industry of Germany, and probably thinks that if he succeeds in establishing it at present for a special purpose, it will lead to far more important consequences, and form a firm basis for the wide social projects which he contemplates. But in order to succeed in the present case, it will be necessary that the Bill, of which the mere outlines have been published, should supply practical means of execution in all the details, and it is very uncertain what position the different parties of the Reichstag will assume in this respect. It is in particular doubtful whether the Centre party will support the Bill; for although several leading Catholics have always advocated the principle of granting to the trade associations corporate rights and a large amount of freedom, it need scarcely be said that this does not commit the party to supporting this Bill in its present shape. In this respect it is a noteworthy fact that at the general Catholic meeting at Dusseldorf Dr. Windthorst successfully opposed the assembly's adhesion to certain principles of social politics laid down by



Catholic politicians at a former meeting at Haid. The shrewd leader of the party clearly discerned the importance of keeping his hands free, so that he might decide according to circumstances. The Centre party, moreover, having always advocated federal principles, the creation of a new Imperial board, and the extension of the professional associations over the whole of the empire, may be too centralist for its taste: it was different with the Bill on insurance against sickness, for the public intervention it sanctioned is exercised by local authorities, and it only made obligatory measures which existed already in many manufacturing districts. On the other side, the Liberals will not look favourably upon the suppression of all the private assurance companies, or upon the compulsory character of the associations. It has not remained unnoticed by them that M. Léon Say, in his second lecture on the social question, has subjected Prince Bismarck's "cyclopean projects" to a very severe criticism, and prophesied a signal failure for them. Thus the fate of the Bill is still very much in the dark.

A word remains to be said of a former parliamentary leader who has disappeared from the political stage—Dr. Edward Lasker, who, after a journey through the United States, met with a sudden death at New York (January 5). If that death had taken place ten years earlier, when Lasker stood at the zenith of his influence, the question would have been eagerly discussed, what effect the event would have on internal German policy. At present, when this influence had almost entirely ceased, an obituary reviewing his former position, his merits and defects, is all that follows the sad message from the Far West. Lasker combined great gifts with indefatigable energy, fearless uprightness, and singular purity in his aims; and if he was not a great orator, he was certainly one of the best of debaters. Yet he was not a statesman in the true sense of the word, because he was too much of a Liberal ideologue. A consequence of this was his belief that Liberalism, if placed in the service of Prince Bismarck, would become the lasting basis of the Chancellor's policy; he did not perceive that that statesman accepts the services of any party so long only as he can use it for his aims, and shoves it aside when it has done its work for him. So long as the support of the Liberal party was necessary for the foundation of German unity, and the subsequent unitarian legislation, its services were gladly accepted, and it appeared to be the Government party; when the Chancellor seemed to turn to the Conservative side, Lasker believed it would still be possible to nail him to the Liberal colours by making proper concessions; but by this policy of compromise he only compromised his party and its principles, and the result was that the National Liberal party dwindled away, was split up into fractions, and to-day is powerless. But if Lasker's death leaves no void in German politics, his memory will remain in honour as that of a man of great parts and unblemished integrity, although his friends certainly passed the proper limits in the panegyrics pronounced at his funeral.\*

\* Lasker's death has called forth a curious epilogue in Prince Bismarck's refusal to transmit to the Reichstag a resolution passed by the American House of Representatives in honour of Lasker, and forwarded to the Foreign Office by the American Minister. On the motion of a rather obscure member from Texas, Mr. Ochiltree, that assembly had expressed its deep regret at the death of the eminent German statesman, who by his "firm and constant exposition of, and devotion to, free and liberal ideas, materially



If internal politics present a rather barren aspect, Germany can at least in another domain boast of an event of which she may well be proud; I mean the fourth centennial anniversary of Luther's birth. The centennial celebration of Schiller's birthday (November 10, 1859) was very remarkable, and in one respect had an advantage—namely, that the whole nation, without distinction of religious tenets, was able to join in it. But if the festive commemoration of what the world owes to Luther was of course confined to the Protestant communities, the enthusiasm which pervaded them was so much deeper, and corresponded with the greatness of the man. Schiller's poems and tragedies have become a lasting common property of the nation; but in fact their enjoyment is confined to the minority of the higher classes, whilst the importance of Luther's work is the same for the simplest workman as for the nobleman or the philosopher.

This importance is certainly not confined to Germany: Luther was a universal man. His was one of those powerful natures which not only possess an extraordinary measure of mental endowments, but consecrate and exalt those endowments by an inflexible energy, by depth of spiritual feeling, and by the utter unselfishness with which he made his great gifts subservient to a grand moral idea, to the dignity of an apostle of mankind. The Reformation first became a power when the matured but tardily awakened movement concentrated all its energies in the person of this creative genius; without him the Reformation is inconceivable, in him it became personified, and however readily we may acknowledge the services of his fellow-labourers, still in all critical moments Luther rests upon himself alone—he remains *the* Reformer. A new era in the history of the Christian Church began when he rediscovered the condition of salvation in the justifying power of faith in the grace of God as manifested in the person of Christ, and proclaimed the Bible as the sole standard of faith.

But this oecumenical importance of Luther's person and work does

advanced the social, political, and economic conditions of his people." This judgment being contrary to his own convictions of Lasker's achievements, the Chancellor declared himself unable to submit the document to the Reichstag. Now, it is certainly not desirable that representative assemblies should pass irresponsible resolutions dealing with the internal affairs of foreign countries, and if, indeed, the House of Representatives wanted to honour the memory of the deceased, the Speaker might have sent the address directly to the President of the Reichstag. At the same time it is clear that the Chancellor, as Mr. Frelinghuysen states in his despatch to Mr. Sargent, by simply transmitting the resolution, would in no way have endorsed its contents, and his refusal to do so has certainly an unpleasant taste of rancour both against Lasker and against Mr. Sargent, the American Minister at Berlin, who is eminently a *persona ingrata*, since last year, in a despatch which was indiscreetly published, he ascribed the interdiction of the import of American pork to the Agrarian tendencies of the Chancellor. The way in which the inspired press on this occasion has insulted Mr. Sargent, designating him as a swindler, unworthy to fill his post, is really shameful. A foreign Minister should be safe against such attacks; as he has no means of defending himself against them, it being impossible that he should enter into a newspaper feud. The incident has had the more important consequence of uniting the Progressist and Secessionist parties into one Liberal party, numbering 118 members, and thus being the strongest in the Reichstag. The new session of the Reichstag was opened on the 6th of March by a somewhat colourless speech from the throne, but became at once very animated by the re-appearance of the Chancellor, who seemed to be in very good health, and led off with a long and rather tiresome speech on the Lasker question, which showed again how keenly he resents any censure of his policy as a personal offence. However, his friends may well think: "O si la cuisses," or "much ado about nothing." He will be still more galled by the terms in which the new resolution of the House of Representatives speaks of the overbearing individual, who placed himself between the Crown and the Reichstag.



not prevent both from having paramount importance for Germany. Strikingly does Doellinger remark of him: "There has never been a German who, so intuitively understood his countrymen and who in return has been so thoroughly understood, nay, whose spirit, I should say, has been so completely imbibed by his nation, as this Augustinian friar. The mind and spirit of the Germans were under his control like the lyre in the hands of a musician." And what is true of the sixteenth century is still true to-day, in a large measure. Of course, a mature judgment of what we owe to the great Reformer may not be so widely-spread as amongst his contemporaries; yet we may say that there is no character in German history who is so well understood by the people at large, and that few boys and girls will be found who do not know who Martin Luther was. Nay, the culture of the lower classes in Protestant Germany is bound up in the first instance with the knowledge of Luther's translation of the Bible, Luther's catechism and Luther's hymns. These are the spiritual goods which the German emigrant carries with him to distant countries: they have maintained the German language in Alsace, the Baltic provinces of Russia, and Transylvania; they impress themselves upon the simplest mind, for no other German writer has so well known how to convey the deepest truths in a popular shape of such touching simplicity that one of his contemporaries, Agricola, could say: "Now God has begun to speak German." By these works and his other writings Luther has become the creator of the modern German tongue, so that even those who condemn him as a rebel and apostate are obliged to speak in his language.

That Protestant Germany is alive to the benefits conferred by the great Reformer has been proved by the celebration of his four hundredth birthday. We have no space to dwell upon the different ways in which it was celebrated—the historical processions and exhibitions, the innumerable lectures, books, and pamphlets which it called forth; suffice it to say, that from Berlin to the smallest village there has probably been no Protestant community which has not had its Luther festival, and that the movement was characterized by an enthusiasm as deep and earnest as it was calm and dignified, and therefore abstained from all unnecessary attacks upon Rome and the Catholic Church. Even the Ultramontane press seemed struck with the vitality displayed by the Protestant faith, and, at least for the time, observed a respectful silence. This will of course deceive no one as to the real feelings with which the Roman hierarchy regards Luther, and which were clearly set forth in the Pope's Christmas Allocution, designating him as "heresiarch" and "impious apostate," expressions which found a proper though not premeditated rejoinder in the Emperor's answer to the congratulatory new-year's address of the city of Berlin, in which he expressed his thankfulness to have witnessed the commemoration of the blessings conferred by the Reformation.

Another characteristic feature of the anniversary was, that it has decidedly strengthened the positive tendency in the Protestant Church. The so-called liberal Protestants of the *Protestanten-Verein* found themselves indeed in a rather awkward position, for it is manifestly a little absurd to celebrate Luther, and to combat as superannuated metaphysical subtleties the positive doctrines of the Christian faith, which



form the very foundations upon which the whole fabric of his Reformation rests. The speakers of that persuasion generally discharged themselves of their irksome duty by praising Luther as a champion of liberty, the destroyer of Roman thralldom and superstition, who had vindicated the right of private judgment and had thus become the father of all modern liberties, whilst they passed in silence over his creed or tried to attenuate his doctrines into moral commonplaces. Only a few were unwise enough to attack these doctrines openly, and to denounce belief in them as the reason why the people are estranged from the Church. Conspicuous amongst these was Professor Bender of Bonn, in his speech entitled "Reformation and Ecclesiasticism." He begins by celebrating Luther as a man of one mould, yet in fact accepts only the celebrated book, "On the Liberty of a Christian," as the true expression of Reformation principles; he calls all the other writings in which Luther expounded his doctrine a "relapse into the dogmatism of the Middle Ages," and designates the creeds of the Reformation as "apocryphal confessions, in which the policy of lawyers and the sophistry of theologians have distorted the evangelical doctrine of salvation with Roman scholasticism." Now, little as we are inclined to swear to every letter of those creeds, this is a preposterous misrepresentation of the Reformation work, and the author, in order not to leave us in doubt as to what he considers to be mediæval dogmatism, further declares that the Church has no interest in "the mythological theory which wants to explain the divinity of the Redeemer by a union of a supernatural personality with a human life," and calls it "a barbarous theory, that God was obliged to appease his wrath by the blood and sacrifice of the Redeemer, before he could show mercy instead of deserved punishment." It will not be denied that modern orthodoxy in Germany may have its weak sides; there may be much rigid formality in it, much clinging to the letter, much weakly pietism; but it will scarcely be contested that a Christianity, stripped of all the doctrines which this professor of theology comprises under the name of mediæval dogmatism, ceases to deserve its name. The speech has called forth energetic replies and an eloquent protest from the Rhenish synods against a theology which attacks the very foundations of the creed of the Church of Rhineland and Westphalia.

In the literary domain we may notice as publications of particular importance the third and fourth volumes of Ranke's "Universal History," which show that the illustrious author in his eighty-eighth year enjoys the full force and all the resources of his genius. We would especially draw attention to the third volume, treating of the beginnings of Christianity, which may be said to have even surpassed the expectations with which it was looked for. Ranke carefully separates the task of the historian from that of the theologian. To the latter belong the mysteries of religion, the ideas of sin, atonement and salvation; "the historian is only concerned to unfold the great combination of universal historical influences amid which Christianity appeared, and upon which its own influence depended; he has simply to investigate the ideas which by their power cause the general movements and dominate their currents, to state the facts by which they have manifested themselves: the domains of religious faith and historical knowledge are not opposed to each other, but separated according to their



nature." Ranke accordingly abstains from entering into the details of the life of Christ; he simply sketches the characteristic features of his person and doctrine as surpassing all and opposed to all the world had yet seen. The Christian wants to form a definite judgment on the resurrection; the historian is satisfied to state the fact, undeniable even to the hardest sceptic, that the disciples firmly believed in it, and that this conviction became the foundation of the Church. We think this method perfectly correct; he who reads history wants to know how history itself has judged the miracle of the resurrection. It has done so by the fact that since the beginnings of Christianity the history of the empires of this world has been essentially a history of the position they have taken towards the Christian religion as the new great motive principle. This is the point of view from which Ranke proceeds to delineate the history of the spread of the Christian doctrine, the persecutions, the organization of the Church, its strife with resisting paganism and its victory over it. The only point which seems questionable to us is, whether he has not presented the character of Constantine too favourably.

To say one word also, in conclusion, on a very different topic, we would mention the opening of the German theatre at Berlin, which, formed after the model of the *Comédie Française*, has united a considerable number of the best actors and actresses into a company. One would scarcely think it possible that an enterprise destined to represent specially the classical drama could succeed by the side of the Royal Theatre, with its large subvention from the Civil List; but unfortunately that institution has been for five-and-twenty years under the direction of a courtier not only ignorant of all dramatic art, but, what is worse, pretending to an infallible judgment, and governing autocratically. Thus the Royal Theatre, which ought to be the first in Germany, is not only second to those of Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Carlsruhe, but can scarcely compare with those of third-rate Courts, or of towns like Leipzig, Frankfort, or Hamburg. It was therefore an event when some first-rate actors, such as Barnay, Friedmann, Haase, and others combined in order to create by their own forces a stage for the higher drama worthy of the German capital. There have of course been failures in the course of its representations, but on the whole, considering the difficulties that had to be overcome, the experiment has met with fair success. The sympathy of the public has remained unshaken, because they have seen the earnest endeavours of the artists to do their best, and the more the elements of the new society blend together, the better will be the result. The members in their turn declare themselves satisfied with their receipts, and look forward with confidence to the future.

HEINRICH GEFFCKEN.

March 15.



## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### I.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A work has lately been discovered at Constantinople which must excite the greatest interest among scholars. Nine years ago, in 1875, a Greek Bishop Bryennios, Metropolitan of Serrae, published the first complete edition of the Epistles of St. Clement to the Corinthians. Bryennios discovered this work in the library of the Most Holy Sepulchre, in Fannar of Constantinople. It was enthusiastically received for many reasons. No part of Church History is so shrouded in darkness as that period which intervenes between the destruction of Jerusalem and the death of Justin Martyr, say 70-160 A.D. Clement's completed Epistles helped to illuminate this period; they show us the Church in its earliest development; they give us a glimpse of its ritual, its social life, its Church government. But the Clementine Epistles were welcomed for another reason still. They gave hopes of other unexpected "finds" in the same quarter. This very library had been often visited and examined by scholars. Bethmann, in 1845; Guigniant, in 1856; Mr. Coxe, the Bodleian Librarian, in 1858, examined the manuscripts, and yet none of them discovered the missing part of St. Clement's work. What treasures, then, men naturally argued, may we expect in more retired localities, when a mine so long and so well worked has yielded such an important find. The expectation has not been disappointed, and now Bryennios, who meanwhile has become Metropolitan of Nicomedia, again steps forward and publishes another work of early Christian antiquity, "The Teaching of the Apostles," which he found bound up with the manuscript of the Clementine Epistles. He has brought it out in a very convenient shape with exhaustive and learned prolegomena and notes in which he discusses most impartially the various questions which may be raised out of it, concerning the doctrine, ritual and Church government of the Apostolic age. But what is the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*,\* some readers may ask? Ecclesiastical historians have often remarked that Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and Athanasius quote a work which they describe very variously. Clement in his *Stromata* calls it Scripture. Eusebius classes it with *Hermas*, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse, and calls it *Διδαχαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*. Athanasius describes it as a non-canonical work, very useful, however, for catechumens. These references have been attributed by many to

\* The title is "Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων μετὰ προλεγόμενων καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου Μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1883. Since this article went to press a translation of the treatise in question has appeared in the *Guardian* of Wednesday, March 19, with a commentary by the Rev. John Wordsworth, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford.

the Apostolic Constitutions which first came to light in the sixteenth century. Our own learned but eccentric Whiston maintained this view very strongly at the beginning of the last century. But modern criticism has conclusively proved that the Constitutions are not, as he maintained, "a record of what our Saviour Himself delivered to His Apostles in the forty days after His resurrection," but merely a work founded on some very early documents, and then revised and enlarged in the third and fourth centuries. Scholars so widely separated as Pearson, Hilgenfeld, Lagarde, and Bickell are at one on this point. Bickell indeed, forty years ago, in his work on Church Law, expressly pointed out that an early Christian document of the second century lay at the basis of the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions. This book has now come to light, and in the skilful hands of Bryennios presents us with Christian life and worship as it existed in the first half of the second century. The date of the *Διδαχὴ* he fixes, while the contemporaries of St. John were living—between 120 and 160 A.D., and earlier than the Montanist controversy. The contents of the book, which is just the size of the Epistle to the Galatians, corresponds to this early date. It indeed offers a striking commentary in many parts upon various passages of St. Paul's Epistles. The following is a brief analysis of it. The first portion of the book is practically identical with the conclusion (capp. xvii.-xxi.) of the Epistle of St. Barnabas. They are both recensions of the Early Christian document, known as the "Two Ways," the Way of Life and the Way of Death. In this portion there are many striking quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, about returning good for evil, almsgiving, fasting, and the like. It contains prohibitions also of vices to which Christians would be exposed among an overwhelming Pagan majority; as magic, augury, and performance of the mystic rites. The second part of the *Διδαχὴ* is, however, the most interesting, as giving us a glimpse into the organization of the earliest Church. The legislative section, as we may call it, begins at cap. vii. Baptism, and that in the name of the Trinity, is the foundation stone of the edifice. The account given of both the Sacraments strikingly confirms and illustrates the New Testament and Justin Martyr. Baptism must be administered, if possible, in running water. If running water cannot be had, then in any other kind of water, even though warm. If immersion cannot be used, trine affusion may suffice, accompanied by fasting. As to the practice of fasting, it must not be like that of the hypocrites—evidently referring to the Jews and using the language of the Sermon on the Mount. They fast on Mondays and Thursdays, the regular Pharisaic fasts. Christians must fast on Wednesdays and Fridays. Their prayers, too, must not be modelled on the Jewish fashion, but the Lord's Prayer must be used thrice a day. The Lord's Prayer is then inserted with the concluding doxology, following very closely, though not entirely, the words of St. Matthew. The rules for the Eucharist next follow, together with a form of consecration prayer for each element, but without any such recital of the words of Institution as finds a place in every existing Christian ritual. To this succeeds a post-communion thanksgiving in that rapt self-forgetting tone of which the "Gloria in Excelsis" is a conspicuous example; praising God for what He is in Himself, and interceding for the ingathering of the Church from the four winds of Heaven.



Attached, however, to this thanksgiving is a note or rubric, signifying that the Prophets shall not be limited to these words, but be permitted to use such expressions as please them, reminding us of Justin's famous description of the Eucharist. Then comes the most curious details, We see the whole organization depicted by St. Paul in passages like 1 Cor. xii. 28, Ephes. iv. 11 and in the Pastoral Epistles. Apostles, prophets, bishops, and deacons have their spheres of activity marked out, limited and defined. The composition of the book is determined to a very early date by the use made of the word Apostle. It was still in common every-day use. Distance had not yet thrown a halo round it and limited its application to the original witnesses of the revelation. Some of the tests used to discriminate between the false Apostle or Prophet and the true are very amusing. Thus, in cap. xi., the document proceeds:—"Now, concerning Apostles and Prophets, thus do according to the commandment of the Gospel. Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. He shall remain only for one day; or, if necessary, for two. But if he remain a third, he is a false Apostle. And when he departs he shall take nothing with him save provision for one stage; but if he asks for money, he is a false Apostle." Rules for the Prophets are next laid down. Their teaching is recognized as a "Speaking in the Spirit," if sound and good, but must be tested by their practice, as some were evidently making a trade of their prophetic claims. The Apostles seem to have been missionaries or evangelists. The Prophets, on the other hand, had fixed places of labour. Such were not to prophesy for money, but yet they must be supported by the gift of first fruits. Bishops and Deacons are recognized in cap. xv. They shall be ordained, being found true and free from covetousness. This chapter will doubtless be the central point of interest as raising various questions concerning the nature and work of these Bishops and Deacons. In this document they seem to occupy some higher position than that of mere financial agents to the congregation assigned to them by some modern critics. They are described as discharging the ministry of Prophets and Teachers to the congregation. There is no mention of Presbyters, while, on the other hand, the Prophets are described as Chief Priests for the congregation (cap. xiii.). The Lord's Day is recognized in cap. xiv. as the Christian festival. On that day the Eucharist shall be celebrated and quarrels composed; the prophecy of Malachi i. 11, 14, and the term *θυσία* being expressly applied to the Eucharist. We have given but a brief outline of this most interesting work, so important for its bearing on questions about the canon of the New Testament and Church government. Upon it Bryennios has spent the loving labour of seven years, and has produced a treatise which proves that the spirit of Eusebius still lives in the Eastern Church, and that a Greek ecclesiastic can be thoroughly abreast of the latest German, French, and English scholarship. He has provided for us in his learned dissertations all the materials for those critical discussions, this interesting relic of Christian antiquity so amply deserves: and that at the low price of five francs, which seems to indicate that Oriental scholars value their time at a very unremunerative rate indeed.

Among the Western scholars so largely quoted by Bryennios, writers like Cardinal Pitra, Harnack, Gebhardt, Hilgenfeld, Zahn, and Lipsius



figure prominently. All these have lately published important works bearing on ecclesiastical history. We can only notice them very briefly. Another great discovery belonging to the second century has much occupied the leading foreign scholars. Tatian's "Diatessaron" was brought to the notice of Western Europe some four or five years ago by the publication of Moesinger's version out of the Mechitarite library of St. Lazarus at Venice. Its existence had previously been abundantly denied, as by the author of "Supernatural Religion." Its discovery was consequently hailed as a triumph for more orthodox criticism. During last year this Second Century Harmony of the Gospels has been discussed from various points of view by Harnack,\* and by the new volume of the "Analecta,"† just published at Paris under Cardinal Pitra's name.‡ Zahn some three years ago published the first critical examination of this important document, and now Harnack, following in Zahn's track, compares Tatian's "Diatessaron" with the Fourth Century "Acta Archelai," which form one of our leading authorities for the history of the Manichean heresy in Syria and Mesopotamia. He illustrates in this way the wide circulation and general use of the "Diatessaron" in the more distant East, where it seems largely to have taken the place of the actual version of the Four Gospels. This indeed is only one of the many contributions Messrs. Harnack and Gebhardt are making towards the elucidation of Second Century History in this series of volumes. Pitra's writers—for the volume merely appears under his name, the actual work being done by two scholars, one a professor in the Parisian School of Theology, J. P. Paulinus Martinus, and the other a Roman scholar P. Augustinus Ciasca of the Augustinian Order—deal with various subjects. The former writer treats of fragments of early Christian writers which he has discovered among the Syriac, Coptic and Armenian MSS. of the British Museum and other leading libraries. It is indeed a marvellous reflection upon English scholarship that while French and German students, to use Pitra's language, penetrate the "Cimmerias Londini nebulas" in search of the vast treasures of Nitria we there possess, they are still so completely neglected at home save by a few scholars like Dr. W. Wright, whose *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, however, is alone sufficient to redeem our reproach. In the first part of Pitra's work we find fragments or entire treatises attributed to Aristides, the Pseudo-Dionysius, Hippolytus, Justin Martyr, Melito, Clement of Rome, S. Ignatius, St. Polycarp and many others, some published already, some hitherto unknown. The essay on the Arabic version of Tatian's "Diatessaron" and the analysis of it contributed by Ciasca will attract the majority of critical students of early Christian literature. Its existence in such a shape and language forms a conclusive testimony to the wide-spread fascination exercised by that erratic but brilliant Christian genius. Its publication is at the same time a valuable specimen of the treasures yet hidden in the recesses of the Vatican Library. We note a very generous recognition by the Vatican librarian of the courtesy and scholarship of Mr.

\* "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Althristlichen Literatur." Von O. Gebhardt u. A. Harnack, Bd. i. Hft. 3. Leipzig. 1883.

† "Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi." Ed. Joan. Bapt. Card. Pitra, t. iv. Patres Antiquissimi. Orient. Paris. 1883.



Cureton and Dr. Routh. Among the most industrious German scholars Hilgenfeld holds a very high place indeed. He edits at Jena a learned theological and historical review, the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, which appears once a quarter, and keeps its readers abreast of the leading critical questions of the day. Among the topics there discussed during the last twelve months have been such as "Lucian and Polycarp," by Emil Egli, the "Rise and Date of Montanism," by Daniel Volter, and the "Early Christian Historian Hegesippus," by H. Rönch, the most learned living scholar in the special department of Early Christian Latin. Hilgenfeld has not restrained himself, however, to mere editorial work, but has lately published an exhaustive volume of 650 pages 8vo, on the History of the Heresies of the Second Century, following the footsteps of Lipsius of the same university, who nine years ago investigated the same subject.\* He discusses every heresy from the Essenes and Samaritans down to the Patripassians of the age of Hippolytus. He attempts with great acuteness to restore the lost work of Justin Martyr upon heresies, by a careful analysis of the earliest writers on the subject. Following the lead of our own venerable Routh, as Pitra calls him, Hilgenfeld carefully gathers up every extant fragment of genuine heretical utterance, feeling, as he says, the importance of allowing such thinkers to speak for themselves. The work itself is exhaustive, but we cannot say as much for the index attached, which is like those so often found in German works very defective indeed. The writers seem to expend all their energy on their writings, and to have none left for the unpretending but most useful work of the index. Yet a bad index is almost worse than none, for it is a deception and a snare. Hilgenfeld is also one of those German scholars who limit their reading to German writers among moderns. He seems ignorant of what Bishop Lightfoot, Dean Mansel, and Dr. Salmon have written on his own subject. Harnack is indeed a striking exception among Germans for his accurate knowledge of English thought. Jena indeed seems a very active intellectual centre in the department of Ecclesiastical History, as Lipsius lately produced there an equally copious treatise on the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles,† a topic which he has already treated in Smith and Wace's "Dict. Christ. Biography," &c. This contribution Lipsius has worked up into a formidable volume of 633 pages. In it he discusses the use made of these Apostolic legends by the Manicheans and Gnostics, the historic worth of these legends, specially of that celebrated one concerning the separation of the Apostles and the decrees made by them prior to that separation, which is as old as the Second Century. In this section he discusses the very same work, the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, with which we began our record, though of course he then knew nothing about the publication of Bryennios.

With Lipsius as with Hilgenfeld the appetite for work grows by exercise. He edits, in conjunction with some leading scholars at Heidelberg, Strasburg, Zurich and several other universities, the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, a quarterly periodical which

\* "Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums." Von D. Adolf Hilgenfeld. Leipzig. 1884.

† "Die apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. Ein Beitrag zur Altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte." Von R. A. Lipsius. Bd. I. Braunschweig. 1883.

deals with the leading questions of Ecclesiastical History ancient and modern. Lipsius himself is an indefatigable contributor to this review. Scarcely a number passes without a weighty article dealing with some ancient heretical document, or with the life and times of Polycarp, which is his favourite study. The most interesting article for an English student in the volume for 1883 would probably be that by Professor Nippold, on the "Oxford Movement and its Results on the Church of England." It is an expansion of views already put forward in another work, "Introduction to the Church History of the Nineteenth Century." It is very exhaustive, covering sixty closely printed pages, and follows the whole movement from its rise, which he traces back to the immigration of the French Clergy after the Revolution; and the poetry and fiction of Scott, Moore, and Byron, down to the publication of Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons." He misses, however, the most immediate sources thereof, which were Alexander Knox, the learned Irish layman, and his pupil and friend Jebb, Bishop of Limerick. Nippold's article enables us in some measure to see ourselves as others see us, and forms an instructive study side by side with the narrative lately published by the only member of the original Tractarian Company, who now survives in the Church of England.\* Both are in striking agreement as to the beneficial results on that Church as a whole.

G. T. STOKES.

## II.—PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

### THE SUN-SPOT MAXIMUM.

IT became apparent early in 1883 that sun-spots, instead of attaining their maximum number and development in 1882, as had been expected, were still increasing in both respects. Professor Tacchini has shown that although the relative frequency of spots was not much greater in 1883, yet the number of groups was very much greater, while the extension of spots has been really remarkable, exceeding that in the year 1882 nearly twofold. This was especially observable in the last quarter of 1883, and there is no evidence at present that the maximum has been really attained, though a temporary or sub-maximum was shown in July last. The following series of numbers may be interesting. Of course it does not give a complete account of the sun's condition during the months dealt with. This, indeed, would not be the proper place for such an account, but it will serve to show how strangely the number of spots per month has varied during the last eighteen months:—

Months.	Mean number of spots per day.	Months.	Mean number of spots per day.	Months.	Mean number of spots per day.
July, 1882	8,000	January, 1883	10,416	July, 1883	20,965
August "	5,678	February "	7,087	August "	5,187
September, 1882	11,080	March "	6,323	September, 1883	10,571
October "	12,380	April "	16,520	October "	20,203
November "	15,866	May "	4,412	November "	19,423
December "	5,633	June "	18,961	December "	15,916

\* "Narrative of Events connected with Tracts for the Times." By William Palmer. London: Rivingtons. 1883.



The fluctuations are remarkable, and serve to show how irregularly spots appear, and how irregular therefore are the forces, whatever they may be, to which sun-spots are due.

There are those who ascribe the unusual duration of the spot period now in progress to the comet of the autumn of 1882, believing that that object as it swept over the sun's surface left behind it a portion of its outer envelope, which has been as it were working its way in towards the sun's real surface. If that comet was in any way responsible for the long continuance of the solar activity, it would be rather, probably, as being attended on by a train of meteoric bodies that the comet has proved effective, than on account of any disturbance of its coma as it swept through the inner portions of the solar corona. To such a cause have been attributed past disturbances of the sun's surface, and perhaps with reason. But whether the solar system gains or is endangered by such cometic effects would be difficult to determine. Certain outbursts in stars which for centuries had shone with steady lustre, suggest the possibility of similarly mischievous changes in our own sun. But so far as has yet been ascertained, the sun's activity is not liable to dangerous or even to temporarily mischievous changes.

#### THE RED SUNSETS.

Although these are now no longer new, and may appear to have been already sufficiently discussed, yet the long continuance of the phenomena must be regarded as presenting them in a new aspect. Theories which would have availed had the red skies of morning and evening lasted but for a few weeks, are seen to be untenable when these features continue month after month. The belief that meteoric dust caused the phenomena, which had seemed for a time more plausible than the view that dust from Krakatoa was in question, has now been discarded. Neither does any theory depending on change in the quantity of aqueous vapour in the air seem available. In fine, the explanation which at first seemed obvious, but was afterwards discarded as insufficient, has now been pretty widely adopted, and the Krakatoa outburst is generally credited alike with blue and green suns, ruddy sunsets and sunrises, and the glow in the upper air which has been seen under conditions apparently disconnected from the phenomena of sunrise and sunset altogether. Attention has thus been directed to the circumstance that at all times the air must be loaded to a height of many miles with the finer forms of dust, resulting either from volcanic and earth-shaking disturbances on the one hand, or from the arrival of meteoric visitants on the other. Just as we see in our streets the lighter dust float higher and longer than that which is coarser, so must the almost infinitely finer dust formed from or accompanying clouds of meteoric or volcanic vapour float higher still, and remain for much longer periods suspended at varying heights above the surface of the earth. Where a body of air already loaded with such infinitely fine dust floats to higher levels, it carries such dust along with it, as completely almost as if gravity did not act at all on the dust particles. For atmospheric influence becomes greater and greater on particles of matter floating in it, and avails more and more completely against the influence of gravity, in proportion as the mean diameter of the dust particles diminishes. So that air at great heights, which would be

too rare to carry along with it the finer forms of common dust, would be well able to move the very much finer matter, which is from time to time either received from without or ejected from within the earth.

#### MR. RUSKIN ON CLOUDS.

The London Institution, in inviting Mr. Ruskin to lecture, assumed doubtless that whatever subject he might select would be one within the range of those which he has made specially his own. When the title of his lecture was announced, it was no doubt supposed that we should have his artistic views about the particular form of storm-cloud which he had been specially studying. He preferred, however, to talk largely about the scientific treatment of clouds, diverging to denounce science itself for inexact verbiage. On this last point it might seem to confirm his accusation that Mr. Ruskin at any rate has manifestly not understood scientific teachings,—were it not that he was careful to give a typical illustration of the incorrect scientific use of certain terms, and was so obviously far from the truth as to show that science has not been at fault, but some mental peculiarity which prevents him from attending to scientific statements. For most assuredly, neither Tyndall nor any other student of science has ever used the terms "vibration" and "undulation" as synonyms, which (though neither term corresponds in the slightest degree with Mr. Ruskin's definition) would be as absurd as though one should confound wheat-ears with fields of corn. But it was in speaking generally about clouds that Mr. Ruskin showed how very necessary it is that physical matters should be studied a little more carefully than they have usually been by those who are not professed students of science. That the material for forming clouds—that is, water—should be present where there is no visible cloud, Mr. Ruskin scornfully rejected as an insult to common sense,—though in the air of the very room in which he spoke there was abundance of cloud substance invisible to the eye. He divided actual clouds (outside his special storm-clouds) into two kinds, those shining by reflecting light and those rendered visible by transmitted light. One class he described as in his opinion formed of particles of ice and minute water drops,—how clouds of the other class were constituted he left his audience to imagine: a difficult task, because since the only other form in which water can exist, that of aqueous vapour or steam, is transparent, that cannot be the material of which such visible clouds are formed.

It is natural that with such vague and incorrect ideas about matters scientific, Mr. Ruskin loathes the very name of science. His case is a typical one. What he loathes, however, is not science, but what he imagines to be science.

His own storm-cloud, discovered by him about twenty years ago, and before non-existent, consists chiefly so far as one could judge, from his remarks, of dead men's souls, a material with which no scientific instrument has as yet been found competent to deal.

#### THE PHONOGRAPH AS AN AID TO PHILOLOGY.

Edison's Phonograph has not been developed, as its ingenious inventor promised, till it actually records vocal tones in all their delicate varieties. I never yet met any one who could distinguish sounds as



uttered by the phonograph when they did not represent known words or form easily understood sentences. I doubt if any one could even fairly tell what the instrument was saying, if he did not know beforehand what it was going to say. But certainly no one would undertake to specify what precise set of syllables the phonograph uttered if they were all not only unknown but formed unmeaning words. Therefore we cannot as yet attach much importance to a plan which has been proposed by German philologists for obtaining phonographic records of the language of various African tribes. If Africans could be persuaded to address a phonograph in their natural tones and in ordinary terms, and the foil-strips with their voice-marks were forwarded to the most skilful German philologist, the lessons so given in their speech would not avail to make very ready speakers of the African language. What the African would himself think if he heard the phonograph mimicking his words, might be worth considering, before trusting to this method of obtaining and keeping records of the various dialects of African tribes. But the experiment might be tried nearer home. Try to teach an English boy the proper sounds of French words by turning a phonograph wheel on which strips of foil specially prepared to record French utterances had been wound. We venture to think that that boy's French would be considerably worse than "French of Stratforde-atte-Bowe."

#### THE MICROPHONE AS A DYNAMITE DETECTOR.

M. de Fonvielle has suggested the use of the microphone to detect clockwork in parcels left in a luggage-room. Science may well endeavour to find means of safe-guarding men from dangers which owe their origin to scientific invention. There is no reason for supposing the human race worse now than it was a century ago, though then the worst known men did nothing quite so atrocious as the dynamitards have tried, and are perhaps still trying, to do; so that the difference must be ascribed to the means which science has placed in the hands of the worst section of humanity. The microphone, however, would not probably form an efficient remedy. It is true that noises within parcels might be made audible if wooden tables resting on iron feet (but not nailed to them) were used to receive the parcels, but it would not be difficult so to pad the clockwork that no appreciable noise would be made even with microphonic magnifying. Our best safety will be found in laws by which the history of every ounce of explosive matter may be traced, from the time when it is made to the time when it is used.

#### ROTATION OF MARS.

By means of observations of Mars made during the last two months I have been able to extend the period from which I have deduced this planet's rotation period, to over 218 years, during which time not a single rotation has been miscounted, though of course many more have passed unnoticed than have been watched. I cannot recognize so much as the twentieth of a second of error in the estimated rotation period which I announced in 1869—viz., 24h. 37m. 22.73 sec., so that down to tenths of seconds we may regard the rotation-period of Mars as determined. I observe by the way that Mr. Espin

of the Liverpool Astronomical Society, a body which is doing excellent work, has tested my value of the rotation period by taking several sets of observations of Mars for short periods of time, deducing the rotation period for each set, and taking the mean of the values thus obtained. I am glad to see that the result agrees very closely with mine,—not, however, because my result is thereby confirmed, but because Mr. Espin's result shows that the observations he has dealt with have been accurately made. One cannot test measurements made with a delicate micrometer by using the best two-foot rule, though one can test the two-foot rule by means of the micrometrical measurements. Now to determine accurately the rotation period of a planet, long periods of time and consequently a great number of rotations must be dealt with. The longer the time the more accurate the result. Suppose, for instance, we take observations of Mars extending over a month, or say, thirty Martian days. If there is an error of a quarter of an hour in determining at each end of this period the time when some Martian marking is central, there is a possible error of half an hour divided by 30—that is, one minute—in the deduced rotation period. But if we observe Mars for six months, the error in the period is but ten seconds. One can then safely pass back to the last time—say, two years or so earlier—when Mars was favourably placed: for ten seconds per day in two years will not amount to more than two hours or so, and this can never be so mistaken as to lead to the miscounting of a whole rotation. So one can range from one visit of Mars to the preceding, thence to earlier visits, with constantly increasing accuracy, till—as I have done—one commands a range of more than 90,000 Martian days. An error of half an hour divided among these gives only the 50th part of a second for the error of the rotation period.

R. A. PROCTOR.

### III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—The most important, and at the same time the most interesting biography of the month is decidedly the "Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone,"\* the Indian statesman and historian. His name belongs to a past time, for he died twenty years ago, and his active career in India terminated as far back as 1827; but up till now we have had no fuller record of it than the excellent but comparatively brief sketch in Kaye's "Lives." This want has at length been supplied by the competent pen of Sir T. Colebrooke, and the book is perhaps, in some respects, all the better for the delay. For Elphinstone was a man of broad solid views, much in advance of his time. He was pervaded not only with a powerful sense of justice, but an active sympathy with the native races, and a strong belief in employing them in the government of the country; and his opinions, with the reasons he gives for them, will be read with even more attention

\* "Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone." By Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P. London: Murray.



now than formerly. Sir T. Colebrooke allows him to speak as much as possible in his own person by means of letters to friends and journals kept for his own guidance. In these he gives his ideas of the pith of the things he mentions, and they impress us with his honesty and penetration. Sir T. Colebrooke's own narrative is written with dignity and good judgment, and altogether his work is one of much interest and value, a worthy memorial of one of the most remarkable of our elder Indian statesmen.—Had George Birkbeck died in our generation when a biography has come to rank among the recognized funeral rites of anybody who is spoken about, he would not have escaped the biographers so long; for though the part he played in the world was not large it was very useful; he is well worthy to be remembered as an active pioneer of working-class education, and his work, though entirely good, has lived after him so as to call for the present memoir.\* Mr. Godard's materials seem to have been more meagre than might have been expected, but he makes the most of them, and his book will be read with interest by many besides those who, like the author, have benefited personally from the institutions Dr. Birkbeck founded.—Unlike Dr. Birkbeck, Mrs. Bray's work has died before her. One of the minor celebrities of a former day, her tales are no longer read, and her very name is probably unknown to most of the novel-readers of the present; but she only died last year, and now we have an autobiography of her,† which contains some letters of Southey's, and occasionally interesting illustrations of social characteristics of the early part of the century; but has otherwise little that is of value.—Mr. Henry Nevin's "Sketch of Herder and his Times" (London: Chapman and Hall) is a solid and important piece of work, in spite of his modest representation of it in his preface, as "a supplementary note to Carlyle's Essays on German Literature," written "in the hope that it may be helpful to some readers of these essays as I think it would have been helpful to me when I first read them many years ago." It is really much more than this would lead us to suppose. It is the result of much labour and research, and is a very complete and well-written monograph on Herder and his writings.—In spite of its namby-pamby title, "Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life" (Edinburgh: Douglas) is a really good and interesting account of a life that was worth living, and is worth knowing about. General Mackenzie was one of the Kabul captives of 1841, and his narrative of his experiences there is the most exciting and curious thing in the book; but his career from first to last was full of adventure, and of important active service, and his journals and letters are much more readable than such things usually are. The biographical narrative too, which seems to be written by his widow, is simple and suitable, and the work altogether leaves on us a definite and stimulating impression of the life of a brave Christian officer.

TRAVEL.—Dr. Turner's "Nineteen Years in Polynesia" has long been known as the standard authority on the ethnology of that quarter of the earth; in fact, few books of travel have been more useful for

\* "George Birkbeck: a Memoir and Review." By John George Godard. London: Bemrose & Sons.

† "Autobiography of Anna Eliza Bray." Edited by John A. Kempe. London: Chapman & Hall.



scientific purposes. The same author has now given us another work,\* in which he incorporates the results of his archaeological researches during the last forty years, and goes into greater detail in his notice of native customs and ideas than he thought the public would bear when he wrote his earlier book. Minuteness and accuracy of detail are what is now desired for scientific purposes, and in that respect the present volume will be found a most valuable storehouse of well-noted, and often important and novel, facts illustrative of the history of primitive culture. Even in the field of practical politics it can give us some help. Socialism is practised in Samoa, and we can see its working. The people have a recognized common interest in one another's property. If a man has no home, he may go and live with his friends anywhere as long as he pleases without charge; and if he has no boat or garment, he can always get one by borrowing from his neighbour, who cannot bear being called stingy or disobliging. There is thus of course no poverty among the Samoans, and they cannot understand what poverty means. "No home to live in!" they will say. "Has he no friends? Have the people then no love for one another?" But the effects of the system, on the whole, is bad. Dr. Turner declares that "this communistic system is a sad hindrance to the industrious, and eats like a canker-worm at the roots of individual and national progress. No matter how hard a young man may be disposed to work, he cannot keep his earnings; all soon passes out of his hands into the common circulating currency of the clan to which all have a latent right."—Mr. James Stanley Little gives us a lively and instructive book on the every-day aspect of life in the South African colonies.† Most of our information about these colonies has come from passing travellers who have rarely had the opportunities of becoming much acquainted with the real peculiarities of colonial life. Mr. Little takes us with him into every nook and corner, and exposes with much spirit and plain speaking the seamy as well as the showy side of things. He has a vigorous and not too fastidious descriptive pen, and has shrewd and decided opinions with regard to everything he comes across. Most of the book treats of social characteristics among the colonists, but he has a chapter or two, as was inevitable, on the vexed politics of the country, which deserve attention. Altogether he has produced an entertaining and popular book.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mr. Symonds has no sooner finished his important work on the Renaissance than he returns to what seems to have been an old love, taken up twenty years ago and laid aside again, and undertakes an equally important work on the development of the Elizabethan drama, which was really the form taken in England by the movement known as the Renaissance elsewhere.‡ Few are familiar with the early English dramatists or know their true place in the evolution of the English drama, and indeed of English life, and no more instructive and stimulating guide to them can be found than this book of Mr. Symonds's. His diction is less ornate than usual, but all the stronger,

\* "Samoa a Hundred Years Ago." By George Turner, LL.D. With Preface by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co.

† "South Africa: a Sketchbook of Men, Manners, and Facts." By James Stanley Little. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

‡ "Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama." By J. A. Symonds. London: Smith, Elder & Co.



and what with great knowledge of the subject and the time, and with refined and thoughtful criticism the work is delightful reading.—George Eliot's "Essays and Leaves from a Note-book" (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons) are in themselves disappointing, but they possess a distinct biographical value. They consist for the most part of essays contributed to periodical literature before the publication of any of the works that won her fame, and they naturally stir an eager curiosity to discover in them indications of the genius that was about to break on the world in her novels. What strikes most is the want of any such specific indications. The essays are no more than well-written and effective review articles. In the essay on the poet Young a very good contrast is drawn between Young and Cowper, but the most interesting paper is that on the "Natural History of German Life." The fragments called "Leaves from a Note-book" belong to a much later period of the authoress's life, but are not striking.—Lord O'Hagan's collection of fugitive papers\* is not cast in the shade, as George Eliot's perhaps unjustly is, by a previous brilliant literary reputation, but his words have so much weight and felicity that we wish as we read them that more of his time could have been devoted to literature. They treat of various subjects and are all of a purely occasional character. The Irish papers are among the most interesting, especially those on O'Connell, and on Ireland in 1853. We have heard so much for years of the dark side of things in that country that we alight with pleasure on the cheering account which we obtain in the last-mentioned paper, of the social and industrial progress which Ireland has actually made in the last half century.—"Fortunes made in Business"† is a narrative of the rise of some of the principal commercial families of this country. It contains many a stimulating story of the romance of modern industry and trade, and shows how truly the victories of peace are won by the same pluck, resolution and intuitive judgment as the victories of war. Among the families treated of are the Gladstones, Brights, Forsters, Gathorne-Hardies, Salts, Besses, Peases.‡ The work is written by various hands from materials derived to a large extent from personal inquiry, and is a valuable contribution to our commercial history.—In "Flowers and Flower-Lore"§ Mr. Friend has collected an immense quantity of most interesting information about the folk-lore of flowers. Many books have been published dealing with parts and aspects of this subject, but none before has taken it up as a whole. The author occupies himself indeed mostly with flower-lore among European peoples, but he promises to complete his task by the speedy publication of a separate work on Oriental flower-lore. His present book is valuable not only for its great fulness as a storehouse of facts, but also for its critical remarks on the facts it contains, and while indispensable to the increasing number of persons who study folk-lore, it is very entertaining to the general reader.—Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., has republished his letters to the *Star* on Wales,§ which attracted considerable

\* "Occasional Papers and Addresses." By Lord O'Hagan, K.P. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

† "Fortunes made in Business." By Various Writers. London: Sampson Low & Co.

‡ "Flowers and Flower-Lore." By the Rev. Hilderic Friend, F.L.S. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

§ "Letters and Essays on Wales." By H. Richard, M.P. London: J. Clarke & Co.

attention when they first appeared twenty years ago, and led many persons (including Mr. Gladstone, as appears from a confession quoted in the volume) to alter their ideas of that country. They are well worthy of republication, and possess a permanent value as a lucid account of the development of the existing political and ecclesiastical situation in Wales. Mr. Richard has added to them one or two review articles on cognate subjects, and the book may be recommended to any one wishing to understand the Welsh Principality.—“Red Deer”\* is one of those fresh delightful country books which Mr. Jefferies writes for us. It takes us to “Red Deer Land,” as the author calls it—a land where the wild deer still roams—and it may surprise many to know that this land is so near as Exmoor, and that wild deer not only survive, but are actually increasing there in the very face of modern life.—Mr. Pike† conducts us to very different scenes, and his descriptions of the work that has been done, and is still doing, in London by men like Lord Shaftesbury, George Holland, Dr. Barnardo, George Hatton, and others, will be read with interest at present, when so much attention is bent on the London poor.—Two books on the Tonquin war complete our list for the month. Mr. Colquhoun’s little book‡ consists of the letters he contributed as special correspondent of the *Times*, and is an instructive account of the country of Tonquin, and of the origin and issues of the present difficulties, by a writer of special authority.—Captain Norman’s work§ enters at considerably greater length both into the condition of the country and the history of France’s relations to it, and though it is permeated by a certain hostility to France, and a dread that French colonial aggrandizement means, and is intended to mean, trouble to England, the book will be found very serviceable for the information it contains, and the clear way in which it presents it.

\* “Red Deer.” By Richard Jefferies. London: Longmans & Co.

† “Pity for the Perishing.” By G. Holden Pike. London: J. Clarke & Co.

‡ “The Truth about Tonquin.” By Archibald R. Colquhoun. London: Field & Tuer.

§ “Tonkin: or France in the Far East.” By C. B. Norman. London: Chapman & Hall.



## THE SINS OF LEGISLATORS.

**B**E it or be it not true that Man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin, it is unquestionably true that Government is begotten of aggression and by aggression. In small undeveloped societies where for ages complete peace has continued, there exists nothing like what we call Government: no coercive agency, but mere honorary headship, if any headship at all. In these exceptional communities, unaggressive and from special causes unaggressed upon, there is so little deviation from the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, justice and generosity, that nothing beyond an occasional expression of public opinion by informally-assembled elders is needful.\* Conversely, we find proofs that, at first recognized but temporarily during leadership in war, the authority of a chief is permanently established by continuity of war; and grows strong where successful aggression ends in subjection of neighbouring tribes. And thence onwards, examples furnished by all races put beyond doubt the truth, that the coercive power of the chief, developing into king, and king of kings (a frequent title in the ancient East), becomes great in proportion as conquest becomes habitual and the union of subdued nations extensive.† Comparisons disclose a further truth which should be ever present to us—the truth that the aggressiveness of the ruling power inside a society increases with its aggressiveness outside the society. As, to make an efficient army, the soldiers in their several grades must be subordinate to the commander; so, to make an efficient fighting community, must the citizens be subordinate to the ruling power. They must furnish recruits to the extent demanded, and yield up whatever property is required.

An obvious implication is that the ethics of Government, originally

\* "Political Institutions," §§ 437, 573.

† *Ibid.*, §§ 471-3.

identical with the ethics of war, must long remain akin to them; and can diverge from them only as warlike activities and preparations become less. Current evidence shows this. At present on the Continent, the citizen is free only when his services as a soldier are not demanded; and during the rest of his life he is largely enslaved in supporting the military organization. Even among ourselves, a serious war would, by the necessitated conscription, suspend the liberties of large numbers and trench on the liberties of the rest by taking from them through taxes whatever supplies were needed—that is, forcing them to labour so many days more for the State. Inevitably the established code of conduct in the dealings of Governments with citizens, must be allied to their code of conduct in their dealings with one another.

I am not, under the title of this article, about to treat of the trespasses and the revenges for trespasses, accounts of which constitute the great mass of history; nor to trace the internal inequities which have ever accompanied the external inequities. I do not propose here to catalogue the crimes of irresponsible legislators, beginning with that of King Khufu, the stones of whose vast tomb were laid in the bloody sweat of tens of thousands of slaves toiling through long years under the lash; going on to those committed by conquerors, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman and the rest; and ending with those of Napoleon, whose ambition to set his foot on the neck of the civilized world, cost not less than two million lives.\* Nor do I propose here to enumerate those sins of responsible legislators seen in the long list of laws made in the interests of dominant classes—a list coming down in our own country to those under which there were long maintained slavery and the slave-trade, torturing nearly 40,000 negroes annually by close packing during a tropical voyage, and killing a large percentage of them, and ending with that of the corn-laws, by which, says Sir Erskine May, “to ensure high rents, it had been decreed that multitudes should hunger.”†

Not, indeed, that a presentation of the conspicuous misdeeds of legislators, responsible and irresponsible, would be useless. It would have several uses—one of them relevant to the truth above pointed out. Such a presentation would make clear how that identity of governmental ethics with military ethics which necessarily exists during primitive times, when the army is simply the mobilized society and the society is the quiescent army, continues through long stages, and even now affects in great degrees our law-proceedings and our daily lives. Having, for instance, shown that in numerous savage tribes the judicial function of the chief does not

\* Lanfrey. See also “Study of Sociology,” p. 42, and Appendix.

† “Constitutional History of England,” ii. p. 617.



exist, or is nominal, and that very generally during early stages of European civilization, each man had to defend himself and rectify his private wrongs as best he might—having shown that in mediæval times the right of private war among members of the military order was brought to an end, not because the head ruler thought it his duty to arbitrate, but because private wars interfered with the efficiency of his army in public wars—having shown that the administration of justice displayed through subsequent ages a large amount of its primitive nature in trial by battle, carried on before the king or his deputy as umpire, and which, among ourselves, continued nominally to be an alternative form of trial down to 1819; it might then be pointed out that even now there survives trial by battle under another form: counsel being the champions and purses the weapons. In civil cases, the ruling agency cares scarcely more than of old about rectifying the wrongs of the injured; but, practically, its deputy does little else than to enforce the rules of the fight: the result being less a question of equity than a question of pecuniary ability and forensic skill. Nay, so little concern for the administration of justice is shown by the ruling agency, that when, by legal conflict carried on in presence of its deputy, the combatants have been pecuniarily bled even to the extent of producing prostration, and when an appeal being made by one of them the decision is reversed, the beaten combatant is made to pay for the blunders of the deputy, or of a preceding deputy; and not unfrequently the wronged man, who sought protection or restitution, is taken out of court pecuniarily dead.

Adequately done, such a portrayal of governmental misdeeds of commission and omission, proving that the partially-surviving code of ethics arising in, and proper to, a state of war, still vitiates governmental action, might greatly moderate the hopes of those who are anxious to extend governmental control. After observing that along with the still-manifest traits of that primitive political structure which chronic militancy produces, there goes a still-manifest survival of its primitive principles; the reformer and the philanthropist might be less sanguine in their anticipations of good from its all-pervading agency, and might be more inclined to trust agencies of a non-governmental kind.

But leaving out the greater part of the large topic comprehended under the title of this article, I propose here to deal only with a comparatively small remaining part—those sins of legislators which are not generated by their personal ambitions or class interests, but result from a lack of the study by which they are morally bound to prepare themselves.

A druggist's assistant who, after listening to the description of



pains which he mistakes for those of colic, but which are really caused by inflammation of the cæcum, prescribes a sharp purgative and kills the patient, is found guilty of manslaughter. He is not allowed to excuse himself on the ground that he did not intend harm but hoped for good. The plea that he simply made a mistake in his diagnosis is not entertained. He is told that he had no right to risk disastrous consequences by meddling in a matter concerning which his knowledge was so inadequate. The fact that he was ignorant how great was his ignorance, is not accepted in bar of judgment. It is tacitly assumed that the experience common to all should have taught him that even the skilled, and much more the unskilled, make mistakes in the identification of disorders and in the appropriate treatment; and that having disregarded the warning derivable from common experience, he was answerable for the consequences.

We measure the responsibilities of legislators for mischiefs they may do, in a much more lenient fashion. In most cases, so far from thinking of them as deserving any kind of punishment for causing disasters by laws ignorantly enacted, we scarcely think of them as deserving reprobation. It is held that common experience should have taught the druggist's assistant, untrained as he is, not to interfere; but it is not held that common experience should have taught the legislator not to interfere till he has trained himself. Though multitudinous facts are before him in the recorded legislation of our own country and of other countries, which should impress on him the immense evils caused by wrong treatment, he is not condemned for disregarding these warnings against rash meddling. Contrariwise, it is thought meritorious in him when—perhaps lately from college, perhaps fresh from keeping a pack of hounds which made him popular in his county, perhaps emerging from a provincial town where he acquired a fortune, perhaps rising from the bar at which he has gained a name as an advocate—he enters Parliament, and forthwith, in quite a light-hearted way, begins to aid or hinder this or that means of operating on the body politic. In this case, there is no occasion even to make for him the excuse that he does not know how little he knows; for the public at large agrees with him in thinking it needless that he should know anything more than what the debates on the proposed measures tell him.

And yet the mischiefs wrought by uninstructed law-making, enormous in their amount as compared with those caused by uninstructed medical treatment, are conspicuous to all who do but glance over its history. The reader must pardon me while I recall a few familiar instances. Century after century statesmen went on enacting usury laws which made worse the condition of the debtor—raising the rate of interest "from five to six when intending to reduce it to four,"\* as

\* Lecky, "Rationalism," ii. 293-4.



under Louis XV.; and indirectly producing undreamt of evils of many kinds, such as preventing the reproductive use of spare capital, and "burdening the small proprietors with a multitude of perpetual services."\* So, too, the endeavours which in England continued through five hundred years to stop forestalling, and which in France, as Arthur Young witnessed, prevented any one from buying "more than two bushels of wheat at market,"† went on generation after generation increasing the miseries and mortality due to dearth; for, as everybody now knows, the wholesale dealer, who was in the statute "*De Pistoribus*" vituperated as "an open oppressor of poor people,"‡ is simply one whose function it is to equalize the supply of a commodity by checking unduly rapid consumption. Of kindred nature was the measure which, in 1315, to diminish the pressure of famine, prescribed the prices of foods, but which was hastily repealed after it had caused entire disappearance of various foods from the markets; and also such measures, more continuously operating, as those which settled by magisterial order "the reasonable gains" of victuallers.§ Of like spirit and followed by allied mischiefs have been the many endeavours to fix wages, which began with the Statute of Labourers under Edward III., and ceased only sixty years ago; when, having long galvanized in Spitalfields a decaying industry, and fostered there a miserable population, Lords and Commons finally gave up fixing silk-weavers' earnings by magisterial order.

Here I imagine an impatient interruption. "We know all that; the story is stale. The mischiefs of interfering with trade have been dinned in our ears till we are weary; and no one needs to be taught the lesson afresh." My first reply is that by the great majority the lesson was never properly learnt at all, and that many of those who did learn it have forgotten it. For just the same pleas which of old were put in for these dictations, are again put in. In the statute 35 of Edward III., which aimed to keep down the price of herrings (but was soon repealed because it raised the price), it was complained that people "coming to the fair . . . do bargain for herring, and every of them, by malice and envy, increase upon other, and, if one proffer forty shillings, another will proffer ten shillings more, and the third sixty shillings, and so every one surmounteth other in the bargain."|| And now the "higgling of the market," here condemned and ascribed to "malice and envy," is being again condemned. The evils of competition have all along been the stock cry of the Socialists; and the council of the Democratic Federation denounces the carrying on of exchange under "the control of individual greed and profit." My second reply is that interferences

\* De Tocqueville, "The State of Society in France before the Revolution," p. 421.

† "Young's Travels," i. 128-9.

‡ Craik's "History of British Commerce," i. 134.

§ *Ibid.*, i. 136-7.

|| Craik, *loc. cit.*, i. 137.

with the law of supply and demand, which a generation ago were admitted to be habitually mischievous, are now being daily made by Acts of Parliament in other fields; and that, as I shall presently show, they are in these fields increasing the evils to be cured and producing new ones, as much as of old they did in fields no longer intruded upon.

Returning from this parenthesis, I go on to explain that the above Acts are named to remind the reader that uninstructed legislators have in past times continually increased human suffering in their endeavours to mitigate it; and I have now to add that if these evils, shown to be legislatively intensified or produced, be multiplied by ten or more, a conception will be formed of the aggregate evils caused by law-making unguided by study of social science. In a paper read to the Statistical Society in May, 1873, Mr. Janson, vice-president of the Law Society, stated that from the Statute of Merton (20 Henry III.) to the end of 1872, there had been passed 18,110 public Acts, of which he estimated that four-fifths had been wholly or partially repealed. He also stated that the number of public Acts repealed wholly or partly, or amended, during the three years 1870-71-72 had been 3,532, of which 2,759 had been totally repealed. To see whether this rate of repeal has continued, I have referred to the annually-issued volumes of "The Public General Statutes" for the last three sessions. Saying nothing of the numerous amended Acts, the result is that in the last three sessions there have been totally repealed, separately or in groups, 650 Acts, *belonging to the present reign*, besides many of preceding reigns. This of course is greatly above the average rate; for there has of late been an active purgation of the statute-book. But making every allowance, we must infer that within our own times, repeals have mounted some distance into the thousands. Doubtless a number of them have been of laws that were obsolete; others have been demanded by changes of circumstances (though seeing how many of them are of quite recent Acts this has not been a large cause); others simply because they were inoperative; and others have been consequent on the consolidations of numerous Acts into single Acts. But unquestionably in multitudinous cases, repeals came because the Acts had proved injurious. We talk glibly of such changes—we think of cancelled legislation with indifference. We forget that before laws are abolished they have generally been inflicting evils more or less serious, some for a few years, some for tens of years, some for centuries. Change your vague idea of a bad law into a definite idea of it as an agency operating on people's lives, and you see that it means so much of pain, so much of illness, so much of mortality. A vicious form of legal procedure, for example, either enacted or tolerated, entails on suitors costs, or delays, or defeats. What do these imply? Loss of money, often ill-spaced;



great and prolonged anxiety ; frequently consequent illness ; unhappiness of family and dependents ; children stunted in food and clothing—all of them miseries which bring after them multitudinous remoter miseries. Add to which there are the far more numerous cases of those who, lacking the means or the courage to enter on law-suits, and therefore submitting to frauds, are impoverished ; and have similarly to bear the pains of body and mind which ensue. Even to say that a law has been simply a hindrance, is to say that it has caused needless loss of time, extra trouble, and additional worry ; and among overburdened people extra trouble and worry imply, here and there, break-downs in health with their entailed direct and indirect sufferings. Seeing, then, that bad legislation means injury to men's lives, judge what must be the total amount of mental distress, physical pain, and raised mortality, which these thousands of repealed Acts of Parliament represent ! Fully to bring home the truth that law-making unguided by adequate knowledge brings immense evils, let me take a special case which a question of the day brings before us.

Already I have hinted that interferences with the connection between supply and demand, given up in certain fields after immense mischiefs had been done during many centuries, are now taking place in other fields. This connection is supposed to hold only where it has been proved to hold by the evils of disregarding it : so feeble is men's belief in it. There seems no suspicion that in cases where it seems to fail, it is because it has been traversed by artificial hindrances. And yet in the case to which I now refer—that of the supply of houses for the poor—it needs but to ask what laws have been doing for a long time past, to see that the terrible evils complained of are mostly law-made.

A generation ago discussion was taking place concerning the inadequacy and badness of industrial dwellings, and I had occasion to deal with the question. Here is a passage then written :—

“ An architect and surveyor describes it [the Building Act] as having worked after the following manner. In those districts of London consisting of inferior houses, built in that unsubstantial fashion which the New Building Act was to mend, there obtains an average rent, sufficiently remunerative to landlords whose houses were run up economically before the New Building Act passed. This existing average rent fixes the rent that must be charged in these districts for new houses of the same accommodation—that is, the same number of rooms, for the people they are built for do not appreciate the extra safety of living within walls strengthened with hoop-iron bond. Now it turns out upon trial, that houses built in accordance with the present regulations, and let at this established rate, bring in nothing like a reasonable return. Builders have consequently confined themselves to erecting houses in better districts (where the possibility of a profitable competition with pre-existing houses shows that those pre-existing houses were tolerably substantial), and have ceased to erect dwellings for the masses, except in the suburbs where no

pressing sanitary evils exist. Meanwhile, in the inferior districts above described, has resulted an increase of overcrowding—half-a-dozen families in a house, a score lodgers to a room. Nay, more than this has resulted. That state of miserable dilapidation into which these abodes of the poor are allowed to fall, is due to the absence of competition from new houses. Landlords do not find their tenants tempted away by the offer of better accommodation. Repairs, being unnecessary for securing the largest amount of profit, are not made. . . . In fact, for a large percentage of the very horrors which our sanitary agitators are now trying to cure by law, we have to thank previous agitators of the same school!"—*Social Statics*, p. 384 (edition of 1851).

These were not the only law-made causes of such evils. As shown in the following further passage, sundry others were recognized:—

"Writing before the repeal of the brick-duty, the *Builder* says:—'It is supposed that one-fourth of the cost of a dwelling which lets for 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week is caused by the expense of the title-deeds and the tax on wood and bricks used in its construction. Of course, the owner of such property must be remunerated, and he therefore charges 7½d. or 9d. a week to cover these burdens.' Mr. C. Gatliff, secretary to the Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Working Classes, describing the effect of the window-tax, says:—'They are now paying upon their institution in St. Pancras the sum of £162 16s. in window-duties, or 1 per cent. per annum upon the original outlay. The average rental paid by the Society's tenants is 5s. 6d. per week, and the window-duty deducts from this 7½d. per week.'"—*Times*, January 31, 1850.—*Social Statics*, p. 385 (original edition).

Neither is this all the evidence which the press of those days afforded. There was published in the *Times* of December 7, 1850 (too late to be used in the above-named work, which I issued in the last week of 1850), a letter dated from the Reform Club, and signed "Architect," which contained the following passages:—

"Lord Kinnaird recommends in your paper of yesterday the construction of model lodging-houses by throwing two or three houses into one.

Allow me to suggest to his Lordship, and to his friend Lord Ashley to whom he refers, that if,—

1. The window-tax were repealed,
2. The Building Act repealed (excepting the clauses enacting that party and external walls shall be fireproof),
3. The timber duties either equalized or repealed, and,
4. An Act passed to facilitate the transfer of property,

There would be no more necessity for model lodging-houses than there is for model ships, model cotton-mills, or model steam-engines.

The first limits the poor man's house to seven windows.

The second limits the size of the poor man's house to 25 feet by 18 (about the size of a gentleman's dining-room), into which space the builder has to cram a staircase, an entrance-passage, a parlour, and a kitchen (walls and partitions included).

The third induces the builder to erect the poor man's house of timber unfit for building purposes, the duty on the good material (Baltic) being fifteen times more than the duty on the bad or injurious article (Canadian). The Government, even, exclude the latter from all their contracts.

The fourth would have considerable influence upon the present miserable state of the dwellings of the poor. Small freeholds might then be transferred



as easily as leaseholds. The effect of building leases has been a direct inducement to bad building."

To guard against mis-statement or over-statement, I have taken the precaution to consult a large East-end builder and contractor of forty years' experience, Mr. C. Forrest, Museum Works, 17, Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, who, being churchwarden, member of the vestry, and of the board of guardians, adds extensive knowledge of local public affairs to his extensive knowledge of the building business. Mr. Forrest, who authorizes me to give his name, verifies the foregoing statements with the exception of one which he strengthens. He says that "Architect" understates the evil entailed by the definition of "a fourth-rate house;" since the dimensions are much less than those he gives (perhaps in conformity with the provisions of a more recent Building Act). Mr. Forrest has done more than this. Besides illustrating the bad effects of great increase in ground-rents (in sixty years from £1 to £8 10s. for a fourth-rate house) which, joined with other causes, had obliged him to abandon plans for industrial dwellings he had intended to build—besides agreeing with "Architect" that this evil has been greatly increased by the difficulties of land-transfer due to the law-established system of trusts and entails; he pointed out that a further penalty on the building of small houses is inflicted by additions to local burdens ("prohibitory imposts" he called them): one of the instances he named being that to the cost of each new house has to be added the cost of pavement, roadway and sewerage, which is charged according to length of frontage, and which, consequently, bears a far larger ratio to the value of a small house than to the value of a large one.

From these law-produced mischiefs, which were great a generation ago and have since been increasing, let us pass to more recent law-produced mischiefs. The misery, the disease, the mortality in "rookeries," made continually worse by artificial impediments to the increase of fourth-rate houses, and by the necessitated greater crowding of those which existed, having become a scandal, Government was invoked to remove the evil. It responded by Artisan's Dwellings Acts; giving to local authorities powers to pull down bad houses and provide for the building of good ones. What have been the results? A summary of the operations of the Metropolitan Board of Works, dated December 21, 1883, shows that up to last September it had, at a cost of a million and a quarter to ratepayers, unhoused 21,000 persons and provided houses for 12,000—the remaining 9,000 to be hereafter provided for, being, meanwhile, left houseless. This is not all. Another local lieutenant of the Government, the Commission of Sewers for the City, working on the same lines, has, under legislative compulsion, pulled down in Golden Lane and Petticoat Square masses of condemned small houses, which,

together, accommodated 1,734 poor people; and of the spaces thus cleared five years ago, one has, by State authority, been sold for a railway station, and the other is only now being covered with industrial dwellings which will eventually accommodate one-half the expelled population: the result up to the present time being that, added to those displaced by the Metropolitan Board of Works, these 1,734 displaced five years ago, form a total of nearly 11,000 artificially made homeless, who have had to find corners for themselves in miserable places that were already overflowing!

See then what legislation has done. By ill-imposed taxes, raising the prices of bricks and timber, it added to the cost of houses; and prompted, for economy's sake, the use of bad materials in scanty quantities. To check the consequent production of wretched dwellings, it established regulations which, in mediæval fashion, dictated the quality of the commodity produced: there being no perception that by insisting on a higher quality and therefore higher price, it would limit the demand and eventually diminish the supply. By additional local burdens, legislation has of late still further hindered the building of small houses. Finally, having, by successive measures, produced first bad houses and then a deficiency of better ones, it has at length provided for the artificially-increased overflow of poor people by diminishing the house-capacity which already could not contain them!

Where then lies the blame for the miseries of the East-end? Against whom should be raised "the bitter cry of outcast London?"

The German anthropologist Bastian, tells us that a sick native of Guinea who causes the fetish to lie by not recovering, is strangled,\* and we may reasonably suppose that among the Guinea people, any one audacious enough to call in question the power of the fetish would be promptly sacrificed. In days when governmental authority was enforced by strong measures, there was a kindred danger in saying anything disrespectful of the political fetish. Nowadays, however, the worst punishment to be looked for by one who questions its omnipotence is that he will be reviled as a reactionary who talks *laissez-faire*. That any facts he may bring forward will appreciably decrease the established faith is not to be expected; for we are daily shown that this faith is proof against all adverse evidence. Let us contemplate a small part of that vast mass of it which passes unheeded.

"A Government-office is like an inverted filter: you send in accounts clear and they come out muddy." Such was the comparison I heard made many years ago by the late Sir Charles Fox, who, in the conduct of his business, had considerable experience of public

\* "Mensch," iii. p. 225.



departments. That his opinion was not a singular one, though his comparison was, all men know. Exposures by the press and criticisms in Parliament, leave no one in ignorance of the vices of red-tape routine. Its delays, perpetually complained of, and which in the time of Mr. Fox Maule went to the extent that "the commissions of officers in the army" were generally "about two years in arrear," is afresh illustrated by the issue of the first volume of the detailed census of 1881, more than two years after the information was collected. If we seek explanations of such delays, we find one origin to be a scarcely credible confusion. In the case of the census returns, the Registrar-General tells us that "the difficulty consists not merely in the vast multitude of different areas that have to be taken into account, but still more in the bewildering complexity of their boundaries:" there being 39,000 administrative areas of twenty-two different kinds which overlap one another—hundreds, parishes, boroughs, wards, petty sessional divisions, lieutenancy divisions, urban and rural sanitary districts, dioceses, registration districts, &c. And then, as Mr. Rathbone, M.P., points out,\* these many superposed sets of areas with intersecting boundaries, have their respective governing bodies with authorities running into one another's districts. Does any one ask why for each additional administration Parliament has established a fresh set of divisions? The reply which suggests itself is—To preserve consistency of method. For this organized confusion corresponds completely with that organized confusion which Parliament each year increases by throwing on to the heap of its old Acts a hundred new Acts, the provisions of which traverse and qualify in all kinds of ways the provisions of multitudinous Acts on to which they are thrown: the onus of settling what is the law being left to private persons, who lose their property in getting judges' interpretations. And again this system of putting networks of districts over other networks, with their conflicting authorities, is quite consistent with the method under which the reader of the Public Health Act of 1872, who wishes to know what are the powers exercised over him, is referred to 26 preceding Acts of several classes and numerous dates.† So, too, with administrative inertia. Continually there occur cases showing the resistance of officialism to improvements; as by the Admiralty when use of the electric telegraph was proposed, and the reply was—"We have a very good semaphore system;" or as by the Post Office, which the late Sir William Siemens years ago said had obstructed the employment of improved methods of telegraphing, and since then has impeded the general use of the telephone. Other cases

\* *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1883.

† "The Statistics of Legislation." By F. H. Janson, Esq., F.L.S., Vice-president of the Incorporated Law Society. [Read before the Statistical Society, May, 1873.]

akin to the case of industrial dwellings, now and then show how the State with one hand increases evils which with the other hand it tries to diminish; as when it puts a duty on fire-insurances and then makes regulations for the better putting out of fires: dictating, too, certain modes of construction, which, as Captain Shaw shows, entail additional dangers.\* Again, the absurdities of official routine, rigid where it need not be and lax where it should be rigid, occasionally become glaring enough to cause scandals; as when a secret State-document of importance, put into the hands of an ill-paid copying clerk who is not even in permanent Government employ, is made public by him; or as when the mode of making the Moorsom fuse, which was kept secret even from our highest artillery officers, was taught to them by the Russians, who had been allowed to learn it; or as when a diagram showing the "distances at which British and foreign iron-clads could be perforated by our large guns," communicated by an enterprising *attaché* to his own Government, then became known "to all the Governments of Europe," while English officers remained ignorant of the facts.† So, too, with State-supervision. Guaranteeing of quality by inspection has been shown, in the hall-marking of silver, to be superfluous, while the silver trade has been decreased by it;‡ and in other cases it has lowered the quality by establishing a standard which it is useless to exceed: instance the case of the Cork butter-market, where the higher kinds are disadvantaged in not adequately profiting by their better repute;§ or, instance the case of herring-branding (now optional) the effect of which is to put the many inferior curers who just reach the level of official approval, on a par with the few better ones who rise above it, and so to discourage these. But such lessons pass unlearned. Even where the failure of inspection is most glaring, no notice is taken of it; as instance the terrible catastrophe by which a train full of people was destroyed along with the Tay bridge. Countless denunciations, loud and unsparing, were vented against engineer and contractor; but little, if anything, was said about the Government officer from whom the bridge received State-approval. So, too, with prevention of disease. It matters not that under the management or dictation of State-agents some of the worst evils occur; as when the lives of 87 wives and children of soldiers are sacrificed in the ship *Accrington*;|| or as when typhoid fever and diphtheria are diffused by a State-ordered drainage system, as in Edinburgh;¶ or as when officially-

\* "Fire Surveys; or, a Summary of the Principles to be observed in Estimating the Risk of Buildings."

† See *Times*, October 6, 1874, where other instances are given.

‡ "The State in its Relation to Trade," by Sir Thomas Farrer, p. 147.

§ *Ibid.* p. 149.

¶ Hansard, vol. clvi. p. 718, and vol. clvii. p. 4464.

\* Letter of an Edinburgh M.D. in *Times* of 17th January, 1876, verifying other testimonies; one of which I have previously cited concerning Windsor, where, as in Edinburgh, there was absolutely no typhoid in the undrained parts, while it was very fatal in the drained parts.—*Study of Sociology*, chap. i., notes.



enforced sanitary appliances, ever getting out of order, increase the evils they were to decrease.\* Masses of such evidence leave unabated the confidence with which sanitary inspection is invoked—invoked, indeed, more than ever; as is shown in the recent suggestion that all public schools should be under the supervision of health-officers. Nay, even when the State has manifestly caused the mischief complained of, faith in its beneficent agency is not at all diminished; as we see in the fact that, having a generation ago authorized, or rather required, towns to establish drainage systems which delivered sewage into the rivers, and having thus polluted the sources of water-supply, an outcry was raised against the water-companies for the impurities of their water—an outcry which continued after these towns had been compelled, at vast extra cost, to revolutionize their drainage systems. And now, as the only remedy, there follows the demand that the State, by its local proxies, shall undertake the whole business. The State's misdoings become, as in the case of industrial dwellings, reasons for praying it to do more.

This worship of the legislature is, in one respect, indeed, less excusable than the fetish-worship to which I have tacitly compared it. The savage has the defence that his fetish is silent—does not confess its inability. But the civilized man persists in ascribing to this idol made with his own hands, powers which in one way or other it confesses it has not got. I do not mean merely that the debates daily tell us of legislative measures which have done evil instead of good; nor do I mean merely that the thousands of Acts of Parliament which repeal preceding Acts, are so many tacit admissions of failure. Neither do I refer only to such quasi-governmental confessions as that contained in the report of the Poor Law Commissioners, who said that—"We find, on the one hand, that there is scarcely one statute connected with the administration of public relief which has produced the effect designed by the legislature, and that the majority of them have created new evils, and aggravated those which they were intended to prevent."† I refer rather to those made by statesmen, and by State-departments. Here, for example, in a memorial addressed to Mr. Gladstone, and adopted by a highly-influential meeting held under the chairmanship of the late Lord Lyttelton, I read:—

"We, the undersigned, Peers, Members of the House of Commons, Rate-payers, and Inhabitants of the Metropolis, feeling strongly the truth and force of your statement made in the House of Commons, in 1866, that 'there is still a lamentable and deplorable state of our whole arrangements, with regard to public works—vacillation, uncertainty, costliness, extravagance,

\* I say this partly from personal knowledge; having now before me memoranda made 25 years ago concerning such results produced under my own observation. Verifying facts have recently been given by Sir Richard Cross in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1884, p. 155.

† Nicholl's "History of English Poor Law," ii. p. 252.

meanness, and all the conflicting vices that could be enumerated, are united in our present system," &c. &c.\*

Here, again, is an example furnished by a recent minute of the Board of Trade (November, 1883), in which it is said that since "the Shipwreck Committee of 1836 scarcely a session has passed without some Act being passed or some step being taken by the legislature or the Government with this object" [prevention of shipwrecks]; and that "the multiplicity of statutes, which were all consolidated into one Act in 1854, has again become a scandal and a reproach:" each measure being passed because previous ones had failed. And then comes presently the confession that "the loss of life and of ships has been greater since 1876 than it ever was before." Meanwhile, the cost of administration has been raised from £17,000 a year to £73,000 a year.†

It is surprising how, spite of better knowledge, the imagination is excited by artificial appliances used in particular ways. We see it all through human history, from the war-paint with which the savage frightens his adversary, down through religious ceremonies and regal processions, to the robes of a Speaker and the wand of an officially-dressed usher. I remember a child who, able to look with tolerable composure on a horrible cadaverous mask while it was held in the hand, ran away shrieking when his father put it on. A kindred change of feeling comes over constituencies when, from boroughs and counties, their members pass to the Legislative Chamber. While before them as candidates, they are, by one or other party, jeered at, lampooned, "heckled," and in all ways treated with utter disrespect. But as soon they assemble at Westminster, those against whom taunt and invective, charges of incompetence and folly, had been showered from press and platform, excite unlimited faith. Judging from the prayers made to them, there is nothing which their wisdom and their power cannot compass.

HERBERT SPENCER.

\* See *Times*, March 31, 1873.

† In these paragraphs are contained just a few additional examples. Numbers which I have on earlier occasions given, will be found in "Social Statics," (1851); "Over-Legislation," (1853); "Representative Government," (1857); "Specialized Administration," (1871); "Study of Sociology," (1873), and Postscript to ditto, (1880); besides cases in smaller essays.

(To be continued).



## ANARCHY :

BY AN ANARCHIST.

TO most Englishmen the word anarchy is so evil-sounding that ordinary readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW will probably turn from these pages with aversion, wondering how anybody could have the audacity to write them. With the crowd of commonplace chatterers, we are already past praying for: no reproach is too bitter for us, no epithet too insulting. Public speakers on social and political subjects find that abuse of anarchists is an unfailing passport to popular favour. Every conceivable crime is laid to our charge, and opinion, too indolent to learn the truth, is easily persuaded that anarchy is but another name for wickedness and chaos. Overwhelmed with opprobrium and held up to hatred, we are treated on the principle that the surest way of hanging a dog is to give it a bad name.

There is nothing surprising in all this. The chorus of imprecations with which we are assailed is quite in the nature of things, for we speak in a tongue unhallowed by usage, and belong to none of the parties that dispute the possession of power. Like all innovators, whether they be violent or pacific, we bring not peace but a sword, and are in nowise astonished to be received as enemies.

Yet it is not with light hearts that we incur so much ill-will, nor are we satisfied with merely knowing that it is undeserved. To risk the loss of so precious an advantage as popular sympathy without first patiently searching out the truth and carefully considering our duty, were an act of reckless folly. To a degree never dreamt of by men who are borne unresistingly on the great current of public opinion, are we bound to render to our conscience a reason for the faith that is in us, to strengthen our convictions by study of nature and mankind, and, above all, to compare them with that ideal justice which has been slowly elaborated by the untold generations of

our race. This ideal is known to all, and is almost too trite to need repeating. It exists in the moral teaching of every people, civilized or savage; every religion has tried to adapt it to its dogmas and precepts, for it is the ideal of equality of rights and reciprocity of services. "We are all brethren," is a saying repeated from one end of the world to the other, and the principle of universal brotherhood expressed in this saying implies a complete solidarity of interests and efforts.

Accepted in its integrity by simple souls, does not this principle seem to imply as a necessary consequence the social state formulated by modern socialists: "To each according to his needs, from each according to his powers?" Well, we are simple souls, and we hold firmly to this ideal of human morality. Of a surety there is much dross mixed with the pure metal, and the personal and collective egoisms of families, cities, castes, peoples and parties have wrought on this groundwork some startling variations. But we have not to do here with the ethics of selfish interests, it is enough to identify the central point of convergence towards which all partial ideas more or less tend. This focus of gravitation is justice. If humanity be not a vain dream, if all our impressions, all our thoughts, are not pure hallucinations, one capital fact dominates the history of man—that every kindred and people yearns after justice. The very life of humanity is but one long cry for that fraternal equity which still remains unattained. Listen to the words, uttered nearly three thousand years ago, of old Hesiod, answering beforehand all those who contend that the struggle for existence dooms us to eternal strife. "Let fishes, the wild beasts and birds, devour one another—but our law is justice."

Yet how vast is the distance that still separates us from the justice invoked by the poet in the very dawn of history! How great is the progress we have still to make before we may rightfully cease comparing ourselves with wild creatures fighting for a morsel of carrion! It is in vain that we pretend to be civilized, if civilization be that which Mr. Alfred R. Wallace has described as "the harmony of individual liberty with the collective will." It is really too easy to criticize contemporary society, its morals, its conventions and its laws, and to show how much its practices fall short of the ideal justice formulated by thinkers and desired by peoples. To repeat stale censures is to risk being called mere declaimers, scatterers of voices in the market-place. And yet so long as the truth is not heard, is it not our duty to go on speaking it in season and out of season? A sincere man owes it to himself to expose the frightful barbarity which still prevails in the hidden depths of a society so outwardly well-ordered. Take, for instance, our great cities, the leaders of civilization, especially the most populous, and, in many



respects, the first of all—that immense London, which gathers to herself the riches of the world, whose every warehouse is worth a king's ransom; where are to be found enough, and more than enough, of food and clothing for the needs of the teeming millions that throng her streets in greater numbers than the ants which swarm in the never-ending labyrinth of their subterranean galleries. And yet the wretched who cast longing and hungry eyes on those hoards of wealth may be counted by the hundred thousand; by the side of untold splendours, want is consuming the vitals of entire populations, and it is only at times that the fortunate for whom these treasures are amassed hear, as a muffled wailing, the bitter cry which rises eternally from those unseen depths. Below the London of fashion is a London accursed, a London whose only food are dirt-stained fragments, whose only garments are filthy rags, and whose only dwellings are fetid dens. Have the disinherited the consolation of hope? No: they are deprived of all. There are some among them who live and die in dampness and gloom without once raising their eyes to the sun.

What boots it to the wretched outcast, burning with fever or craving for bread, that the Book of the Christians opens the doors of heaven more widely to him than to the rich! Beside his present misery, all these promises of happiness, even if he heard them, would seem the bitterest irony. Does it not appear, moreover—judging by the society in which the majority of preachers of the Gospel most delight—that the words of Jesus are reversed, that the “Kingdom of God” is the guerdon of the fortunate of this world—a world where spiritual and temporal government are on the best of terms, and religion leads as surely to earthly power as to heavenly bliss? “Religion is a cause for preferment, irreligion a bar to it,” as a famous commentator of the Bible, speaking to his sovereign, said it ought to be.\*

When ambition thus finds its account in piety, and hypocrites practise religion in order to give what they are pleased to call their conscience a higher mercantile value, is it surprising that the great army of the hopeless should forget the way to church? Do they deceive themselves in thinking that, despite official invitations, they would not always be well received in the “houses of God?” Without speaking here of churches whose sittings are sold at a price, where you may enter only purse in hand, is it nothing to the poor to feel themselves arrested on the threshold by the cold looks of well-clad men and the tightened lips of elegant women? True, no wall bars the passage, but an obstacle still more formidable stops the way—the dark atmosphere of hatred and disgust which rises between the disinherited and the world's elect.

\* Alexander Cruden, Preface to the “Concordance.”



Yet the first word uttered by the minister when he stands up in the pulpit is "Brethren," a word which, by a characteristic differentiation, has come to mean no more than a sort of potential and theoretic fraternity without practical reality. Nevertheless, its primitive sense has not altogether perished, and if the outcast that hears it be not stupefied by hunger, if he be not one of those boneless beings who repeat idiotically all they hear, what bitter thoughts will be suggested by this word "brethren," coming from the lips of men who feel so little its force! The impressions of my childhood surge back into my mind. When I heard for the first time an earnest and eager voice beseech the "Father who is in heaven" to give us "our daily bread," it seemed to me that by a mysterious act a meal would descend from on high on all the tables of the world. I imagined that these words, repeated millions and milliards of times, were a cry of human brotherhood, and that each, in uttering them, thought of all. I deceived myself. With some the prayer is sincere; with the greater part it is but an empty sound, a gust of wind like that which passes through the reeds.

Governments at least talk not to the poor about fraternity; they do not torment them with so sorry a jest. It is true that in some countries the jargon of courts compares the Sovereign to a father whose subjects are his children, and upon whom he pours the inexhaustible dews of his love; but this formula, which the hungry might abuse by asking for bread, is no longer taken seriously. So long as Governments were looked upon as direct representatives of a heavenly Sovereign, holding their powers by the grace of God, the comparison was legitimate; but there are very few now that make any claim to this *quasi*-divinity. Shorn of the sanctions of religion, they no longer hold themselves answerable for the general weal, contenting themselves instead with promising good administration, impartial justice and strict economy in the administration of public affairs. Let history tell how these promises have been kept. Nobody can study contemporary politics without being struck by the truth of the words attributed alike to Oxenstjerna and Lord Chesterfield: "Go, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed!" It is now a matter of common knowledge that power, whether its nature be monarchic, aristocratic or democratic, whether it be based on the right of the sword, of inheritance or of election, is wielded by men neither better nor worse than their fellows, but whose position exposes them to greater temptations to do evil. Raised above the crowd, whom they soon learn to despise, they end by considering themselves essentially superior beings; solicited by ambition in a thousand forms, by vanity, greed and caprice, they are all the more easily corrupted that a rabble of interested flatterers is ever on the watch to profit by their vices. And possessing as they do a preponderant influence in all things, holding



the powerful lever whereby is moved the immense mechanism of the State—functionaries, soldiers and police—every one of their oversights, their faults, or their crimes repeats itself to infinity and magnifies as it grows. It is only too true: a fit of impatience in a Sovereign, a crooked look, an equivocal word, may plunge nations into mourning and be fraught with disaster for mankind. English readers, brought up to a knowledge of Biblical lore, will remember the striking parable of the trees who wanted a king.\* The peaceful trees and the strong, those who love work and whom man blesses; the olive that makes oil, the fig-tree that grows good fruit, the vine that produces wine, "which cheereth God and man," refuse to reign; the bramble accepts, and of that noxious briar is born the flame which devours the cedars of Lebanon.

But these depositaries of power who are charged, whether by right divine or universal suffrage, with the august mission of dispensing justice, can they be considered as in any way more infallible, or even as impartial? Can it be said that the laws and their interpreters show towards all men the ideal equity as it exists in the popular conception? Are the judges blind when there come before them the wealthy and the poor—Shylock, with his murderous knife and the unfortunate who has sold beforehand pounds of his flesh or ounces of his blood? Hold they always even scales between the king's son and the beggar's brat? That these magistrates should firmly believe in their own impartiality and think themselves incarnate right in human shape, is quite natural; every one puts on—sometimes without knowing it—the peculiar morality of his calling; yet judges, no more than priests, can withstand the influence of their surroundings. Their sense of what constitutes justice, derived from the average opinion of the age, is insensibly modified by the prejudices of their class. How honest soever they may be, they cannot forget that they belong to the rich and powerful, or to those, less fortunate, who are still on the look-out for preferment and honour. They are moreover blindly attached to precedent, and fancy that practices inherited from their forerunners must needs be right. Yet when we examine official justice without prejudice, how many iniquities do we find in legal procedures! Thus the English are scandalized—and rightly so—by the French fashion of examining prisoners, those sacred beings who in strict probity ought to be held innocent until they are proved to be guilty; while the French are disgusted, and not without reason, to see English justice, through the English Government, publicly encourage treachery by offers of impunity and money to the betrayer, thereby deepening the degradation of the debased and provoking acts of shameful meanness which children in their schools, more moral than their elders, regard with unfeigned horror.

\* Judges ix. 8.

Nevertheless law, like religion, plays only a secondary part in contemporary society. It is invoked but rarely to regulate the relations between the poor and the rich, the powerful and the weak. These relations are the outcome of economic laws and the evolution of a social system based on inequality of conditions.

*Laissez faire!* Let things alone! have said the judges of the camp. Careers are open; and although the field is covered with corpses, although the conqueror stamps on the bodies of the vanquished, although by supply and demand, and the combinations and monopolies in which they result, the greater part of society becomes enslaved to the few, let things alone—for thus has decreed fair play. It is by virtue of this beautiful system that a *parvenu*, without speaking of the great lord who receives counties as his heritage, is able to conquer with ready money thousands of acres, expel those who cultivate his domain, and replace men and their dwellings with wild animals and rare trees. It is thus that a tradesman, more cunning or intelligent, or, perhaps, more favoured by luck than his fellows, is enabled to become master of an army of workers, and as often as not to starve them at his pleasure. In a word, commercial competition, under the paternal ægis of the law, lets the great majority of merchants—the fact is attested by numberless medical inquests—adulterate provisions and drink, sell pernicious substances as wholesome food, and kill by slow poisoning, without for one day neglecting their religious duties, their brothers in Jesus Christ. Let people say what they will, slavery, which abolitionists strove so gallantly to extirpate in America, prevails in another form in every civilized country; for entire populations, placed between the alternatives of death by starvation and toils which they detest, are constrained to choose the latter. And if we would deal frankly with the barbarous society to which we belong, we must acknowledge that murder, albeit disguised under a thousand insidious and scientific forms, still, as in the times of primitive savagery, terminates the majority of lives. The economist sees around him but one vast field of carnage, and with the coldness of the statistician he counts the slain as on the evening after a great battle. Judge by these figures. The mean mortality among the well-to-do is, at the utmost, one in sixty. Now the population of Europe being a third of a thousand millions, the average deaths, according to the rate of mortality among the fortunate, should not exceed five millions. They are three times five millions! What have we done with these ten million human beings killed before their time? If it be true that we have duties, one towards the other, are we not responsible for the servitude, the cold, the hunger, the miseries of every sort, which doom the unfortunate to untimely deaths? Race of Cains, what have we done with our brothers?



And what are the remedies proposed for the social ills which are consuming the very marrow of our bones? Can charity, as assert many good souls—who are answered in chorus by a crowd of egoists—can charity by any possibility deal with so vast an evil? True, we know some devoted ones who seem to live only that they may do good. In England, above all, is this the case. Among childless women who are constrained to lavish their love on their kind are to be found many of those admirable beings whose lives are passed in consoling the afflicted, visiting the sick, and ministering to the young. We cannot help being touched by the exquisite benevolence, the indefatigable solicitude shown by these ladies towards their unhappy fellow-creatures; but taken even in their entirety, what economic value can be attached to these well-meant efforts? What sum represent the charities of a year in comparison with the gains which hucksters of money and hawkers of loans oftentimes make by the speculations of a single day? While ladies bountiful are giving a cup of tea to a pauper, or preparing a potion for the sick, a father or a brother, by a hardy stroke on the Stock Exchange, or a successful transaction in produce, may reduce to ruin thousands of British workmen, or Hindoo coolies. And how worthy of respect soever may be deeds of unostentatious charity, is it not the fact that the bestowal of alms is generally a matter of personal caprice, and that their distribution is too often influenced rather by the political and religious sympathies of the giver than by the moral worth of the recipient? Even were help always given to those who most need it, charity would be none the less tainted with the capital vice, that it infallibly constitutes relations of inequality between the benefited and the benefactor. The latter rejoices in the consciousness of doing a good thing, as if he were not simply discharging a debt; and the former asks bread as a favour, when he should demand work as a right, or, if helpless, human solidarity. Thus are created and developed hideous mendicity with its lies, its tricks, and its base, heart-breaking hypocrisy. How much nobler are the customs of some so-called “barbarous countries” where the hungry man simply stops by the side of those who eat, is welcomed by all, and then, when satisfied, with a friendly greeting withdraws—remaining in every respect the equal of his host, and fretting under no painful sense of obligation for favours received! But charity breeds patronage and platitudes—miserable fruits of a wretched system, yet the best which a society of capitalists has to offer us!

## II.

Hence we may say that, in letting those whom they govern—and the responsibility for whose fate they thereby accept—waste by want, sink under exposure and deteriorate by vice, the leaders of modern

society have committed moral bankruptcy. But where the masters have come short, free men may, perchance, succeed. The failure of Governments is no reason why we should be discouraged; on the contrary, it shows us the danger of entrusting to others the guardianship of our rights, and makes us all the more firmly resolved to take our own cause into our own care. We are not among those whom the practice of social hypocrisies, the long weariness of a crooked life, and the uncertainty of the future have reduced to the necessity of asking ourselves—without daring to answer it—the sad question: “Is life worth living?” Yes, to us life does seem worth living, but on condition that it has an end—not personal happiness, not a paradise, either in this world or the next—but the realization of a cherished wish, an ideal that belongs to us, and springs from our innermost conscience. We are striving to draw nearer to that ideal equality which, century after century, has hovered before subject peoples like a heavenly dream. The little that each of us can do offers an ample recompense for the perils of the combat. On these terms life is good, even a life of suffering and sacrifice—even though it may be cut short by premature death.

The first condition of equality, without which any other progress is merest mockery—the object of all socialists without exception—is that every man shall have bread. To talk of duty, of renunciation, of ethereal virtues to the famishing, is nothing less than cowardice. Dives has no right to preach morality to the beggar at his gates. If it were true that civilized lands did not produce food enough for all, it might be said that, by virtue of vital competition, bread should be reserved for the strong, and that the weak must content themselves with the crumbs that fall from the feasters’ tables. In a family where love prevails things are not ordered in this way; on the contrary, the small and the ailing receive the fullest measure; yet it is evident that dearth may strengthen the hands of the violent and make the powerful monopolizers of bread. But are our modern societies really reduced to these straits? On the contrary, whatever may be the value of Malthus’s forecasts as to the distant future, it is an actual, incontestable fact that in the civilized countries of Europe and America the sum total of provisions produced, or received in exchange for manufactures, is more than enough for the sustenance of the people. Even in times of partial dearth the granaries and warehouses have but to open their doors that every one may have a sufficient share. Notwithstanding waste and prodigality, despite the enormous losses arising from moving about and “handling” in warehouses and shops, there is always enough to feed generously all the world. And yet there are some who die of hunger! And yet there are fathers who kill their children because when the little ones cry for bread they have none to give them!



Others may turn their eyes from these horrors, we socialists look them full in the face, and seek out their cause. That cause is the monopoly of the soil, the appropriation by a few of the land which belongs to all. We anarchists are not the only ones to say it: the cry for nationalization of the land is rising so high that all may hear it who do not wilfully close their ears. The idea spreads fast, for private property, in its present form, has had its day, and historians are everywhere testifying that the old Roman law is not synonymous with eternal justice. Without doubt it were vain to hope that holders of the soil saturated, so to speak, with ideas of caste, of privilege, and of inheritance will voluntarily give back to all the bread-yielding furrows; the glory will not be theirs of joining as equals their fellow-citizens; but when public opinion is ripe—and day by day it grows—individuals will oppose in vain the general concourse of wills, and the axe will be applied to the upas tree's root. Arable land will be held once more in common; but instead of being ploughed and sown almost at hazard by ignorant hands, as it has hitherto been, science will aid us in the choice of climate, of soils, of methods of culture, of fertilizers and of machinery. Husbandry will be guided by the same prescience as mechanical combinations and chemical operations; but the fruits of his toil will not be lost to the labourer. Many so-called savage societies hold their land in common, and humble though in our eyes they may seem, they are our betters in this: want among them is unknown. Are we then too ambitious in desiring to attain a social state which shall add to the conquests of civilization the privileges of these primitive tribes. Through the education of our children we may to some extent fashion the future?

After we have bread for all, we shall require something more—equality of rights; but this point will then soon be realized, for a man who needs not incline himself before his fellows to crave a pittance is already their equal. Equality of conditions, which is in no way incompatible with the infinite diversity of human character, we ardently desire and look upon as indispensable, for it offers us the only means whereby a true public morality can be developed. A man can be truly moral only when he is his own master. From the moment when he awakens to a comprehension of that which is equitable and good it is for him to direct his own movements, to seek in his conscience reasons for his actions, and to perform them simply, without either fearing punishment or looking for reward. Nevertheless his will cannot fail to be strengthened when he sees other men, guided like himself by their own volition, following the same line of conduct. Mutual example will soon constitute a collective code of ethics to which all may conform without effort; but the moment that orders, enforced by legal penalties, replace the personal impulses of the conscience, there is an end to morality. Hence

the saying of the Apostle of the Gentiles, "the law makes sin." Even more, it is sin itself, because instead of appealing to man's better part, to his bold initiative, it appeals to his worst—it rules by fear. It thus behoves every one to resist laws that he has not made, and to defend his personal rights, which are also the rights of others. People often speak of the antagonism between rights and duties. It is an empty phrase; there is no such antagonism. Whoso vindicates his own rights fulfils at the same time his duty towards his fellow-men. Privilege, not right, is the converse of duty.

Besides the possession of a man's own person, sound morality involves yet another condition—mutual goodwill, which is likewise the outcome of equality. The time-honoured words of Mahabarata are as true as ever: "The ignorant are not the friends of the wise; the man who has no cart is not the friend of him who has a cart. Friendship is the daughter of equality; it is never born of inequality." Without doubt it is given to some men, great by their thoughts, by sympathy, or by strength of will, to win the multitude; but if the attachment of their followers and admirers comes otherwise than of an enthusiastic affinity of idea to idea, or of heart to heart, it is speedily transformed either into fanaticism or servility. He who is hailed lord by the acclamations of the crowd must almost of necessity attribute to himself exceptional virtues, or a "grace of God," that marks him in his own estimation as a predestined being, and he usurps without hesitation or remorse privileges which he transmits as a heritage to his children. But while in rank exalted he is morally degraded, and his partisans and sycophants are more degraded still; they wait for the words of command which fall from the master's lips; when they hear in the depths of their conscience some faint note of dissent, it is stifled; they become practised liars, they stoop to flattery, and lose the power of looking honest men in the face. Between him who commands and him who obeys, and whose degradation deepens from generation to generation, there is no possibility of friendship. The virtues are transformed; brotherly frankness is destroyed; independence becomes a crime; above is either pitying condescension or haughty contempt, below either envious admiration or hidden hate. Let each of us recall the past and ask ourselves in all sincerity this question: "Who are the men in whose society we have experienced the most pleasure?" Are they personages who have "honoured" us with their conversation, or the humble with whom we have "deigned" to associate? Are they not rather our equals, those whose looks neither implore nor command, and whom we may love with open hearts without after-thought or reserve?

It is to live in conditions of equality and escape from the falsehoods and hypocrisies of a society of superiors and inferiors, that



so many men and women have formed themselves into close corporations and little worlds apart. America abounds in communities of this sort. But these societies, few of which prosper while many perish, are all ruled more or less by force; they carry within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, and are reabsorbed by Nature's law of gravitation into the world which they have left. Yet even were they perfection, if man enjoyed in them the highest happiness of which his nature is capable, they would be none the less obnoxious to the charge of selfish isolation, of raising a wall between themselves and the rest of their race; their pleasures are egotistical, and devotion to the cause of humanity would draw back the best of them into the great struggle.

As for us anarchists, never will we separate ourselves from the world to build a little church, hidden in some vast wilderness. Here is the fighting ground, and we remain in the ranks, ready to give our help wherever it may be most needed. We do not cherish premature hopes, but we know that our efforts will not be lost. Many of the ignorant, who either out of love of routine or simplicity of soul now anathematize us will end by associating themselves with our cause. For every man whom circumstances permit to join us freely, hundreds are hindered by the hard necessities of life from openly avowing their opinions, but they listen from afar and cherish our words in the treasury of their hearts. We know that we are defending the cause of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering; we are seeking to restore to them the earth, personal rights, confidence in the future; and is it not natural that they should encourage us by look and gesture, even when they dare not come to us? In times of trouble, when the iron hand of might loosens its hold, and paralyzed rulers reel under the weight of their own power; when the "groups," freed for an instant from the pressure above, reform themselves according to their natural affinities, on which side will be the many? Though making no pretension to prophetic insight, may we not venture without temerity to say that the great multitude would join our ranks? Albeit they never weary of repeating that anarchism is merely the dream of a few visionaries, do not even our enemies, by the insults they heap upon us and the projects and machinations they impute to us, make an incessant propaganda in our favour? It is said that when the magicians of the Middle Ages wanted to raise the devil, they began their incantations by painting his image on a wall. For a long time past modern exorcists have adopted a similar method for conjuring anarchists.

Pending the great work of the coming time, and to the end that this work may be accomplished, it behoves us to utilize every opportunity for rede and deed. Meanwhile, although our object is to live without government and without law, we are obliged in many things

to submit. On the other hand, how often are we enabled to disregard their behests and act on our own free will? Ours be it to let slip none of these occasions, and to accept tranquilly whatever personal consequences may result from doing that which we believe to be our duty. In no case will we strengthen authority by appeals or petitions, neither shall we sanction the law by demanding justice from the courts nor, by giving our votes and influence to any candidate whatsoever, become the authors of our own ill-fortune? It is also easy for us to accept nothing from power, to call no man "master," neither to be called "master" ourselves, to remain in the ranks as simple citizens and to maintain resolutely, and in every circumstance, our quality of equal among equals. Let our friends judge us by our deeds, and reject from among them those of us who falter.

There are unquestionably many kind-hearted men that, as yet, hold themselves aloof from us, and even view our efforts with a certain apprehension, who would nevertheless gladly lend us their help were they not repelled by fear of the violence which almost invariably accompanies revolution. And yet a close study of the present state of things would show them that the supposed period of tranquillity in which we live is really an age of cruelty and violence. Not to speak of war and its crimes, from the guilt of which no civilized State is free, can it be denied that chief among the consequences of the existing social system are murder, maladies, and death. Accustomed order is maintained by rude deeds and brute force, yet things that happen every day and every hour pass unperceived, we see in them a series of ordinary events no more phenomenal than times and seasons. It seems little less than impious to rebel against the cycle of violence and repression which comes to us hallowed by the sanction of ages. Far from desiring to replace an era of happiness and peace by an age of disorder and warfare, our sole aim is to put an end to the endless series of calamities which has hitherto been called by common consent "*The Progress of Civilization.*" On the other hand, vengeance is the inevitable incidents of a period of violent changes. It is in the nature of things that they should be. Albeit deeds of violence, prompted by a spirit of hatred, bespeak a feeble moral development, these deeds become fatal and necessary whenever the relations between man and man are not the relations of perfect equity. The original form of justice as understood by primitive peoples, was that of retaliation, and by thousands of rude tribes this system is still observed. Nothing seemed more just than to offset one wrong by a like wrong. Eye for eye! Tooth for tooth! If the blood of one man has been shed another must die! This was the barbarous form of justice. In our civilized societies it is forbidden to individuals to take the law into their own hands. Govern-



ments in their quality of social delegates, are charged on behalf of the community with the enforcement of justice, a sort of retaliation somewhat more enlightened than that of the savage. It is on this condition that the individual renounces the right of personal vengeance; but if he be deceived by the mandatories to whom he entrusts the vindication of his rights, if he perceives that his agents betray his cause and league themselves with his oppressors, that official justice aggravates his wrongs; in a word, if whole classes and populations are unfairly used, and have no hope of finding in the society to which they belong a redresser of abuses, is it not certain that they will resume their inherent right of vengeance and execute it without pity? Is not this indeed an ordinance of Nature, a consequence of the physical law of shock and counter-shock? It were unphilosophic to be surprised by its existence. Oppression has always been answered by violence.

Nevertheless, if great human evolutions are always followed by sad outbreaks of personal hatreds, it is not to these bad passions that well-wishers of their kind appeal when they wish to rouse the motive virtues of enthusiasm, devotion, and generosity. If changes had no other result than to punish oppressors, to make them suffer in their turn, to repay evil with evil, the transformation would be only in seeming. What boots it to him who truly loves humanity and desires the happiness of all that the slave becomes master, that the master is reduced to servitude, that the whip changes hands, and that money passes from one pocket to another? It is not the rich and the powerful whom we devote to destruction, but the institutions which have favoured the birth and growth of these malevolent beings. It is the medium which it behoves us to alter, and for this great work we must reserve all our strength; to waste it in personal vindications were merest puerility. "Vengeance is the pleasure of the gods," said the ancients; but it is not the pleasure of self-respecting mortals; for they know that to become their own avengers would be to lower themselves to the level of their former oppressors. If we would rise superior to our adversary, we must, after vanquishing him, make him bless his defeat. The revolutionary device, "For our liberty and for yours," must not be an empty word.

The people in all times have felt this; and after every temporary triumph the generosity of the victor has obliterated the menaces of the past. It is a constant fact that in all serious popular movements, made for an idea, hope of a better time, and above all, the sense of a new dignity, fills the soul with high and magnanimous sentiments. So soon as the police, both political and civil, cease their functions and the masses become masters of the streets, the moral atmosphere changes, each feels himself responsible for the prosperity and contentment of all; molestation of individuals is almost unheard of; even

professional criminals pause in their sad career, for they too, feel that something great is passing through the air. Ah! if revolutionaries, instead of obeying a vague idea as they have almost always done, had formed a definite aim, a well-considered scheme of social conduct, if they had firmly willed the establishment of a new order of things in which every citizen might be assured bread, work, instruction, and the free development of his being, there would have been no danger in opening all prison-gates to their full width, and saying to the unfortunates whom they shut in, "Go, brothers, and sin no more."

It is always to the nobler part of man that we should address ourselves when we want to do great deeds. A general fighting for a bad cause stimulates his soldiers with promises of booty; a benevolent man who cherishes a noble object encourages his companions by the example of his own devotion and self-sacrifice. For him faith in his idea is enough. As says the proverb of the Danish peasants: "His will is his paradise." What matters it that he is treated as a visionary! Even though his undertaking were only a chimera he knows nothing more beautiful and sweet than the desire to act rightly and do good; in comparison with this vulgar realities are for him but shadows, the apparitions of an instant.

But our ideal is not a chimera. This, public opinion well knows; for no question more preoccupies it than that of social transformation. Events are casting their shadows before. Among men who think is there one who in some fashion or another is not a socialist—that is to say, who has not his own little scheme for changes in economic relations? Even the orator who noisily denies that there is a social question, affirms the contrary by a thousand propositions. And those who would lead us back to the Middle Ages, are they not also socialists? They think they have found in a past, restored after modern ideas, conditions of social justice which will establish for ever the brotherhood of man. All are awaiting the birth of a new order of things; all ask themselves, some with misgiving, others with hope, what the morrow will bring forth. It will not come with empty hands. The century which has witnessed so many grand discoveries in the world of science cannot pass away without giving us still greater conquests. Industrial appliances, that by a single electric impulse make the same thought vibrate through five continents, have distanced by far our social morals, which are yet in many regards the outcome of reciprocally hostile interests. The axis is displaced; the world must crack that its equilibrium may be restored. In spirit revolution is ready; it is already thought—it is already willed; it only remains to realize it, and this is not the most difficult part of the work. The Governments of Europe will soon have reached the limits to the expansion of their power and find



themselves face to face with their increasing populations. The superabundant activity which wastes itself in distant wars must then find employment at home—unless in their folly the shepherds of the people should try to exhaust their energies by setting Europeans against Europeans, as they have so often done before. It is true that in this way they may retard the solution of the social problem, but it will rise again after each postponement, more formidable than before.

Let economists and rulers invent political constitutions or salaried organizations, whereby the workman may be made the friend of his master, the subject the brother of the potentate, we, "frightful anarchists" as we are, know only one way of establishing peace and goodwill among men—the suppression of privilege and the recognition of right. Our ideal, as we have said, is that of the fraternal equity for which all yearn, but almost always as a dream ; with us it takes form and becomes a concrete reality. It pleases us not to live if the enjoyments of life are to be for us alone ; we protest against our good fortune if we may not share it with others ; it is sweeter for us to wander with the wretched and the outcast than to sit, crowned with roses, at the banquets of the rich. We are weary of these inequalities which make us the enemies of each other ; we would put an end to the furies which are ever bringing men into hostile collision, and all of which arise from the bondage of the weak to the strong under the form of slavery, serfage, and service. After so much hatred we long to love each other, and for this reason are we enemies of private property and despisers of the law.

ELISÉE RECLUS.

## CARDINAL NEWMAN.

THE special intellectual greatness of Cardinal Newman is, I think, more due to the singular combination of a deep insight into man with a predominant passion for theology, than to any other single cause. And when I speak of a deep insight into man, I mean an insight not merely into man's higher moral nature, the best side of man, though that he has too, but the literary feeling which a dramatic poet has for man's grotesque weaknesses and his sometimes equally grotesque virtues, the pleasure such a poet has in tracking the wayward turns and quaint wilfulness of his nature, the delight he takes in what may be called the *natural* history of the emotions, the large forbearance he displays with the unaccountable element in human conduct and feeling. It is this side of Cardinal Newman's mind which has made a great theological and religious writer so fascinating to the world at large, so full of that variety and play of thought which is rare among theologians, and which forms so striking a contrast to his habitual sense of the absolute predominance of the Will that is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. I can explain better, perhaps, what I mean if I refer to the writings of another remarkable man, whose biography—a singularly admirable one—has just been given to the world, and by whose faith my own mind has been even more powerfully influenced than by Cardinal Newman's itself—I mean the late Frederick Denison Maurice. Maurice, like Cardinal Newman, and I venture to think even more strikingly than Cardinal Newman, was haunted from the opening to the very close of his life by a sense of the predominance of the Divine Will. Maurice, like Cardinal Newman, and not less than Cardinal Newman, took the utmost delight in following the windings of human thought on those great subjects which form the borderland between the human



and the divine. There is probably hardly a book in the language that represents a more discriminating and more laborious study of the human aspects of the search for wisdom, than Maurice's "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy." But Maurice's interest in man was moral and not properly literary. It seemed to fail at the very point at which Cardinal Newman's exhibits its greatest force and play. Maurice followed man with ardent interest in his search for wisdom, but seems to have taken comparatively little pleasure in the mere natural history of his character and mind, and to have understood less of it than almost any writer known to me of equal intensity and power. He writes continually as if man were a moral being and nothing else. He treats *himself*, for instance, as if he had been a moral being and nothing else. There is no manner of forbearance in him for his own idiosyncrasies. The same solemn shadow is ever upon his heart; the same penitential litany is ever upon his tongue: the same high lights, the same dark depths, are always visible in the scenery of his mind. The aspect of his life never changes:

"Hardly his voice at its best  
Gives us a sense of the awe,  
The vastness, the grandeur, the gloom  
Of the unlit gulf of himself."

It is not so with Cardinal Newman. Even in his Oxford Sermons, even in his theological poems, even in his controversial lectures, you have the keenest sense of the literary flexibility of his mind—of the humour, the vivacity, the sympathy with what is essentially due to the structure of our nature, as well as with what is due to the struggles of our wills, by which his predominant theological interests are relieved. This is why I have been so fascinated by his writings since I was a lad of nineteen or twenty. This is why I have often said that if it were ever my hard lot to suffer solitary confinement, and I were given my choice of books but were limited to one or two, I should prefer some of Dr. Newman's to Shakespeare himself. Not, of course, that there is any comparison possible between the two; but while Shakespeare's supreme vitality would undoubtedly inflame the natural restlessness of captivity, Dr. Newman's influence would help me, as none other of equal richness, variety, and play of mind, would help me, to realize the comparative indifference of outward circumstances in a world ruled by God. Maurice's writings would produce that feeling too. But then Maurice's writings would not give any of the relief which keen insight into the varying tints of human character and weakness lends to the grand monotone of theological teaching. Dr. Newman, too, it is true, is always leading us back to the thought that, as he puts it in his "Apologia," "there are two, and two only, luminously self-evident beings—myself and my Creator." But Maurice never lets us stray away from that thought for a moment; and therefore there is too high a strain put on the mind in reading



his books. I know no writings which combine, as Cardinal Newman's do, so penetrating an insight into the realities of the human world around us in all its detail, with so unwavering an inwardness of standard in the estimating and judging of that world; so steady a knowledge of the true vanity in human life, with so steady a love of that which is not vanity or vexation of spirit, but which appeases the hunger and slakes the thirst which Vanity Fair only stimulates.

Indeed, I am disposed to think that it is to this human and literary side of Cardinal Newman's mind that we owe in very large degree that High-Church and Roman Catholic bend which his theology has taken. One chief difference between the Protestant and the Catholic view of the Christian religion has always been this, that the Protestant has insisted mainly on the direct contemplation of the character of God, the Catholic (whether Roman or otherwise) mainly on the adaptation of God's purposes, through the ecclesiastical organization and administration of the Church, to the needs of men. Of course I do not for a moment mean that the Protestant has always ignored this; often, as in the Calvinistic Church of Geneva, he has attempted to break the stiff-neckedness of the human heart by a rigid application to its discipline of the most cast-iron of all the many false conceptions of God's absoluteness which the human mind has ever deduced from the Scriptures. Nor do I mean, on the other hand, that the various Catholic Churches have generally lost sight of their original theology in the attempt to discipline the human spirit. On the contrary, Cardinal Newman's own career proves that to that theology as to a final standard the Roman Church's greatest convert has constantly referred all the many complicated ecclesiastical and critical questions with which he has dealt. All I mean is this, that the Protestant has always insisted most on the supreme danger of losing sight of God Himself in the many attempts to subdue and discipline the human spirit which the various Churches have made, while the Catholic has always insisted most on the supreme danger of treating man as if he could live the spiritual life without human authorities to interpret Scripture and to sustain the heart, without human discipline to chasten and to reprove the will, and without a human stewardship to dispense the divine stores of strength and consolation opened to us by revelation. No contrast could be more striking in this respect than the contrast I referred to just now between the late Frederick Denison Maurice and Cardinal Newman. The greatness of Maurice consisted in his profound conviction that God has effectually revealed Himself to us, and that only by keeping our minds steadily on that revelation is our salvation secured. The fault he found with Dr. Newman's writings was chiefly this, that Dr. Newman believed so much in the necessity for some adaptation of God's purposes to our



petty life, saw so clearly the gulf between the infinite and the finite, was so deeply convinced of our inability to comprehend God, that he lost himself in the labyrinths of a supposed divine "economy"—often, in Maurice's opinion, nothing but a mere human "development" and deterioration of a divine idea—when he should have been recalling us to the vision of the Triune God whom the history of Israel as consummated in Christ had revealed. Maurice was for ever telling us of the peril the Church encountered when she once took to "adapting" the divine revelation to the supposed weakness of man, instead of taking that weakness to be cured by plunging it in the truth of God. He had the deepest horror of adaptations and economies, and thought theology the one great trust of the Church. Dr. Newman, on the other hand, entered ardently into the human side of the ecclesiastical drama, the various schemes by which the Church has endeavoured to master the spirit of man, and has sought to explain to us—

" His misery's birth and growth and signs,  
And how the dying spark of hope was fed,  
And how the heart was soothed, and how the head,  
And all the hourly varied anodynes."

If the word "agnostic" had not now become identified with the creed that God is unknown and perhaps unknowable, if it meant only the opposite of a Gnostic, if it meant only one who denies the vision of God to be attainable by any merely human faculty, I should have said that Dr. Newman had always felt the deepest sympathy with the agnostic element in the Church's faith. Of course he not only believes but has always affirmed that God can and does give us by His revelation a real knowledge of Himself, so far as we are fitted to attain it. But then he holds that there is so deep a chasm between the human nature and the divine, that even revelation taken alone is not sufficient to help us to attain it, unless revelation be protected from corruption and decay by a human institution guaranteed against error by the providence of God. And his own genius has always leant to the side of interpreting the human "economies" of revelation by the Church, rather than to the fixed contemplation of the original revelation itself.

The consequence has been that while Dr. Newman has found excuses for many corruptions of Christian teaching, his career has been marked by a much more varied literary life and genius than that of Frederick Maurice. Maurice's life was literally that of a voice—the life of "the voice of one crying in the wilderness" to man—rather than the life of one who entered into the heart of ordinary human interests. From the first, Dr. Newman, though brought up under Evangelical influences, seems to have had yearnings after a very different life, the life in which the aspirations of the early and mediæval Church clothed its regenerated conception of human duty and

discipline. He has told us how there were in his childhood some curious anticipations of the close of his religious voyage in the Roman Catholic Church; how, late in life, he found, to his own great surprise, in his first verse book, the figure of a solid, upright cross, and of a rosary and a cross suspended to it; and how, at the age of sixteen, though he had been brought up, as I said, under the strictest Evangelical influences, he felt the strongest impression that it was the will of God that he should lead a single life, an impression which held its ground ever since, "with the break of a month now, and a month then, up to 1829, and after that date without any break at all." Perhaps his recollection may to some extent have deceived him as to the permanence of this impression during his earlier youth; at least the beautiful lines, written when he was thirty-three, would seem to suggest that his anticipations of a different and less austere lot had been, in early life, a good deal more than an occasional dream—

"Did we but see  
When life first opened, how our journey lay  
Between its earliest and its closing day,  
Or view ourselves as one time we shall be,  
Who strive for the high prize, such sight would break  
The youthful spirit, though bold for Jesu's sake.

"But Thou, dear Lord!  
Whilst I traced out bright scenes which were to come,  
Isaac's pure blessings and a verdant home,  
Didst spare me, and withhold Thy fearful word;  
Wiling me year by year, till I am found  
A pilgrim pale with Paul's sad girdle bound."

When Newman first went to Oxford his views inclined strongly to the Evangelical School; but he unlearned almost all these special views—except his horror of Roman Catholic corruptions, which he retained till 1840—very early, and accepted the doctrines of the authority of the Church, of the transmission of priestly orders from the Apostles, of baptismal regeneration, and the rest of the well-known High-Church views, with the sort of readiness which seems to show that he was already wearying of a mere "scheme of redemption," and craving such a theology as could be adapted to the needs of a great ecclesiastical organism, intended to minister to the weakness, guilt, and general unsteadiness of man's feeble and perverted nature, and to bring about by its efforts the actual redemption which God had offered to all men. He conceived a cordial friendship for one of his own pupils, Richard Hurrell Froude (elder brother of the historian) who, while he lived, did much to accelerate Dr. Newman's progress towards High-Church principles, and it was through Mr. Froude's mediation that Newman formed so strict a friendship with the poet of "The Christian Year," John Keble. In December, 1832, Hurrell Froude, who was consumptive, was advised to go to the South of Europe, and Newman accompanied him. The story of this journey, though only given in a few words in Dr. Newman's history



of his religious opinions, is one of the most interesting passages in his life, and it is one which, as I hope to show, his verses especially illustrate. Throughout it he was evidently possessed with a profound sense that a crisis was approaching, in which he was to do some important work for the Church of England. He was to embark at Falmouth. While waiting for the mail at Whitchurch, he wrote a sonnet on angelic guidance, which implies that he already believed in guardian angels; and it appears, I think, that the freedom with which the primitive Church, and subsequently the Roman Catholic Church, encouraged the belief in the personal character of these subordinate agencies of God, appealed to some element peculiarly strong in Newman's nature. In this sonnet he dwells on the belief that "to the thoughtful mind, that walks with Him, He half unveils His face," evidently feeling to the bottom of his heart, what he often subsequently expressed, that a *half-unveiling* of Christ's face is as much as even good men may properly look for, and that the Church is to supply the rest. It is here, as it seems to me, that the room is opened in the Catholic theology for a great number of sometimes very wise, and sometimes very dubious "economies," for the character of which we have to trust rather to the Providence guiding the Church—a Providence which Catholics assume to have kept it free from all distinct error, but which Protestants suppose to have admitted of error in this as in every other sphere of human life—than to the original substance of revelation. It is clear that that deep belief in the economy of the Sacramental system—in other words, in the subserviency of material life to the spiritual—which makes of the physical world little beyond an instrument for spiritual beings, good or evil, to play upon, which fills his later writings, had already taken complete hold of Newman's mind. At Falmouth he wrote this fine sonnet:—

"They do but grope in learning's pedant round  
Who on the fantasies of Sense bestow  
An idol substance, bidding us bow low  
Before those shades of being which are found  
Stirring, or still, on man's brief trial-ground:  
As if such shapes and moods which come and go  
Had aught of Truth or Life in their poor show  
To sway or judge, and skill to sane or wound.  
Son of immortal seed, high-destined man,  
Know thy dread gift, a creature, yet a cause.  
Each mind is its own centre, and it draws  
Home to itself, and moulds in its thought's span,  
All outward things, the vassals of its will,  
Aided by Heaven, by earth unthwarted still."

Their voyage took them through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean to the Greek Islands. In passing Lisbon, the Greek story of the Siren strains which tempted Ulysses, seems to have been brought back to the memory of Dr. Newman, who is himself, I believe, a fine performer on the violin, and there he wrote his very

characteristic lines, on seductive as distinguished from inspiring music,—lines of which the echo is to be found in many of his subsequent sermons and writings. I quote them to show how early Newman's mind had begun to dwell on the natural history of human infirmities in their relation to divine truth. They are called "The Isles of the Sirens":—

"Cease, Stranger, cease, those piercing notes,  
The craft of Siren choirs,  
Hush the seductive voice that floats  
Upon the languid wires.

"Music's ethereal fire was given  
Not to dissolve our clay,  
But draw Promethean beams from Heaven,  
And purge the dross away.

"Weak self! with thee the mischief lies;  
Those throbs a tale disclose,—  
Nor age nor trial has made wise  
The man of many woes."

At Malta, a place at which Newman appears to have touched twice during his voyage, once on his way to the Greek islands, and once on his return when he was kept long in quarantine—for 1832 was the great cholera year—he wrote a great many of his most characteristic verses. The place undoubtedly kindled his imagination, partly no doubt because there first he came across the path of St. Paul, partly because his quarantine in the lazaretto, on the second occasion of his touching there, illustrated for him so vividly that weakness and humiliation of human nature the sense of which always lifts him to his most powerful imaginative mood. At Malta it was—on the day after Christmas Day, 1832—that he composed these fine verses on "Sleeplessness," which show us to what purpose he mused on the impassable gulf between the nature of man and the nature of God—impassable, I mean, as viewed from the human side:—

"Unwearied God, before whose face  
The night is clear as day,  
Whilst we, poor worms, o'er life's scant race,  
Now creep, and now delay,  
We with death's foretaste alternate  
Our labour's dint and sorrow's weight,  
Save in that fever-troubled state  
When pain or care has sway.

"Dread Lord! Thy glory, watchfulness,  
Is but disease, in man,  
We to our cost our bounds transgress  
In Thy eternal plan;  
Pride grasps the powers by Thee displayed,  
Yet ne'er the rebel effort made  
But fell beneath the sudden shade  
Of Nature's withering ban."

And it was off Malta again, on his return from Zante, Ithaca, and Corfu, that Newman wrote the lines in which he determined to cast aside his old sensitiveness and gird himself for the coming fight with something of prophetic zeal:—



"Time was, I shrank from what was right  
From fear of what was wrong;  
I would not brave the sacred fight,  
Because the foe was strong;

"But now I cast that finer sense,  
That sorer shame aside,  
Such dread of sin was indolence,  
Such aim at Heaven was pride.

"So when my Saviour calls, I rise  
And calmly do my best;  
Leaving to Him with silent eyes  
Of hope and fear, the rest.

"I step, I mount where He has led;  
Men count my haltings o'er;  
I know them; yet though self I dread  
I love His precept more."

And no doubt this poem strikes the key-note of Newman's life for the ten years which followed this voyage—the ten years of the Oxford movement. It was in Italy and Sicily that that fire, smouldering for many months back, burst into flame, which burned so steadily during that movement. And it is not only in his verses that you see it kindling; he has brought out the same story in his religious autobiography. At Rome, as he tells us, he began the little book of Anglican verse called "*Lyra Apostolica*," to which the poems I have quoted were contributed, and it was there that he showed his own profound conviction that he and Hurrell Froude had a real work to do in England, by choosing for its motto the words in which Achilles expresses his sense of the difference which his aid would make to the Greeks in their war against Troy, words which he himself paraphrases thus:—"You shall know the difference, now that I am back again." They paid a visit to Monsignore, afterwards Cardinal, Wiseman, at Rome; and when Dr. Wiseman asked them to return there, Newman said gravely, "We have a work to do in England." He was taken ill, after parting from his friends, of malaria fever at Leonforte, in Sicily. "My servant thought that I was dying," he says, "and begged for my last directions. I gave them as he wished; but I said, 'I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light, I have not sinned against light.' I never have been able to make out at all what I meant." Later, when, in great depression, he began to sob bitterly, and his servant asked what ailed him, he could only reply, "I have a work to do in England." At last he got off in an orange-boat, and was becalmed for a week in the Straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia; and there it was that he wrote the famous lines, best known of all his poems:—"Lead, kindly light, amidst the encircling gloom, lead thou me on."

Directly after his return the result was seen. He at once began the series of tracts intended to revive in the Anglican Church the Christianity of primitive times, while continuing to protest warmly against the corruptions of Rome. And his manner became the

*manner* of zeal, as well as his teaching the teaching. He cast aside, as he had resolved to do at Malta, much of his old sensitiveness, and gave himself up to the passion which burned in him. In his history of his religious opinions, Dr. Newman has told us that he never had "the staidness or dignity necessary for a leader." He has described his own behaviour during the high tide of the Tractarian Movement: and it is amusing to contrast the description he gives us with the manner that we expect not merely from a Church dignitary, but even from an ordinary Oxford Don—that lenient, sugary, almost glazed amiability of manner which is benignity itself, but the benignity of an immortal. "My behaviour," says Dr. Newman, in his autobiography, "had a mixture in it both of fierceness and of sport; and on this account, I dare say, it gave offence to many; nor am I here defending it. . . . I was not unwilling to draw an opponent on step by step to the brink of some intellectual absurdity, and to leave him to get back as he could. I was not unwilling to play with a man who asked me impertinent questions. I think I had in my mouth the words of the Wise Man, 'Answer a fool according to his folly,' especially if he was prying or spiteful. I was reckless of the gossip which was circulated about me; and when I might easily have set it right, did not deign to do so. Also, I used irony in conversation, when matter-of-fact men would not see what I meant. . . . This absolute confidence, in my cause, which led me to the imprudence or wantonness which I have been instancing, also laid me open, not unfairly, to the apparent charge of fierceness, in certain steps which I took or words which I published. In the 'Lyra Apostolica,' I have said that before learning to love, we must learn to hate, though I explained my words by adding, hatred of sin." The reference here is to the lines headed "Zeal and Love," which are very characteristic of Newman, though far from as poetical as it was in his power to be:—

"And wouldst thou reach, rash scholar mine,  
Love's high unruffled state?  
Awake! thy easy dreams resign,  
First learn thee how to hate:—

"Hatred of sin, and Zeal, and Fear  
Lead up the Holy Hill;  
Track them till Charity appear  
A self-denial still.

"Dim is the philosophic flame  
By thoughts severe unfed;  
Book-lore ne'er served when trial came,  
Nor gifts, when faith was dead."

These passages sufficiently show in what mood Newman entered on the chief work of his life. And now let me attempt to answer the question, what was the main drift of the faith which had thus filled him with a new inspiration? Its leading feature was, I



venture to think, a profound belief that Christianity is a religion of humility, and even of humiliation, in a sense in which the conventional Christianity of that time certainly was not such a religion. In one of the earliest of his Oxford Sermons he had insisted on the teaching of the Bible concerning humility as one of the most striking evidences of the truth of revelation. In 1825, for instance, when he cannot have been long in orders, he wrote that the teaching of the Bible as to meekness, humility, and teachableness, is of the very essence of the "inward witness to the truth of the Gospel." "When I see a person hasty and violent, harsh and highminded, careless of what others feel, and disdainful of what they think; when I see such a one proceeding to inquire into religious subjects, I am sure beforehand he cannot go right—he will not be led into all the truth—it is contrary to the nature of things, and the experience of the world, that he should find what he is seeking. I should say the same were he seeking to find out what to believe or do in any other matter not religious, but especially in any such important and solemn inquiry; for the *fear* of the Lord (humbleness, teachableness, reverence towards Him) is the very *beginning* of wisdom, as Solomon tells us; it leads us to think over things modestly and honestly, to examine patiently, to bear doubt and uncertainty, to wait perseveringly for an increase of light, to be slow to speak, and to be deliberate in deciding." That is not only one of the earliest of Dr. Newman's expressions of religious faith, but one that seems to denote his attitude of mind throughout the long hesitation and uncertainty of his own career. As he goes "sounding on his dim and perilous way," he constantly reminds himself and all who follow him that "to bear doubt and uncertainty" patiently, so long as the uncertainty is real and is not welcome to us, but is the mere consequence of the inadequacy of human power to master the great themes of revelation, is the first of duties. Christianity as a religion of humility, and even humiliation, naturally involves, he taught, an experience of intellectual humiliation, and imposes a spirit of moral submissiveness in bearing that humiliation.

In the next place, the drift of Christian teaching seemed to him to involve not only great humility and teachableness, not only willingness to bear humiliation in seeking for the guidance of revelation, but a revulsion against that glorification of good-nature and of modern enlightenment, which was in those days so prevalent—as, for instance, amongst the Whig magnates of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Newman's whole nature protested against the doctrine that an amiable disposition and the desire for information, are the secrets of human regeneration. In the August of 1832, three months before he went abroad, he had preached a sermon on "The Religion of the Day," in which he attacked in the

following vigorous words this leading notion of the utilitarians and devotees of useful knowledge who were then in the ascendant: "I will not shrink," he had said, "from uttering my firm conviction that it would be a gain to this country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be. Not, of course, that I think the tempers of mind herein implied desirable, which would be an evident absurdity; but I think them infinitely more desirable than a heathen obduracy, and a cold, self-sufficient, self-wise tranquillity. . . . Full as [the present religion of the educated world] is of security and cheerfulness, and decorum and benevolence, I observe that these appearances may arise either from a great deal of religion, or from the absence of it; they may be the fruits either of shallowness of mind and a blinded conscience, or of that faith which has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." And in the same year, in preaching before the University, he had said: "They who are not superstitious without the Gospel, will not be religious with it; and I would that even in us, who have the Gospel, there were more of superstition than there is; for much is it to be feared that our security about ourselves arises from defect in self-knowledge rather than in fulness of faith, and that we appropriate to ourselves promises which we cannot read." Newman's belief that even the unenlightened and unregulated starts and terrors of conscience have in them far more of the kind of error which is akin to truth, than have the conceits and supercilious exaltations of the age of reason, has always been one of the leading features of his teaching.

In the third place, Newman had from the first the greatest horror of anything like worldly Christianity, a Christianity such as fails to battle with and overcome the worldly ambitions of men. In a sermon preached in 1835, he insisted on the positive spiritual danger produced by the possession of riches:—"Religious men," he said, "are able to repress, nay, extirpate, sinful desires, the lust of the flesh and of the eyes, gluttony, drunkenness, and the like, love of amusements, frivolous pleasures and display, indulgence in luxuries of whatever kind; but as to wealth, they cannot easily rid themselves of a secret feeling that it gives them a footing to stand upon—an importance, a superiority; and, in consequence, they get attached to this world, lose sight of the duty of bearing the Cross, become dull and dim-sighted, and lose their delicacy and precision of touch, are numbed (so to say) in their fingers' ends as regards religious interests and prospects." "I do not know anything more dreadful," he tells us again, in a sermon preached in the year following, 1836, "than a state of mind which is, perhaps, the characteristic of this country, and which the prosperity of this country so miserably fosters,—I mean that ambitious spirit, to use a great word, but I know



no other word to express my meaning, that low ambition which sets every one on the look-out to succeed and to rise in life, to amass money, to gain power, to depress his rivals, to triumph over his hitherto superiors, to affect a consequence and gentility which he had not before. . . . This most fearfully earthly and grovelling spirit is likely, alas! to extend itself more and more among our countrymen; an intense, sleepless, restless, never-wearied, never-satisfied pursuit of Mammon, in one shape or other, to the exclusion of all deep, all holy, all calm, all reverent thoughts." And here again in a sermon preached in May, 1840, is his denunciation of those who love religion only because it secures the existing order of things, and keeps down anarchy and revolution. "Whatever corruptions of doctrine there have been at particular times and places," he declared, "no corruption has been so great as this practical corruption which has existed in its measure in all times and places—the serving God for the sake of Mammon; the loving religion from the love of the world. And as to ourselves, I fear it is no declamatory statement to say that there never was an age in which it existed more largely, never an age in which the Church contained so many untrue members. . . . Look round upon our political parties, our literature, our science, our periodical publications; is it not too plain to need a word of proof, that religion is in the main honoured because it tends to make this life happier, and is expedient for the preservation of our person, property, advantages and position in the world? Can a greater stigma be placed upon any doctrine in the judgment of the community than that it is anti-social, or that it is irksome, gloomy, or inconvenient?"

Take again the passage in which Charles Reding, the hero of his little tale called "Loss and Gain," describes to his sister his rising dislike to the worldliness of the English Establishment in Oxford, forty or fifty years ago:—"I cannot bear the pomp and pretence which I see everywhere. I am not speaking against individuals; they are very good persons, I know; but really, if you saw Oxford as it is, the heads with such large incomes! They are, indeed, very liberal of their money, and their wives are often simple, self-denying persons, as every one says, and do a great deal of good in the place; but I speak of the system. There are ministers of Christ with large incomes, living in finely-furnished houses, with wives and families, and stately butlers, and servants in livery, giving dinners all in the best style, condescending and gracious, waving their hands, and mincing their words as if they were the cream of the earth, but without anything to make them clergymen but a black coat and a white tie. And the Bishops or Deans come with women tucked under their arm; and they can't enter church but a fine, powdered man runs first with a cushion for them to sit on, and a warm sheepskin to keep

their feet from the stones." This contempt for secular prosperity, comfort, and grandeur was, I am sure, one very deep root of Dr. Newman's disaffection to the Established Church of his younger days, and of his attraction towards the more ascetic monastic bodies; and this is well worthy of notice in one who has since reached the dignity of a Cardinal.

Nowhere is his belief that Christian teaching requires a more constant effort after a life detached from worldly interests, or at least holding very loosely to worldly interests and fixed upon things above, so powerfully expressed as in the celebrated sermon on "The Apostolical Christian," preached about two years before he actually joined the Church of Rome, but when he was already, to use the expressive language of his autobiography, "on his death-bed" as an Anglican. In that sermon he shows, as indeed he shows in almost every one of his writings, that his mind ran much more on the ideal of human nature required by the Gospel, than on the vision of God as God. He entreated his hearers to master the picture of a Christian given us in the New Testament. "Let us," he said, "leave for awhile our own private judgment of what is pleasing to God and not pleasing, and turn to consider the picture which Scripture gives us of the true Christian life." The first note of the Christian, as presented by the New Testament, he remarked, was a wish to free himself, as far as consistent with his direct duties, from worldly ties, to be able to give up his heart to the utmost and without being distracted by the passions of secular life, to God. "Set your affections on things above and not on things of the earth, for you are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God," is the great canon of Christian life. "Lay not up for yourselves treasure on the earth . . . but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven . . . for where your treasure is there shall your heart be also." This was the great rule given by Christ Himself to His immediate followers. In the next place, the attitude of a watcher, of one who waited for a great change of state, was directly inculcated on the disciples by Christ. "Watch, therefore, for you know not what hour your Lord doth come." And he quotes the evidence that not only Christians but those who were waiting for a revelation, like Cornelius the centurion, spent a large portion of their time in prayer and watching. And so too of the first Christian community, it is said that "they all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women." Next, even the most intimate affections were to be chastened lest they diverted the heart from God. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." "If thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee." And they were not only to give up what was dearest to them, they were to incur the hatred of those who felt that Christianity was undermining the



world: "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." Lastly, the Christian of the Apostolic age was to find his highest joy in these deprivations of earthly possessions, and of earthly ties, and in the persecution and suffering which he incurred for the sake of his Master. "Rejoice in that day and leap for joy, for behold your reward is great in heaven." And this was what the Apostles actually did. "We glory in tribulation," said St. Paul. And again, "I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake; for when I am weak then am I strong." Dr. Newman then asks his audience where this character, as depicted in the New Testament, is now to be most clearly discerned; and he replies that if our Lord returned to earth He would certainly find the type of the Christian He had tried to make, best represented now in "the humble monk and the holy nun," who give up house and friends and wealth and ease and good name, and liberty of will, in order to spread the kingdom of Christ and to prepare their own hearts for union with Him. Dr. Newman seems at this time to have ignored, what he once insisted on, that the form of faith in which these types of character are, to his mind, most perfectly moulded, is also the form of faith in which the opposite type of character, the character of the tyrannical ecclesiastic, the pompous priest, the worldly and despotic pope, has been most perfectly moulded, and that whatever is winning and subduing in the one picture is alarming, and revolting in the other. But I am not of course attempting to criticize his view, but only to explain it. It is quite certain, I think that, Cardinal though he be, his fascination for Rome arose not in the spectacular grandeur of the Papal system, but in that mortification of worldly passions at which the monastic system obviously aims—however badly it may often succeed in hitting its mark. To find the best possible discipline for humility has been the key-note of Cardinal Newman's religious yearning. And the austere penances of the monastic system no less than the detachment from worldly desires, fascinated him. He expresses again and again his conviction that those who feel their own sinfulness deeply, ought to have some way of marking that sense of their sinfulness, which will not be inconsistent with cheerfulness and serenity in their intercourse with the world. He cannot condemn enough the decorous conventionality of most Protestant religions. "Who ever heard," he asked in one of his later Anglican sermons, "of a pleasurable, easy, joyous repentance? It is a contradiction in terms." Hence he was driven to the principle of penance as the most natural way of expressing an abhorrence for sin, which should not recoil on others and make the social life one of gloom.

It will have been visible, I think, before this, that Dr. Newman,

V. 29.

though in his faith there is much of idealism, much of readiness and even eagerness to believe in undemonstrated, and often even undemonstrable, doctrines—like the higher applications of the sacramental principle, and the doctrine of guardian angels and of angelic guardians generally,—is, in relation to human nature, a most thorough-going realist, with more of insight into the grotesque inconsistencies and insincerities of human nature than some of our greatest satirists themselves. One of the most striking of Dr. Newman's Oxford Sermons is that preached as Vicar of St. Mary's, on June 2, 1839, on "Unreal Words." It is a sermon which, more than any other known to me, gives the key to Dr. Newman's permanent effort to face the facts of the world as they are, to make men honest with themselves, and yet to keep them from sinking into that cynical and despondent honesty which acknowledges the evil of the world only as an excuse for giving up the struggle with it. "It need scarcely be said," says Dr. Newman in that sermon, "that nothing is so rare as honesty and singleness of mind; so much so, that a person who is really honest, is already perfect. Insincerity was an evil which sprang up within the Church from the first." It is in this sermon that Dr. Newman deals such hard, and I must say such well-deserved blows, at the literary profession. "Literature," he says, "is almost in its essence unreal; for it is the exhibition of thought disjoined from practice. Its very home is supposed to be ease and retirement; and when it does more than speak or write, it is accused of transgressing its bounds. This, indeed, constitutes what is considered its true dignity and honour—viz., its abstraction from the actual affairs of life; its security from the world's struggles and vicissitudes; its saying, without doing. A man of literature is considered to preserve his dignity by doing nothing, and when he proceeds forward into action, he is thought to lose his position, as if he were degrading his calling by enthusiasm, and becoming a politician or a partisan. Hence mere literary men are able to say strong things against the opinions of their age, whether religious or political, without offence—because no one thinks they mean anything by them. They are not expected to go forward to act upon them, and mere words hurt no one." However, the doctrine of the sermon is that *mere* words *do* hurt very much the character which makes use of them. "To make professions," he says, "is to play with edged tools, unless we attend to what we are saying. Words have a meaning, whether we mean that meaning or not; and they are imputed to us in their real meaning, when our not meaning it is our own fault." The sermon is full of vivid illustration of the unsubstantial use of words, alike when that use of them is innocent, and when it is culpable. You see in it how Dr. Newman had looked through and through the many persons who had used "unreal words" in



talking to himself. Men, he says, often "speak to clergymen in a professedly serious way, making remarks true and sound, and in themselves deep, yet unmeaning in their mouths; or they give advice to children or young men; or, perhaps, in low spirits or sickness, they are led to speak in a religious strain, as if it was spontaneous. Or when they fall into sin, they speak of man being frail, of the deceitfulness of the human heart, of God's mercy, and so on; all these great words, heaven, hell, judgment, mercy, repentance, works, the world that now is, the world to come, being little more than 'lifeless sounds, whether of pipe or harp,' in their mouths and ears, as 'the very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument,'—as the proprieties of conversation, or the civilities of good-breeding." Yet the teaching of the sermon is not that we should carefully cut down our best words to the frigidity and poverty of the realities within us—that is the cynic's moral—but that, when we are in earnest in desiring to feel even more deeply than we do, we should use the great words put into our mouths by our highest teachers, almost as prayers, using them in the hope to be taught to mean what we say in its fullest and deepest significance. "We ever promise things greater than we master," says Dr. Newman, "and we wait on God to enable us to perform them."

Again: Could Thackeray himself describe the unreal way in which people talk of a man of mark after he is gone, without knowing in the least whether his life has been, on the whole, pure, or the reverse,—whether he is suffering remorse, or is at peace,—with keener irony than Dr. Newman in this powerful though painful passage,—it occurs in one of his earlier Roman Catholic sermons—concerning the state of some distinguished man assumed to be among the lost? "The man's name, perhaps, is solemnly chanted forth and his memory decently cherished among his friends on earth. His readiness in speech, his fertility in thought, his sagacity or his wisdom, are not forgotten. Men talk of him from time to time, they appeal to his authority, they quote his words; perhaps they even raise a monument to his name, or write his history. 'So comprehensive a mind; such a power of throwing light on a perplexed subject, and bringing conflicting ideas or facts into harmony.' 'Such a speech it was that he made on such and such an occasion; I happened to be present, and never shall forget it;' or, 'it was the saying of a very sensible man;' or, 'a great personage whom some of us knew;' or, 'it was a rule with a very worthy and excellent friend of mine, now no more;' or, 'never was his equal in society, so just in his remarks, so versatile, so unobtrusive;' or, 'I was fortunate to see him once when I was a boy;' or, 'so great a benefactor to his country and his kind;' or, 'his discourses so great;' or, 'his



philosophy so profound.' Oh, vanity of vanities, all is vanity! What profiteth it, what profiteth it? His soul is in hell."

The same sort of realism, combined with that dash of extravagance which Dr. Newman knows so well how to throw in, when he wants to make the folly of the world seem ridiculous, even to the world itself, is to be found in his story "Callista," in the description of the superfine demeanour of the Greek philosopher, Polemo of Rhodes, "the Bottomless One," as he is called by his clique, who attempts to dissuade the Christian martyr Callista from accepting Christianity; or again, to refer to something which comes home better to Englishmen, let any one who doubts Dr. Newman's power of satire read the closing chapters of "Loss and Gain," where crazy founders of sects, in rapid succession, seek to make prize of the man who is known to be severing himself from the Church of England, before he unites himself to the Church of Rome. There are passages in these chapters containing comedy as effective as anything written in our time. Indeed, in earlier portions of the same book, the sketch of the Evangelical tea-party at Oxford, the account of the hero's interview with the Vice-Principal when he is first suspected of Romanizing, and the farewell taken of him by the old Principal of his College on the same occasion, illustrate amply Dr. Newman's turn for that realism which is the most effective satire, and that satire which is nothing but realism thrown up against a background of sobriety and good sense. For example, Charles Reding, the hero of "Loss and Gain," assures the old Evangelical Principal of his College that no harm could come of it, either to himself or to the other undergraduates, if he were permitted to remain in College till Easter. "'What, remain here, with all the young men about?'" asked Dr. Bluett, with astonishment, 'with all the young men about you, sir?' Charles really had not a word to say, he did not know himself in so novel a position. 'I cannot conceive, sir,' he said, at last, 'why I should be unfit company for the gentlemen of the College?' Dr. Bluett's jaw dropped, and his eyes assumed a hollow aspect. 'You will corrupt their minds, sir,' he said, 'you will corrupt their minds.' Then he added in a sepulchral tone, which came from the very depth of his inside, 'you will introduce them, sir, to some subtle Jesuit—to some subtle Jesuit, Mr. Reding.'" Or, to take a still more striking instance of Dr. Newman's power to turn into ridicule the weak side of Protestantism, I will extract a short passage from his lectures on "Catholicism in England," concerning the hue and cry against Popery:—"Never has the Establishment failed in the use of these important and effective watchwords [namely, 'No peace with Rome,' 'Down with the Pope']; many are its shortcomings, but it is without reproach in the execution of its charge. Heresy and scepticism, infidelity and fanaticism, may challenge it in



vain ; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and it recognizes by instinct the presence of its con-natural foe. Forthwith, as during the last year, the atmosphere is tremulous with agitation, and discharges its vibrations far and wide. A movement is in birth which has no natural crisis or resolution. Spontaneously the bells of the steeples begin to sound. Not by an act of volition but by a sort of mechanical impulse, bishop and dean, archdeacon and canon, rector and curate, one after another, each in his high tower, off they set, swinging and booming, tolling and chiming, with nervous intenseness and thickening emotion, and deepening volume, the old ding-dong which has scared town and country this weary time ; tolling and chiming away, jingling and clamouring, and ringing the changes on these poor half-dozen notes, all about 'the Popish aggression,' 'insolent and insidious,' 'insidious and insolent,' 'insolent and atrocious,' 'atrocious and insolent,' 'atrocious, insolent, and ungrateful,' 'ungrateful, insolent and atrocious,' 'foul and oppressive,' 'pestilent and horrid,' 'subtle and unholy,' 'audacious and revolting,' 'contemptible and shameless,' 'malignant,' 'frightful,' 'mad,' 'meretricious,' bobs (I think the ringers call them), bobs and bobs-royal and triple bob-majors, and grandsires, to the extent of their compass, and the full ring of their metal, in honour of Queen Bess and to the confusion of the Pope and the Princes of the Church." No one who remembers, as I do, the agitation of 1850 will think this description a mere caricature. It has the dash of extravagance, of course, which was necessary for Dr. Newman's purpose, but its satiric humour is based upon the most accurate knowledge and close observation of the unreasonable temper of the British people when once the panic of Popery falls upon them—a temper, we may say, noticeably diminished in these later years when religious England has at last begun to feel that the Roman Church is by no means the most dangerous foe with whom we have to deal.

Great as Dr. Newman is, however, in satire—that is, in painting for us the unreasonable or the conventional or the conceited and bombastic temper against a background of sober and thoughtful judgment, that imaginative power which enables him to draw this contrast so vividly, seems to me much more powerfully illustrated on what I may call his ideal or poetical side, than in this satiric and depreciating vein. His satire could not be as powerful as it is without his imaginative power of isolating what he wants to emphasize and contrasting it with its opposite. But it is when he exerts his flexible and vivid imagination in depicting the deepest religious passion that we are most carried away by him and feel his great genius most truly. Little as I am of a Roman Catholic, I can never read without emotion, without a thrill of wonder at the power with which Dr. Newman describes what to Protestants seems most unlike the



religion of Christ, his defence of the Mass in answer to the Protestant account of it as a mere muttered spell. The passage I refer to is in "Loss and Gain," where the Roman convert who is supposed to have been somewhat premature in his conversion and to have found the Roman system hard to assimilate, is being rallied by an Anglican friend on the unreasonableness of the Mass, and told that he would soon be back again in the English Church; whereupon he replies that it is quite true that to the Anglican and to the Roman Catholic, the very idea of worship is something completely different, for worship to the Anglican is the lifting of the soul to God; worship to the Roman Catholic is the summoning of God to the soul by the solemn miracle of a divine rite. "I declare to me," he said, and he clasped his hands on his knees and looked forward as if soliloquizing, "to me nothing is so consoling, so piercing, so thrilling, so overcoming as the Mass, read as it is among us. I could attend Masses for ever and not be tired. It is not a mere form of words—it is a great action, the greatest action that can be on earth. It is not the invocation merely, but, if I dare use the word, the evocation of the Eternal. He becomes present on the altar in flesh and blood before whom angels bow and devils tremble. This is that awful event that is the end, and is the interpretation of every part of the solemnity. Words are necessary, but as means not as ends; they are not mere addresses to the throne of Grace—they are instruments of what is far higher, of consecration, of sacrifice. They hurry on as if impatient to fulfil their mission. Quickly they go—the whole is quick, for they are all parts of one integral action. Quickly they go, for they are awful words of sacrifice, they are a work too great to delay upon; as when it was said in the beginning 'what thou doest, do quickly.' Quickly they pass, for the Lord Jesus goes with them as He passed along the lake in the days of His flesh, quickly calling first one and then another. Quickly they pass, because as the lightning which shineth from one part of the heaven unto the other so is the coming of the Son of man. Quickly they pass, for they are the words of the Lord descending in the cloud and proclaiming the name of the Lord as He passes by, 'The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth.' And as Moses on the mountain, so we too 'make haste and bow our heads to the earth and worship.' So we all around, each in his place, look out for the great Advent, 'waiting for the moving of the water.' Each in his place, with his own heart, with his own wants, with his own thoughts, with his own intention, with his own prayers, separate but concordant, watching what is going on, watching its progress, uniting in its consummation; not painfully and hopelessly following a hard form of prayer from beginning to end, but like a concert of musical instruments, each different but concurring in a



sweet harmony, we take our part with God's priest, supporting him yet guided by him. There are little children there, and old men and simple labourers, and students in seminaries, priests preparing for Mass, priests making their thanksgiving; there are innocent maidens and there are penitents, but out of these many minds rises one eucharistic hymn, and the great action is the measure and the scope of it. 'And oh, my dear Bateman,' he added, turning to him, 'you ask me whether this is not a formal unreasonable service. It is wonderful,' he cried, rising up, 'quite wonderful. When will these dear good people be enlightened? O sapientia fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia, O Adonai, O clavis David et exspectatio gentium, veni ad salvandum nos, domine Deus noster.''' Doubtless Bateman might have replied that this fine description hardly tallies with the simple words of the primitive text as it describes apparently what the Roman Catholic must hold to have been the first Mass: "They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in prayer," and that it tallies still less with the Apostle's warning to the Corinthians: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death *till* he come," whereas, according to Dr. Newman, He did come in that very rite. But I have quoted the passage not for criticism but to show the wonderful power with which Dr. Newman can throw himself into the highest religious passion and make the heart thrill with his rendering of it. The same marvellous power is shown in a lower sphere in his rendering of the phenomena of demoniacal possession in "Callista," where the chapter describing Juba's madness, and the signs of power exerted over him by some lower being, seems to me one of the greatest efforts of an original imagination disciplined in the theology of the early Fathers, of which English literature has any record.

Take another and nobler instance of the same kind of imagination: the description of the experience of death as it is given in "The Dream of Gerontius," a description which makes the reader almost believe that the man who wrote it must himself have passed through death before he could have conceived it:—

"I can no more; for now it comes again—  
That sense of ruin, which is worse than pain,  
That masterful negation and collapse  
Of all that makes me man: as though I bent  
Over the dizzy brink  
Of some sheer infinite descent;  
Or worse, as though  
Down, down for ever, I was falling through  
The solid framework of created things,  
And needs must sink and sink  
Into the vast abyss. And crueller still,  
A fierce and restless fright begins to fill  
The mansion of my soul. And worse and worse,  
Some bodily form of ill  
Floats on the wind, with many a loathsome curse,  
Tainting the hallowed air, and laughs and flaps

Its hideous wings,  
And makes me wild with horror and dismay.

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I went to sleep ; and now I am refreshed,  
A strange refreshment ; for I feel in me  
An inexpressive lightness and a sense  
Of freedom, as I were at length myself,  
And ne'er had been before. How still it is !  
I hear no more the busy beat of time,  
No, nor my fluttering breath, nor struggling pulse ;  
Nor does one moment differ from the next.  
I had a dream ; yes, some one softly said,  
' He's gone ;' and then a sigh went round the room.  
And then I surely heard a priestly voice  
Cry ' Subvenite ;' and they knelt in prayer.  
I seem to hear him still ; but thin and low  
And fainter and more faint the accents come  
As at an ever-widening interval.  
Ah, whence is this ? What is this severance ?  
This silence pours a solitariness  
Into the very essence of my soul ;  
And the deep rest, so soothing and so sweet,  
Hath something too of sternness and of pain,  
For it drives back my thoughts upon their spring  
By a strange introversion, and perforce  
I now begin to feed upon myself,  
Because I have nought else to feed upon."

That seems to me the highest kind of imaginative power, the imaginative power which enables him who possesses it first to enter into the real experience of others, and then to combine what it has thus interpreted, so as to throw a light on new situations analogous to, but not identical with, those from which it derived its lessons. The flexibility of Cardinal Newman's imagination is at the root of all his intellectual power. Of that I have given already ample proof. He adapts himself at one time to the language of Scripture, and brings out of it infinitely more meaning than ordinary men ; and at another, again, he adapts himself to the conventional attitude of the soul, and discerns with the most perfect delicacy the finest shades of expression, the finest distinctions between the conventionality of one kind of conventional mind and the conventionality of another. Then again observe how he enters into the spirit of the Roman breviary, and translates the invocations of the Mass into a theological defence of its significance and purport. And here, finally, we have him putting together all the indications that his great experience has given him, of mental collapse—from the intermittent courage and breathlessness of ordinary deathbeds to the great climax of the Redeemer's passion in the awful words that imply His having entered into even the sense of desertion and desolation peculiar to deaths of exhaustion—and combining them all into the most powerful delineation of the last great experience of human life which English literature contains.

The idealism which thus takes up the highest actual experiences of men, and refines or raises them in the direction which the heart seems to point out as that of some change which it has never yet experienced, is the highest kind of idealism attainable by men. Idealism that



attempts to go beyond this, necessarily fails from want of any real root. But Cardinal Newman's never does go beyond this. It keeps close to human experience, rising above it only by prolonging the movement of the mind in the same direction in which the highest previous experience has already risen above that which was lower. I should say that Cardinal Newman's genius reached perhaps its highest point of *intensity* in his old communion; but its highest point of breadth, vigour, and grandeur in the communion to which he now belongs. But throughout his life his genius has shown itself rather in interpreting the nature of man than in interpreting the character of God. His purely theological writings are comparatively tame. It is when he has to apply his theology to human wants and pretensions that you discover how great is the scope of his genius, and how various the music of his pathos. When I speak of his purely theological writings being comparatively tame, I refer only to writings like his book on Arianism, which do not dwell on the affinity of the creed they define for the mind of man. The moment he has to describe the growth of theology in the Church, its mingled fascination and repulsion for the generations of men, his genius displays itself in its fulness, and I may instance the last University sermon which he preached in the Anglican Church, where Dr. Newman has thus described the evolution of the Christian creed, and anticipated the general scope of his *Essay on Development*. He describes "how the great idea takes hold of a thousand minds by its living force, and will not be ruled or stinted, but is like a 'burning fire,' as the prophet speaks, 'shut up within them,' till they are 'weary of forbearing and cannot stay,' and grows in them, and at length is born through them, perhaps in a long course of years, and even successive generations; so that the doctrine may rather be said to use the minds of Christians, than to be used by them. Wonderful is it to see with what effort, hesitation, suspense, interruption, with how many swayings to the right and to the left, with how many reverses, yet with what certainty of advance, with what precision in its march, and with what ultimate completeness, it has been evolved, till the whole truth, 'self-balanced, on its centre hung,' part answering to part, one, absolute, integral, indissoluble, while the world lasts." And compare with this fine description of the evolution of the Christian creed, the description which he gives us in the same sermon of the evolution of a great and mysterious fine art: "Let us take another instance of an outward and earthly form . . . under which great wonders unknown seem to be typified; I mean musical sounds, as they are exhibited most perfectly in instrumental harmony. There are seven notes in the scale; make them fourteen, yet what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise! What science brings so much out of so little? Out of what poor

elements does some great master in it create his new world! Shall we say that all this exuberant inventiveness is a mere ingenuity or trick of art, like some game or fashion of the day, without reality, without meaning? We may do so, and then, perhaps, we shall also account the science of theology to be a matter of words; yet, as there is a divinity in the theology of the Church, which those who feel cannot communicate, so is there also in the wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty of which I am speaking. To many men, the very names which the science employs are utterly incomprehensible. To speak of an idea or a subject seems to be fanciful or trifling; to speak of the views which it opens upon us, to be childish extravagance; yet is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich, yet so simple, so intricate, yet so regulated, so various, yet so majestic, should be a mere sound which is gone, and perishes? Can it be that these mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No; they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our home; they are the voice of angels or the Magnificat of saints, or the living laws of divine governance, or the divine Attributes; something are they besides themselves which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter,—though mortal man, and he, perhaps, not otherwise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them."

It would be impossible within the limits of an article to give any impression of the many sides of Cardinal Newman's flexible and subtle, and above all luminous and lucid intellect. His greatest efforts are never ambitious; and whether you go with him or not, he is sure to interest you more than you anticipated, and to leave you with a sense of a wider horizon and of closer spiritual ties. If any one asks how one who is not a Roman Catholic can think the upshot of Dr. Newman's career an immense gain to the world, when he, more than any living Englishman, has done so much to make men Roman Catholics, I should reply that, in our age at least, it is no small gain to have made the Roman Church interesting and intelligible to so many Protestants, and to have made at the same time a considerable number of Protestant convictions interesting and intelligible to so many Roman Catholics. And this, at least, Dr. Newman has done, though this is the least part of his work. The greatest of his claims on our gratitude is that he has added so much to our knowledge of human nature, and especially to our knowledge of the links which connect human



nature with the supernatural life above us. If it has been the special philosophical work of the last generation to show us how much of almost mechanical intelligence there is in the very structure of our bodies, to say nothing of the habits of our minds, it has been Cardinal Newman's special work to explain the operation of implicit and unconscious, as distinguished from explicit and conscious, reasoning, on the higher life of men, and to vindicate the trustworthiness of that implicit reasoning wherever it is made the instrument of a constant and earnest purpose. But he has done much more than enlarge the philosophy of religious belief. Alike for Roman Catholics and for Protestants, he has invested religious subjects with a new and peculiar charm. He has shed on Scripture itself a silver light which, in the minds of many of us, connects indissolubly some of its greatest passages with his name and genius, and does this without intruding a single forced or artificial association. That he has enriched English literature with the most delicate and the most apt, the most musical and the most lustrous of English styles, would be nothing, if that style itself were not a living witness of the supernatural life in him which it expresses and reveals. For no one can love the style and not feel that its tenderness and its severity, its keen thrusts and its noble simplicity, its flexibility of movement and its firm grasp, its ideal music, its iridescent lights, and its pathetic sweetness, could never have existed at all except as the echo of a great mind living under the immediate eye of God.

" Thus God has willed  
That man when fully skilled  
Still gropes in twilight dim,  
Encompassed all his hours  
By fearfullest powers  
Inflexible to him,  
That so he may discern  
His feebleness,  
And e'en for earth's success  
To Him in wisdom turn,  
Who holds for us the keys of either home,  
Earth and the world to come."

That noble stanza images not only Cardinal Newman's permanent thought, but the constant manner of the thinker, his pervading sense of the twilight of the human intellect, the delicate finish of his touch in sculpturing all that, in that twilight, has been revealed to him, the reverence of his attitude towards the power that encompasses him, and the strength in weakness which that attitude confers.

RICHARD H. HUTTON.

## SOME NEGLECTED PERIODS OF HISTORY.

A STEP was taken not long ago with regard to the system of examination in one of the English universities which ought to be welcomed with joy and thankfulness by all to whom the rational study of history is a matter of any concern. It is perhaps more valuable as asserting a principle than because it is likely to work any great immediate results. But, as the assertion of a principle, it is invaluable. There is one university which has at last openly acknowledged the truth of the unity of history. For the first time a real school of history has been founded, a school which adopts the wise principle which Arnold laid down forty years back, but which has as yet found no follower in practice. A school has actually arisen at Cambridge in which it is possible to take up "ancient" and "modern" authors side by side. It is perhaps too soon to judge of the working of the school or of its details. But, at any rate, the beginning has been made; the true principle has been acknowledged, practically acknowledged, in the examination system of one of our great universities. No doubt the new school will have its struggles to go through; it is as yet but a tender herb, which may need some years of small rain to water it before it grows into a tree putting forth great branches. We must not despise the day of small things. All new schools, all new studies, must expect to be despised at first. There was a time when Greek was a new study, which had to fight its way against a Trojan opposition. New schools and studies are despised, as all discoveries, all reforms, are for a while despised. Lord Macaulay speaks of the fools of a period before recorded history, who objected to the introduction of the plough and of alphabetic writing. The line of their successors has never yet failed; and men who might at least be mistaken for members of the class have sometimes been seen even in the high places of universities.



The new tripos at Cambridge is a great step indeed in advance. It is the first attempt that has been made in English university teaching to grapple with the great facts of the history of the world. It is the first attempt to deal with the history of the world on a reasonable basis, to bind together branches of study which lose their chief meaning if kept apart from one another. Starting from the principle which the new tripos implies, it will for the first time be possible to deal with history as a whole, to bring out into its fitting prominence the great fact which is the centre of the history of the civilized world, but which, so long as history is unnaturally parted asunder into an ancient and a modern division, can never find its proper acknowledgment in either.

Looked at from the oecumenical standing-point, the history of Europe, as I have often striven to point out, forms one long and unbroken drama, of which Rome is the one centre, the point to which all roads lead and the point from which all roads set forth again. In the usual division of "ancient" and "modern," it is impossible to look at Rome in its true position; there is no opportunity to look from a single point of view at the joining of the roads and at their parting asunder. There is no opportunity to look, in their relations to one another, at the process by which the Roman dominion was formed, and at the process by which, in seeming to fall asunder, it really started on a new life under new conditions. It might hardly be too much to say that, as what is called "ancient" history is commonly read, with the choice of authors which is commonly made, the Roman Empire, as such, is not studied at all. The bearings of its supposed fall on the modern world do come in for some kind of acknowledgment on the part of ordinary students of "modern" history; the process by which it came together is, as a rule, altogether left out by ordinary students of "ancient" history. Of course, this neglect is not necessarily involved in the division into "ancient" and "modern." It would be perfectly possible to stop at an arbitrary point in the history of the Empire, and yet to read thoroughly and connectedly all that comes before that arbitrary point. By such a process, though the building would not be finished, the foundation at least would be laid. But, with the received system, not only are "ancient" and "modern" history kept apart, but "ancient" history itself is looked at only in morsels. In the long drama of the life of Rome there are two special acts—that is, there are two periods in the history of the world—whose interest surpasses that of all other periods. These are the periods at which I have already hinted as that of the joining of the roads and that of their parting asunder. That is, they are the periods when the Roman dominion came together, and the period when, to a superficial glance, it seems to have split asunder. The former comes wholly within the "ancient"

range; the latter comes on the march of "ancient" and "modern." Yet, strange to say, while the latter does come in for some little recognition in ordinary study, the former, it is hardly too much to say, is passed by altogether.

Let us try to set forth the main features of these two great but neglected periods. The earlier answers mainly to the second century before Christ. The process by which the Roman dominion was formed begins earlier and goes on later; but it is in that century that its main features come out most strongly. The second period is longer and less easy to define, the more so as its definition would be different in different parts of Europe. It is essentially a transitional period, and something of a transitional character spreads over the whole time from the moment when the Teutonic races become seriously dangerous to the Empire to the moment when they make the Empire itself their own. That is, the period would reach from Marcus Aurelius to Charles the Great. This is a Western way of looking at things; in the East we should have to draw other chronological limits, and to speak of other invaders. And within this long time we might pick out some shorter periods, say the fourth and fifth centuries of our æra, in which the general character of the period comes out most strongly of all. This later period, its Western side at least, does draw somewhat more attraction to it than the other. The ordinary "ancient" or "classical" student, well informed, it may be, as to some earlier and some later periods, often altogether leaves out the period when Greece lost independence, when Rome rose to dominion—when, we should rather say, from the point of view of universal history, that a new whole began to be formed in which both Greek and Roman elements had their share.

The terms "ancient" and "modern" are thoroughly misleading when used to mark off two portions of history by a hard and fast line. Yet we may for the nonce use those dangerous words, if we are allowed to give them our own definition. We may take them as merely conventional ways of marking an earlier state of things in which the history of the civilized world falls wholly to the lot of the Greek and Italian nations, and a later state of things in which the Teutonic and Slavonic nations also step in to play their part. In both states of things the headship of the world has belonged to Rome; but the headship of Rome has taken different forms in the two periods. Over the older world Rome ruled by direct dominion; over the later world she has ruled, and still rules, by a power of influence which has outlived her direct dominion by many ages. The two periods then of special interest and instruction are the two that ruled that these two several forms of dominion should each in turn be the heritage of Rome. The first ruled that dominion over the then civilized world, the Mediterranean world, should pass to a



single city of Italy. The second ruled that the dominion of that city, as a political dominion, should pass away, but that its headship, in the form of moral influence, should abide, as far as we can judge, for ever. The third and second centuries before our æra, the fourth and fifth centuries after our æra, are the two great times in which the destiny of civilized man was decided. They are thus times which, in the œcumenical point of view, are the very foremost of all times for instruction and interest. And the former of the two periods has the advantage over the latter, we may say over all other periods, of being recorded by a contemporary writer such as no other period ever knew. Polybios, and Polybios alone, fully knew the place of his own generation in the general history of mankind. He alone wrote the history of his own time as part of the history of all time. He alone wrote of days in which he was no small actor from a point of view which we have no need to shift, even after the wider experience of two thousand years.\*

It was the second century before our æra which fixed the œcumenical character of Rome. It determined that Rome should become the centre of all later history by winning a position such as never fell to the lot of any other city or power in the world before or after. A long series of struggles in her own peninsula had made Rome the head of Italy. As such she became one of the chief powers of the world, the peer of the commonwealth of Carthage, of the kingdoms of Macedonia, Asia, and Egypt. But, like a power in modern Europe, she was only one great power among several; even after the war with Pyrrhos it would have needed a far-seeing eye indeed to foretell that Rome would ever extend her power beyond Italy, or at the most beyond those neighbouring lands and islands which to us seem natural appendages to Italy, but which did not come within the definition of Italy as the name was then understood. It was the war with Pyrrhos which made it clear that Sicily could no longer form a system apart, and which suggested that it was a more natural appendage to an Italian to an African dominion. The words attributed to Pyrrhos when he left Sicily well set forth the state of the case; he left the island as a battle-field for Rome and Carthage. The first Punic war appears in the writers nearest to the time as the "War for Sicily." That was in truth its issue; the cession of the Carthaginian possessions in Sicily to Rome, followed by the cession of Sardinia and Corsica, the Roman advance in the northern part of what soon began to be called Italy, left Rome in possession of all that now seems to be essential to the position of an Italian power, and of little else.

\* On the historical position of Polybios, may I be allowed to refer to what I said eleven years ago in my Rede Lecture at Cambridge, "Comparative Politics," pp. 311 *et seq.*, and earlier still in "Federal Government," i. 226? Since this paragraph was written, I have lighted on the appreciative and discriminating portrait drawn by Rauke, "Weltgeschichte," vol. ii. pp. 385 *et seq.*

Rome and Carthage were now the two great powers of the West. There was as yet nothing to show that Rome would ever become the sole power of the West, still less that she would ever become a power in the East. That is to say, there was nothing to show it beyond the inherent likelihood, a likelihood yet stronger in those days than it is now, that a power which had become so great would become greater, and the likelihood that powers in the position of Rome and Carthage would be sure to find some new ground of quarrel. Setting aside these probabilities, amounting as they did almost to certainties, the power of Rome, as it stood at the end of the first Punic war, was a compact dominion, hanging well together, a power which, according to modern ideas, might go on for ages without further extension. But one series of events changed it from one of two great powers of the West into the single dominant power of the West; a second series of events made it the single dominant power of West and East alike.

This last process was the work of the earlier of our two periods, the period which made Rome in the oecumenical sense. Our second period might seem at first sight to have unmade Rome; in truth it made her afresh. By splitting her dominion asunder, it multiplied her centres of influence. It called into being a New Rome alongside of the Old, each continuing in its own way the influence of Rome, one of them continuing for ages the direct heritage of her political power. The Old Rome became the teacher of the nations which first broke her political power in pieces and then brought it together again in their own hands as the most precious of possessions. The New Rome became the teacher of other nations which could neither break her power in pieces nor yet grasp it as their own. The Teuton came to wear the crown of Rome in Rome itself; the Slave could at most wear an imitation of it in Ochrida or Skoupi. And if vast regions fell away alike from the dominion and the teaching of either Rome, if Egypt and Syria were utterly lopped away, if Spain bowed for a long season to Semitic conquerors more abiding than Hamilcar and Asdrubal, if Western Asia and South-Eastern Europe fell under the still abiding rule of invaders more terrible than Mithridates and Chosroes, the loss was more than made up, as lands which had never formed part of Rome's elder political dominion were brought within the range of her moral influence. What the first period called into being, the unique position of Rome in the world, the second period preserved by giving it the only shape in which it could be abiding. No other kingdom or commonwealth before or after held the position to which Rome rose, that of being absolutely alone in the civilized world without peer or rival. All the lands and cities which had risen to partial power, Athens, Pella, Antioch, Alexandria, Syracuse, Carthage, Massilia, were all her subjects or dependencies. Her wars were



no longer wars with States equal and like to herself, but wars, whether of aggression or of defence, waged against nations which entered the civilized world only by becoming her subjects or disciples. The second period ordered that those who failed to become her subjects, those who became to a great extent her masters, should also become her disciples. By this time, it must be remembered, Rome had wrought for herself a law from within, she had adopted for herself a creed from without. The influence of Rome now meant the influence of her law and of her creed, and the influence of her tongue as the instrument of both. Ataulf once cherished the thought that *Romania* should pass away, and that the world should become *Gothia* instead. He came to a better mind, and ruled that the Gothic sword should be the instrument of Roman law and culture.\* So it has been ever since; the resolve of Ataulf is the very embodiment in words of the work of our second period.

The two periods again agree in this. The Rome that ruled the world was not a purely Roman Rome; it was a Rome which was largely brought under Greek influences, a Rome on which Greece had wrought a work almost as great as Rome was herself to work in after ages on the Teuton and the Slave. It is not too much to say that, wherever Rome conquered, she carried Greece with her. Now it was these too great transitional periods which settled, each in its time, the relations between Rome and Greece. The first period was marked by what to all appearance was the subjugation of Greece by Rome, what in truth was her political subjugation. The very essence and result of the period is that Greece and all the lands which had been in any measure hellenized, all the lands whose dominant culture was Greek, should pass, in a political sense, within the range, first of Roman influence and then of Roman dominion. But in the point of view of œcumenical history, this very process was, as even a Roman poet could partly see, the entrance of Rome herself within the range of Hellenic influences of another kind. Rome had long had Greek subjects and allies in Italy, in Sicily, on the coasts of Gaul, and Spain. But they became subjects and allies of Rome through their geographical position; outposts of Greek life in the West, they came under the influence, they came under the dominion, of the great power of the West. The relation, the partnership so to speak, between Rome and Greece which created the culture of the "ancient" world, really began when Rome crossed the Hadriatic,

\* The memorable declaration of Ataulf comes at the very end of the history of Orosius. I quote it in full, "Comparative Politics," p. 495. The essence is that Ataulf had once wished, "ut, oblitterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum Gothorum imperium et faceret et vocaret, essetque. . . . Gothia quod Romania fuisset, fieret nunc Atthaulfus quod quondam Cesar Augustus." He learns better and makes up his mind, "ut gloriam sibi de restituendo in integrum augendoque Romano nomine Gothorum viribus quereretur, habereturque apud posteros Romania restitutionis auctor, postquam esse non poterat inmutator." These words imply all later history.

and first won Greek subjects and allies on the Greek side of the gulf. When Rome won in Apollônia her first ally or dependency among Greek cities in the Greek peninsula, the march of events began which in the end translated Rome herself to the shores of the Bosphoros. When the Macedonian kingdoms in Europe and Asia became, first dependencies, then provinces, of Rome, Rome took upon herself the function which had before been held by the successors of Alexander as the champion of the then civilized world against the barbarians of the north and of the further east. The fights of Kynoskephalai, of Magnêsia, and of Pydna, laid on Rome the duty which she discharged in after ages when successive Emperors had to guard the frontiers of *Romania* against the incursions of the Slave, the Saracen, and the Turk. To discharge that duty as was needed, a New Rome, a Greek-speaking Rome, had to be called into being; and the calling into being of that New Rome is the most distinctive outward mark of our second period. Our two periods then, our periods of transition, of growth, of the expansion of old elements and of the reception of new, are closely connected with one another. Each wrought a different stage of the same work. The earlier period called into being the œcumenical headship of Rome: the later period determined the character which that headship should finally put on. One laid Greece politically at the feet of Rome, in order that Rome might become the disciple and missionary of the intellectual culture of Greece. The other translated Rome herself to Greek soil, and made the new Greek Rome the champion and missionary of the law and the dominion, for a while even of the speech, of the elder Latin Rome. In short, whether we look to the Eastern or to the Western side of European affairs, as we shall find the fact of the Roman dominion to be the central fact of all European history, we shall find that it was these two periods which determined what the history of that dominion should be. Rome could become mistress of all Europe only by putting on more or less of a Greek character, a character which grew and strengthened, till, in a large part of her dominion, Roman and Greek came to be words of the same meaning. So the Teuton and the Slave could not establish themselves within the Roman borders without becoming the disciples as well as the conquerors of Rome. The Teuton in the West could not do his share in the work without so largely putting on a Roman character as to call into being a third thing, a thing which we cannot call either Roman or Teutonic, but which has grown out of the union of the two, the later being of Western Europe and its colonies, above all the being of the Romance nations, their mixed tongue, their mixed national life. Nothing answering to this took place in the East. The East, it must never be forgotten, has its Romance folk, its Romance speech, to show as well as the West,



the folk and speech of that new-born kingdom which alone among the powers of Europe still cleaves to the Roman name. That is to say, wherever in the South-Eastern peninsula Greek influences had not established themselves, Rome, Old Rome, could exercise the same kind of influence which she exercised in the West. That particular kind of influence Greece seems never to have exercised. She could thoroughly hellenize a people who had in them the power to be hellenized; she could spread a rim, a veneer, of Hellenic culture over a land whose substance remained barbarian; she could, when she had become identified with Rome, become the model to nations which followed her in many things without adopting her tongue. But a thoroughly mixed people, a people formed out of Greek and Slavonic elements, in the same way in which the Romance nations are formed out of Latin and Teutonic elements, there has never been. There are many causes for this difference which would carry us too far from our present subject. In short, as was hinted some way back, the analogies which are suggested by our present subject are more perfect in the West than in the East. The Teuton played both sides of his mixed part, at once as conqueror and as disciple, far more thoroughly than the Slave.

Now it is hardly too much to say that all that comes before, between, after, these two ruling periods of history is but the making ready for them or the results that come of them. The earlier history both of Greece and of Italy is but the history of the days of making ready; it is the history of the process by which the two lands were schooled for their several shares in their joint dominion over mankind. While we dwell in the world of Thucydides, we are making ourselves at home with one of the elements which go to make up the wider world of Polybios. On the other side of the Hadriatic, where we have no Thucydides to guide us, we make our way, dimly and feebly, by such imperfect light as we have, to some conception of the true nature and destiny of the other element. We learn what that Greece was which Rome was in one sense to conquer, and which was in another sense to conquer Rome. We learn less clearly what that Rome was which thus needed, by a twofold process, to take Greece into a partnership in her dominion. In the time which lies between the two destructive and creative periods, the time that is of the earlier Roman Empire, we mark the fusion of the elements out of which that Empire was formed, the process by which they grew into the body which the second period was to make the later ruler and teacher of the nations. The second period past, we study its results in the whole later history of the civilized world, that world which still is truly *Latinitas*, but which became *Latinitas* only by the Teuton becoming the missionary of his Latin master.

Then again, besides the two great visible periods of crisis, there

are some other periods which are, though sometimes less conspicuously, periods of crisis in another way. They are periods whose work was to make the work of the two great transitional periods possible, specially to do so by clearing away some hindrance which stood in the way of their work. Thus the time of the early Roman Empire, above all the so-called Augustan age, seems at first sight like a moment of rest between the two stirring and creative times. The work of the earlier period seems to be over; the work of the later period seems not to have begun. And yet, from another point of view, the Augustan age itself is one of the periods of crisis, one of the periods which determine that the course of history shall be what it actually has been and not something else. It is this in a much deeper sense than its superficial aspect as the time when the commonwealth of Rome begins to change to the rule of a single man, first virtual, and then avowed.\* That was the necessary result of the establishment of Rome as the ruling city of the world. The old municipal constitution of that city proved itself unequal to the task of ruling the dominion that it had won. Rome could abide as the mistress of the world only by ceasing to be mistress of herself. In the deeper and more oecumenical view, the Augustan age has an importance of another kind, in its likeness to a period with which at first sight it appears to have very little in common. It may sound like a paradox to say that the Augustan age stands to our second period in much the same relation in which the Punic wars, above all the great war with Hannibal, stands to the first.

At the wars between Rome and Carthage we have already had occasion to glance. The result of the first was to make Rome thoroughly the mistress of Italy by adding to her dominion the great islands which seem natural appendages to Italy. The second, after bringing her nearer to overthrow than she found herself at any other moment between Brennus and Alaric, ended by making Rome the dominant power in Western Europe. The most prominent side of the Augustan age is certainly very different from this. At a superficial glance it is not easy to see any likeness between what seems to be the least stirring time in the whole Roman history, the days when the world seems to sleep unmolested under the Roman Peace, and the days of deadly struggle, when Rome had to fight for her own being on her own soil. And yet these two periods, so widely unlike, act each in a strange way as forerunners severally of the two periods which we have marked out as the special times of transition. The wars with Carthage look both backward and forward; they fixed Rome's posi-

\* It might be more accurate to say, the merging of all the offices of the commonwealth in a single office. The Imperial theory required that the Imperial authority, the union of all earlier authorities, should be supreme and undisputed. It by no means required that that authority should be always vested in a single man. Hence the Imperial office was so often held in partnership by two or more Imperial colleagues.



tion in the West; but they also, above all the war with Hannibal, opened the way for the days when Rome spread, first her influence, then her dominion, over the nations east of the Hadriatic. The earlier Empire, the age of Augustus, opened the way for the days when Rome spread her influence, but not her dominion, over the nations east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. And in each case the way was opened by processes, which though in one sense they seem most opposite to each other, were in a wider view essentially of the same kind. In each case, before the great period of transition came, when it was as yet only foreshadowed, a blow was threatened which might have hindered the work of that period from ever being done at all. In the earlier case it was a blow struck at Rome; in the later case it was a blow struck by Rome. Rome, on the eve of her advance to the headship of the Mediterranean lands, was checked by the rivalry of Carthage, by the long campaigns of Hannibal in Italy. The first Punic war came when she had just begun her abiding relations with the Greek nation by establishing her supremacy over the Greeks of Italy. It was itself a war to determine whether Rome or Carthage should hold the headship of Sicily and the Greek cities of that island. The Hannibalian war came when Rome had just begun relations with the more immediate Greek world, when she had established herself as a power east of the Hadriatic, when, in becoming the protector of Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Korkyra, she had taken the first step towards her own translation to Byzantium. Rome was just beginning to stretch forth her hands towards the general dominion of Europe when the question came whether Europe should remain Europe at all. As things turned out, the Punic wars were a mere check to the progress of Rome; in Spain and Africa indeed they were not even a check, but rather a step in that progress. In the relations between Western and Eastern Europe they were but an episode, a great and terrible episode, an episode which had great and abiding results, but still only an episode in the main tale. But had things turned the other way, had fortune gone for Carthage and for Hannibal, had Rome been overthrown or even seriously weakened, the history of the world must have been other than what it has been. The world-wide dominion of Rome could never have been reached, or could have been reached only by steps wholly different from those by which in the end it was reached. Such was the blow struck at Rome, a blow which, had it gone fully to its mark, would have been a blow indeed, not only to Rome, but to all that Rome represents in later history. Our admiration for the great Phœnician commonwealth, for the hero-brood of the Sons of Thunder, even for the foremost of that brood, for Hannibal himself, must not blind us to the fact that the men who fought for

Rome against him fought in the same cause, in another stage of the same abiding struggle, as the men who fought at Marathôn and the men who fought at Tours.

So it was in the later time. Then Rome, instead of having a blow struck at her, herself struck a blow. It was a blow which, like that which had been struck at her, failed to go wholly to its mark; but it was one which, if it had so gone, might have changed the fate of the world, above all the destiny of our own race, for ever. As the success of Hannibal might have hindered Rome from rising to European headship at all, so the full success of Drusus and Germanicus might have given her an European headship too great for the future history of mankind. It was the great day by the Teutoburg Wood which made our second period of transition possible, which opened the way for the whole later history of Germany, of Britain, and of America. Had Germany been incorporated with the then Roman Empire like Gaul and Spain, had Rome conquered Germany instead of Germany in after days winning the crown of Rome, all that the Teutonic race was to do in our second great determining period, all that was to follow as the result of that second determining period, would have been blotted out from the world's annals before it had won a place in them. As it was, Arminius, "deliverer of Germany," was the deliverer of mankind from a danger akin to the danger which overhung the world in the days of Hannibal. For the destined course of the world's history, it was needful at one time to check and to overthrow the enemies of Rome, it was needful at a later time to check, but not to overthrow, the power of Rome herself. In the wider view of history Scipio and Arminius hold places which strangely answer to one another. The victory of the one made that course of events possible which determined that the headship of Europe should pass to Rome. The victory of the other made that course of events possible which determined the final shape which the headship of Rome should take.

Now when we look at the general history of the world from this point of view, it certainly seems a strange thing that no periods should be so commonly, one might almost say so universally, neglected as the two which, beyond all others, directly determined the course of that history. There are no times which are so little known even to men who are fairly well informed as to other times. Men who would be ashamed if they did not know everything of the age of Thucydides, men who would be ashamed if they did not know at best the literature of the age of Augustus, are content to know nothing of the age of Polybios. Men who are at home in modern and even in mediæval history have often very vague notions of the age of Zôsimos and Procopius. Yet it sounds like attempting to finish the building without having laid the foundation to try to



master even the mere literature of the Roman Empire without mastering the events through which, and the conditions under which, the Empire came into being. It is much the same to try to master the history of the nations of modern Europe without mastering the transitional period in which some of those nations came into being, while others received an impulse which affected the whole current of their later life. And, from the purely Greek point of view, if we look at Greek history, not simply as the record of the Athenian democracy, but as the record of the Greek nation in its place in the general history of the world, it is impossible to overrate the importance of either period. No time is richer in political teaching than the age of Polybios. If his inestimable work—inestimable even in its fragments—taught us only the tale of the advance of Rome, it would be a possession for all time worthy to be set alongside of the earlier possession for all time. But he teaches us far more than this. If his political picture is less fresh than that of Thucydides, it is far more varied; it supplies far more direct analogies with modern times. In the age of Thucydides we see nothing but the Greek city-community—ruling, to be sure, whenever it has the chance, over other Greek city-communities—and the vast barbaric kingdom. Federal unions have not spread beyond the less advanced branches of the Greek nation; kingship worthy of the name is not the constitution of any State acknowledged as Greek. In the Greece of Polybios we come across a far more complicated state of things. The city-community, the democratic city-community, the maritime city-community, is still there; its place only is changed; we have to look for its most brilliant example no longer at Athens but at Rhodes. The Federal States, now taking in the greater and more important part of continental Greece, are to be seen in their full developement, the living forerunners of modern America and modern Switzerland, teaching lessons far more directly practical for our own time than any that the single city, aristocratic or democratic, can teach us. Kings too, and all that follows on the presence of kings, now play a great part even in the immediate Greek world. Asia and Egypt, under their Macedonian kings, though their hellenism is a mere fringe or rim on a barbarian body, are still very different from Asia and Egypt under barbarian kings. They have become part of the civilized world, of the Greek world; the Seleukids and the Ptolemies play their part in that world, not as outsiders, but as members. Macedonia and Pergamon come nearer still; to these we cannot deny a place in the inner Greek world, alongside of Rhodes and Achaia. And no error can be greater than that of looking at these powers, alike kingdoms, confederations, and single cities, as petty States, worn-out States, or, as those who talk in that way would be more likely to put it, “effete States.” We may perhaps wish that the diplomatist Aratos



had been a better soldier, and the soldier Philopoimên a better diplomatist; but it was hardly an "effete" State which rose to the first place in Greece under their hands. All these States are physically far greater than the Greek States of the age of Thucydides; allowing for the different scale of the whole world, they rank with modern great powers; as long as they are left to themselves, they form a political world full of life and energy. If they seem small, it is not because they are such in themselves, but because a power had arisen by the side of them such as the world never saw before or after. No other power of the civilized world ever rose to such a position as that of Rome, and the speed with which she won it is not the least wonderful part of the tale. For her position in Italy she had to fight long and hard; for her position in the West she had to fight long and hard; but, once head of Italy, goes on to win the headship of the world almost at a blow. It took indeed some centuries fully to gather in the spoil; the Empire was becoming an old institution before every land and city within its geographical limits had become formally incorporated with its political substance. But the practical work was done in a very few years, in the first dozen years or so of the second century B.C. After the overthrow of Philip and Antiochos, no part of the Greek world was as it had been before the second Macedonian war. A power had appeared unlike every other power which had before been seen, a power which at once changed friends and enemies alike into practical dependents. To conclude a friendly treaty on equal terms was as dangerous as to be overthrown in a great battle. It is wonderful indeed to look at the work of these few years. Rome steps into a world full of political and military life, and every one of its States seems stricken as it were with palsy at her first touch. They do not die at once; they are drawn within the range of the destroyer by a kind of fascination. And yet destroyer we should hardly say. If political life died out, life enough of other kinds lived on to make the conquerors of Greece quite other than they were before they began her conquest.

So it is also in our second period of transition. We apply very freely the words "decay," "decline," "fall," to the Roman Empire of the fourth and fifth centuries; and "effete" is the standing epithet of its Eastern division, even when the mighty Macedonian dynasty goes forth conquering and to conquer from the foot of Ararat to the foot of Ætna. The abiding life of the Eastern Empire still seems to be to many minds the hardest of lessons; but we have just now more to do with the Western. The fabric of Roman power in the West seems to give way almost as suddenly at the touch of the Goth as the Greek political world of the age of Polybios gave way at the touch of the Roman. Julian could have as little foretold the days of Honorius or even the days of Valens, as Philopoimên, when he led the



charge of Megalopolis at Sellasia, could have foreseen the days when all that he could do would be to try to accept the bidding of Rome without utter loss of national dignity. Yet both the systems which seemed to give way really lived on in other shapes; the Roman became the disciple of the conquered Greek; the Teuton became the disciple of the conquered Roman. And, if Rome gave way almost as suddenly as Greece, Rome, even Western Rome, recovered herself as Greece never did. The Rome of the Popes was strangely called into being by the restoration of the Imperial power in the sixth century. One can hardly fancy the part of Gregory the Great being played under a Gothic king. The part of the next Gregories, of Zachary, of the Hadrian and the Leo of Charles the Great, would have been clearly impossible. We might almost compare the times of Belisarius with times of which we have already spoken, with the time of Hannibal, the time of Arminius. An abiding Gothic rule in Italy would not have led to the general result of the ages of transition. The Roman Empire was to abide; ever in the West it was to live again; but it was by a Teutonic prince that its powers were to be wielded. The overthrow of the Goth was the needful condition of the Imperial consecration of the Frank.

It is not a new task for me to plead the cause either of the age of Polybios or of the age of Procopius taken by itself. I have now tried to put their relation to one another and to the general history of the world more clearly than, so far as I know, they have ever been put before. I trust, in another article, to point out some instances of the way in which the events of our first period and of the times before it influenced the general state of things in the ages between our first period and our second.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

## THE LOGIC OF PAIN.

**WE** are apt to regard pain as too exclusively an evil, and an unmitigated evil.

We regard it as the essential part of the primal curse; its endurance is part of servitude, or the fate of the vanquished amidst savage races. Pain deliberately inflicted was the weapon of the Inquisition. The pain the Red Indian inflicted upon his white captives roused feelings which have resulted in the extermination of the Indian over mighty tracts where once he was supreme. Pain was the chief means of government with oriental despotisms. Pain in disease has always been regarded as the great part of the cross we have to bear.

Yet the question may be asked, is pain an unmitigated evil; has not pain other aspects, other sides to it? Is the pain of disease, or of an injury not often highly, indeed eminently useful?

There are certainly forms of pain, indeed, to which animated beings are subject, which seem devoid of any good purpose, such as the pain inflicted by a cancerous growth. Cancer does not necessarily produce pain, and in nerveless regions its growth is not productive of suffering. But when a nerve-fibril gets caught by the progressing cell-growth of cancer, and is pressed upon by its remorseless grasp, then pain, persistent and agonizing, is the result. Probably no torture that was ever inflicted by man on man is more exquisite than that caused by the grip of a cancerous growth; where, as Montgomery wrote, "there is no temporary relief but in opium, no permanent rest but in the grave." Such pain lends to the sufferer the determination requisite to submit to the removal of the mass by the knife, where practicable, a measure by which life may be prolonged, even when the prospect ultimately is hopeless.

It would, however, be very erroneous and one-sided to regard pain solely, or even chiefly from the point of view here put forth.



Pain is the protector of the voiceless tissues ! It tells us to desist from efforts when they are becoming injurious , it teaches us to avoid what is destructive to the tissues ; it compels us to rest injured parts, and so to permit of their repair. Pain, then, is very far from an unmitigated evil. Without the sensitive skin in which our bodies are enclosed, injury would constantly be inflicted upon the tissues ; and without the lessons taught us by pain, there is every reason to believe that most mischievous and injurious acts would be constantly committed.

To what injuries, blows, burns, contusions, &c., would not the framework of man and of animals be subjected if the slow lessons of consequential injury were left without the sharp reproof of pain. The suffering immediately attracts the attention, and consequently that which would do much damage is avoided, not from any rational consideration of the consequences, but from the pain directly produced. Without the advantages which thus spring from pain, animals and savage men would incessantly be inflicting much injury upon themselves, and indeed often be imperilling their existence. Pain from this point of view is distinctly preservative throughout the whole of animated creation. The utility of pain is seen in the membrane which sweeps the surface of the eye, for instance, in several animals, whenever any irritant particle is brought into contact with these delicate structures. The pain caused by the foreign body sets up reflexly a muscular contraction in this membrane, and thus it is brought across the eye, sweeping the surface, and so the offending matter is removed. When the foreign body is too fixed to be so removed, disorganization of the eye follows, and amidst a general destruction of the organ the irritant matter is got rid of. Destruction of the eye in these animals would be a common occurrence if it were not for this muscular arrangement, and pain is the excitant ; it is, as it were, the finger which pulls the trigger, and so the machinery already provided and prepared is set in action thereby. In man the suffering caused by a foreign body in the eye calls the attention to the part, and leads to its removal. If it were not for the pain so produced irremediable mischief would often be permitted to go on unchecked, because unnoticed.

Not only does pain so defend the eye from the injurious effects of foreign bodies, it often serves to protect the delicate organ from overwork ; and where pain is so produced, rest is given to the part, and recovery is instituted. Especially is this seen where the eyes are not an absolute pair, and long perusal of a page strains them. Proper spectacles making the eyes a pair give prompt and permanent relief. The grave diseases of the eye are those which are painless, where incipient disease is aggravated by persisting action ; all of which would be avoided if pain were a consequence of the malady.



The advantages which ensue from pain are most markedly seen, and are most obvious, in the case of injuries. When a joint is sprained the pain caused by movement in it compels the rest which is essential to repair. If there were no pain produced by motion the parts would almost certainly be exercised to the detriment and to the delay of the reparative processes. So too, in broken bones, the agony caused by motion is such that a fixed position is maintained for weeks; with the result that the part, being kept at absolute rest, is thus permitted to recover as speedily as may be. All who have thought over the matter must know well how irksome it is to maintain one position for any length of time: the keen sense of weariness and the inclination to change the posture become at once insupportable and irresistible. But if sharp pain be the consequence of movement, how steadily is the position maintained for days, and even weeks? Where there is a fractured bone, or an inflamed joint, the sense of weariness is restrained, and an irksome and otherwise intolerable attitude is willingly kept up and sustained. Pain is produced by motion, which further excites nutritive changes. If a bone be broken the first result is pain; the secondary, or reflex results, are the formation of a large mass, or call-growth, around the broken ends of the bone, which acts as a species of splint, and keeps the parts at rest as well as in apposition. Underneath this natural splint, and protected by pain, the truly reparative process goes on in the ends of the bone. By rest and the use of artificial splints the surgeon reduces the necessity for this new growth, this natural splint, and so avoids the deformity which so commonly ensues when the natural splint is unaided by art. Hilton, in his well-known work, "On Rest and Pain," tells of a washerwoman who had a large mass on her collar-bone, which presented all the characters of a bony tumour. The fact was the clavicle was fractured; but, as it happened, movement did not in this case elicit pain, and the woman toiled on at her occupation, and soon an enormous and unwontedly massive natural splint was required to permit of reunion taking place. The nutritive changes were here excessive, and instead of pain an unusual tissue-growth was set up.

When a joint is injured, pain is the great agent by which repair is rendered possible. Suppose, for the sake of example, we take a hip-joint in a delicate person, which has been subjected to a jar, or a concussion from leaping, or other similar cause of jar. The surfaces of the joint become inflamed, exquisite pain is the consequence, especially on any movement, and so absolute rest is secured. If the case falls into the hands of a skilful surgeon, he produces still more complete rest for the parts by extending the limb, as by a weight attached to the ankle, and hung over a pulley at the foot of the bed, so releasing the inflamed surfaces from contact. By such means



both pain is avoided and ready repair permitted. In less fortunate cases, tissue-changes are set up, a natural splint is formed by an infiltration into the neighbouring parts until they feel brawny and hard, so that motion is abolished or limited; while the inflammatory processes in the joint itself produce a cell-growth within it, which glues the parts together, and recovery is attained, but with the loss of movement in the joint; and in bad cases, surgical interference with knife and saw is required to restore movement.

In like manner pain is most protective in certain internal diseases. Thus in inflammation of the large serous covering which invests the abdominal viscera and lines the walls of this space, pain, the result of movement, secures rest. This large lubricating surface in health permits of the contained viscera gliding gently upon each other, and on their boundary walls; but when it becomes inflamed, the friction of the dry surfaces produces intense pain, and quietude is thus enforced. Doubtless this pain is often such as to constitute a great danger to life; nevertheless, without it and its consequences more serious mischief would usually be produced. When there is an abscess in the liver, pain is induced by movement of this viscus, and so we find the muscles of the abdominal wall over the liver rigid and hard, thus keeping the organ at rest, *in situ*. When a rib is broken, the fractured ends rub upon the pleura, and excite inflammation of it; and the pain thus set up causes the patient to call in a surgeon, who places the thorax in comparative quietude by a bandage, and the friction being so minimised repair is permitted. Then in certain conditions of the stomach, pain is produced by improper food; and so dyspepsia guides the sufferer to the choice of suitable food, which does not set up pain. Such are some of the best known instances of the utility of pain in local ailments or injuries. There are, however, more general conditions which evoke pain, and where that pain is the means of the condition being relieved, or remedied by medical art. Take neuralgia for instance. It may be the outcome of several conditions which have to be discriminated for its relief. In the young and in early adult life it is almost always the result of imperfect tissue-nutrition, however caused. Romberg wrote with equal poetical feeling and scientific truth, "Pain is the prayer of a nerve for healthy blood," and neuralgia is the common outcome of blood either poverty-stricken or poisoned by some deleterious ingredients as in material poisoning for instance. Without the pain so produced the condition would go on unrelieved, and ulterior organic changes would probably be brought about. But pain impels the sufferer to seek relief.

The pale, bloodless creature who is the prey of facial neuralgia, or that pain in the intercostal nerves which is felt below the heart (and commonly referred to that organ), is compelled thereby to



desist from exhausting efforts, and to seek in rest and good food that relief which is so imperatively demanded by the pain. Here pain is the protector of the system generally, and its expressive though inarticulate tones attract attention to the requirements of the organism. If not attended to, the call becomes more urgent in its reiterated and sharper demands. With several persons known intimately to the writer, neuralgic pain is the first evidence of the system being overtaxed. In one gentleman this is very marked. Long and sustained over-exertion, mental and bodily, some years ago brought on a most severe and continued attack of sciatica, which necessitated a lengthened rest before recovery was completed. He now knows distinctly how far he may go with impunity. As long as his efforts do not overtask the system he remains free from pain: as soon as they become excessive, little whiffs or puffs of neuralgic pain in the sciatic nerve warn him to desist; if these warnings are not attended to, the whiffs become gusts of agony, which compel attention, and secure for the system the needed rest. After repeated lessons, his education in this respect has become complete, and the first twinge of this well-known pain causes him to set aside his pallet and his easel, and seek leisure amidst fresh air and sylvan scenery. In this case the pain is directly conservative and conducive to health, and to length of days: it is indeed protective against physiological bankruptcy, or exhaustion. It is rather singular that in this gentleman's wife a similar phenomenon is found. She is dyspeptic, and as a consequence often reduces the food she takes to an amount below what is compatible with proper nutrition. In her case, a gusty current of facial neuralgia, like a long wail, is at once the indication for, and the direct cause of, more attention to her diet, and so, too, her health generally is improved. In like manner with many persons rheumatic or gouty neuralgia is the monitor which tells them to attend to their general condition. Especially is this the case with those persons of a neurosal diathesis, where all general conditions find their most pronounced manifestations and expressions in the nervous system. Here the advent of the irregular or even intermittent pain—for the pain of neuralgia is rarely, and only in the worst cases, persistent and uninterrupted—is as indicative of the state of the system as is the pain of an inflamed joint in other cases. In each instance the presence of the condition of the blood is indicated by pain, and relief is sought in measures which act upon the general condition. So too in lead poisoning; here colic or neuralgia attract attention, and point alike to the cause and its treatment. In the after-consequences of malarial disease, neuralgia is the most prominent symptom, and indicates the resort to quinine—the specific of the malady—as much in its ulterior consequences as in its primary manifestations.



Headache often alone can secure that rest which the brain requires; and the headache of exhaustion is as marked as is that pain at the top of the head which tells us that the brain is insufficiently supplied with blood. The headache after a day of exertion, excitement, or enjoyment, so commonly met with in ladies, secures a day of complete quiet, during which the system regains its tone.

In dyspepsia, too, the pain caused by food, and still more by unsuitable food, either improper in quantity or in quality, is the direct incentive to the necessary attention to the matter, whereupon improvement follows. What betwixt the gustatory tastes, the appetite, and caprice or ignorance in the matter of eating, without the pain, the discomfort of dyspepsia, serious mischief in the stomach would be a common occurrence, instead of a comparatively rare one. Fortunately for the stomach and the system generally, each unsuitable meal is accompanied by more or less pain. The pain is less when the meal is suitable and appropriate in character and in bulk: it is more severe when the food is in too great quantity or unsuitable and indigestible in its nature. The suffering which follows improper food is the direct incentive to a rearrangement of the dietary, and to the choice of suitable food. Without this guardian pain no alteration of the dietary would be carried out; the capacity to digest on the part of the stomach would be further impaired, and the system would suffer from inanition, and probably a state of low inflammatory action in the stomach would be induced, when all food would be rejected, and where absolute rest of the organ would be imperative. Absolute rest for the stomach is a serious and very troublesome affair for the patient; and though so grave a condition is not often reached, such cases are sufficiently frequent to point out the protective character of dyspeptic pain. In order to avoid the resultant pain, certain articles of diet are abandoned, and those which do not occasion pain are preferred; consequently the sufferer, unless utterly uneducable, is directed to a suitable dietary, and the body generally benefits thereby. Dyspepsia is a common trouble; it is spoken of by some as one of the greatest plagues to which suffering humanity is subject; and yet who can assert that without it worse evils would not happen? To many persons their hateful dyspepsia is a species of guardian-angel; though it is very probable that they are not in the habit of regarding it in that light!

When a muscle is exhausted its contractions are accompanied by pain. Consequently this pain secures the rest requisite for repair in muscles that are utterly exhausted, as is seen in the present common "tennis-elbow." The characteristic of muscular pain is that it is absent as long as perfect quietude is maintained; but as soon as the muscle is thrown into action pain is produced. Take the lumbar pain, for instance, so common in needlewomen, who lean over their

work, and where the muscles of the back are on the stretch for hours together, with the weight of the head and shoulders upon them. As long as the sufferer keeps the recumbent posture on the back—by which means these muscles are thoroughly rested—perfect freedom from pain obtains; as soon as this position is abandoned and the muscles exercised, so soon does the pain return. This poignant cry for rest usually secures it, and so the enfeebled and exhausted parts are enabled to repair themselves. When a muscle is inflamed or has been injured by some violence to it, the acute pain caused by movement procures for it that rest so essential to its repair. So, too, with a gouty toe, the agony produced by movement secures the requisite rest for the inflamed joint. From which considerations it is clear that pain is not only not always an unmitigated evil, but has at times a distinct value of its own.

J. MILNER FOTHERGILL.



## IRELAND AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

ANY one who has closely followed the course of events in the arena of Irish politics for the past eight years, cannot help noticing the remarkable change of attitude assumed within that period by the people of Ireland relative to the Imperial Parliament. The transformation has been slow but sure, and is now so complete that the contrast between the situation at present and that in 1876 is as significant as it is remarkable. Just now Ireland is taking a deep interest in the Franchise Bill lately introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone. Irishmen seem to be anxious for an extension of suffrage which will add four hundred thousand voters' names to those already inscribed in Irish registries. They are sanguine in their expectations that the party at present representing them in the Lower Chamber will be sensibly augmented under the new arrangement. It is expected that after the next General Election the so-called Parnellites, who now form but a minority of the Irish members, will return some seventy-five strong to the House to dictate a treaty of peace to the Cabinet of the day. Hot-headed Irish enthusiasts assure us that the Irish parliamentary party, once it reaches such a numerical force, will actually sway the destinies of the Empire ! It will, we are told, do or undo Ministries. We are, it seems, to have Home Rule in five years' time beyond yea or nay. The Irish peasant will become proprietor of his farmstead. The Irish labourer will be well-paid, well-housed, and content. The looms, so long silent, will renew their activity ; and industry and commerce will flourish anew in the land. In fact, to put the whole affair in a nutshell, we shall not only be free but prosperous ; for, in right good earnest, the Irish millennium shall have arrived !

Fortunately, few save poets or idle dreamers have the gift—if gift

it can, or ought to, be called—of “second sight” of such a roseate nature as this. Gorgeous fancies are very fine things to behold at a distance, just as “apples gathered on the Dead Sea shore” are; nevertheless, I fear it is extremely unwise as well as unsafe to draw closer, and partake of what is under the rind. But *cui bono*? The world has been hugging delusions to its bosom from the start, and will continue the hugging process on to the goal. The sanguine Celtic temperament must have dulcet visions of the future to satisfy the cravings of its hot fiery ardour; and modern agitators have learned the knack of opening up a fairy vista of national light and glory in that direction.

Utopia and the millennium, however, apart—before discussing the direct question of Ireland and the Franchise Bill, I find a collateral one presenting itself, to which it may be advisable to give priority in this paper. In my opening remarks I have alluded to the change that has taken place in the attitude of the Irish people *vis-à-vis* parliamentary representation within the past eight years. Why that change took place, and how it was effected, I now purpose explaining as fully, but I hope as concisely, as possible. When, in 1856, I left Paris for Ireland to see if it were possible to renew the struggle which was broken off in 1848, I travelled through the entire island, conversed with its inhabitants in town and country, had opportunities, of which I availed myself, to move in different circles of society, and after a long and studied analysis of their feelings, I found that they had lost nearly all hope in their political regeneration. What is known as revolutionary organization was practically dead; but a belief in Ireland being served through parliamentary representation was quite as much so. Events had previously convinced, and were even then also convincing, everybody, that it were a bootless task to appeal to the Imperial legislature to redress Irish grievances. When Roman Catholics were in 1829 allowed the privilege of entering the House of Commons, it was thought that, once they were within its portals, they would devote all their time, attention and abilities—as far as they could possibly do so—to the interests of the country they professed to represent. These anticipations were not destined to be realized. The newly-fledged members became the most subservient lackeys of the Whigs; and when the latter were in power, they often lavished the plums of the Treasury on their wretched creatures. Even the most brilliant, and, at the start, the most independent of these slavelings, Richard Lalor Sheil, degenerated into a place-hunter, and sold his principles for a mess of pottage, ending his days as British plenipotentiary at Florence. O’Connell himself, with all his talent, was able to do little or nothing for his country in the House; and all the power, and nearly all the prestige he attained, were derived from the various



agitations for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union, in which he was, of course, the leading figure and the guiding spirit. When he attempted to form an independent Irish party in Parliament, he soon saw the difficulties of such an enterprise, and failed to surmount them. His "tail," as the members who followed him were facetiously called, could be "independent" enough when the Tories were in and the Whigs out. They used to *pose* as immaculate patriots on the austere Opposition benches; but when the *rôle* was reversed, they would leave "big Dan's" side, and be seen skulking and fawning in the back-stairs of Downing Street, or button-holing Cabinet Ministers for place and pension in the lobby, the faithful and devoted servants of the Crown, and as ready to answer the summons of the Government Whip as curs are at their masters' call. Personal aggrandizement was all these caitiffs cared for. Provided they stood a good chance of securing an Under-Secretaryship at the Foreign Office, or the post of consul in Europe or the Colonies, they cared not a jot what became of Ireland. Their constituents saw their perfidy and tried to checkmate the scandal by replacing them, when occasion offered, by men whom they considered upright and honourable; but these followed in the wake of their predecessors, and auctioned off their consciences to the Ministerial bidder. And thus the farce went on from year to year, and from Session to Session, till the Irish people were finally taught the lesson that they should not put their trust in parliamentary representation, when one of their most devoted public men, my friend and leader, the late William Smith O'Brien, retired in disgust from a House where the Irish representation was one mass of political corruption. Very little interest was afterwards taken in legislative elections in Ireland till the Tenants' League was established, and one supreme effort was made to induce Parliament to vote a measure which would ameliorate the condition of the Irish peasantry. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (not then a knight), Keogh, Sadleir, and a few other Irish M.P.s were the chiefs of this body, and looked after its interests in Westminster. They formed themselves into a distinct party, holding themselves aloof from all others, and pledged not to support or take a position under any Government that would not bring in a Bill to relax the injustice of the Irish land laws. The result of this effort is well known. The Irish phalanx all but died still-born. Duffy left the House in sheer disgust and despair, as Smith O'Brien had previously done. Keogh broke his oath to his constituency, became a government-hack, and subsequently mounted the Bench. Nearly all the others followed his example in some way or another; and thus was Ireland once more cruelly deceived in her parliamentary expectations. All hope, therefore, of the redressal of her grievances through the channel of the Legislature had become extinct, or almost so, when I founded the



Irish Republican Brotherhood in the country. If parliamentary agitation had been rife at the time in Ireland, it would have been exceedingly difficult for my friends and myself to divert the people's thoughts into the courses of revolutionary action, as, naturally, there were many persons who preferred, in serving their native land, the path of roses to that of thorns—the campaign where there were no risks to be run to that whose progress is marked by the gibbet or the battle-field. But the thousands—yea, the hundreds of thousands—were heartily tired of the polling-booths, and the grim fiascos that followed the election farces; and the result was that their minds were open to receive doctrines that altogether ostracised the idea of parliamentary representation, and held that an Irishman, who, on entering the House, took the oath of loyalty, forfeited by so doing all prior claims he may have had on the confidence and esteem of his fellow-countrymen. After some time they grasped at the new programme eagerly, and held to it steadfastly. The British parliament was looked on as an alien Legislature—alien in its members, its traditions, and its character—a House where coercion-chains were often forged for Ireland, but from which Ireland need never hope to obtain the repeal of a single obnoxious statute, or the third reading of a single really beneficial one. The *Irish People* of Dublin, the I.R.B.'s organ, advocated the advisability and necessity of this attitude in its leading pages; and when several attempts were made by Mr. Daniel O'Donoghue, M.P. for Tralee, and other enterprising gentlemen, to revive a belief in the possibility of advancing Ireland's interests at Westminster, they met with no success whatsoever, for Fenianism was strong and powerful in Ireland, and between the Fenianism of that day and parliamentary agitation there could be no union, much less compromise, on any terms, as the revolutionary leaders saw the danger of having recourse to dual means of such a contradictory character to arrive at the one common end. But when, in 1871, Fenianism, after a series of uninterrupted reverses, was believed to be almost extinct in the land, and the late Isaac Butt started the Home Rule Agitation, a certain faint hope in the efficacy of parliamentary efforts to win back Irish legislative independence seemed to revive. Once more the eyes of the people were turned on the polling-booths. Moore's pictures of entrancing sights on the battlefield, and Thomas Davis's visions of martial glory were falling perceptibly at a discount. The new phalanx, however, which Mr. Butt led in the House of Commons, although by no means as corrupt as that of a preceding generation, proved to be quite as useless. Mr. Butt would introduce his annual motion for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and would swallow with complacency its defeat by an overwhelming majority. Year



followed year with similarly barren results. The money-changers still counted their gold and issued their notes in the temple at College Green. The people were growing weary of this dull and monotonous comedy, and would have unquestionably either returned *en masse* to the revolutionary camp, or taken in disgust to the politics of despair, avoiding in either case parliamentary agitation as they would a plague, were it not that the inventive mind of Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar had been at work, and produced a cut-and-dry plan of obstruction that tickled the fancy of thousands of Irishmen, and induced them to give the new departure a trial. They actually snatched this novel oddity up as children would a toy. The policy of conciliation, so long and so ably advocated by Isaac Butt, died with that tribune's death. Mr. Biggar had secured a powerful ally for his diabolical designs in the person of Mr. Parnell, who subsequently became his chief and chief of the party to which he belonged. Parliamentary pedestrianism became the order of the day. The only essential requisites in an Irish M.P. of the latest pattern were that he could keep his tongue wagging for hours in the House, and that he could walk into the division lobbies a few scores of times in one sitting. The Irish do not lack garrulity, and Mr. Parnell had no difficulty in recruiting lieutenants who could bore British legislators almost to death on any question under the sun, from the grinding oppression of England in India down to the operations of the Cattle Disease Act in Lancashire. The young men who gathered around him had remarkable powers of physical endurance, and blocked serious measures by a ceaseless obstruction too well known to the public to be described in these pages. The result, however, of those marches and counter-marches, and those long and all but perpetual speeches, was that the British Parliament grew exasperated, and the people of Ireland acclaimed with much enthusiasm those "champions" of theirs who went about, in private, chuckling quietly over British wrath, and saying that obstruction was the "dynamite which would blow the House of Commons to pieces!"

Another very important result it had, on which I wish to lay particular stress in this paper. Up to that time, Irish revolutionists at home and abroad had nothing and would have nothing to do with parliamentary agitation. They held aloof from the late Sir John Gray and Mr. John Francis Maguire, when both these gentlemen were striving, according to their lights, to serve Ireland at Westminster. Much as they respected Isaac Butt for his chivalrous defence of the Fenian prisoners in Green Street Court-house, Dublin, and elsewhere, in 1865 and 1866, they refused to commit themselves to his policy because it was flavoured with too much loyalty, and was never known in the past to lead to anything save national apathy and disaster. Mr. Parnell's programme, although a parliamentary one,



was, however, of quite a different character. The professions of warm and unflinching devotion to the Crown, which were so frequent in the harangues of Irish parliamentary leaders of other days, never found a place in his. Isaac Butt never lost an opportunity of saying that Home Rule would leave the integrity of the Empire intact. Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants never seemed to trouble themselves about the integrity of the Empire at all, and at times proclaimed sentiments quite in harmony with those of extreme Irishmen, but, I must add, quite out of keeping with the oath they had taken on the floor of the House of Commons. Whether some of the Parnellites acted in this fashion on principle, or with a keen foresight of being able to draw the revolutionist Irish-Americans and Irish into their nets and with them the financial resources they possessed, to carry on their agitation, I will not just now stop to inquire. At all events, their plan succeeded beyond, I am sure, even their most sanguine expectations. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was entered into between the Irish Parliamentarians and the Clan-na-Gael Society of America. I do not know if the compact was or was not a written one; but its clauses were faithfully carried out on both sides, as the late Land League, which originated from it, has already amply demonstrated. The American revolutionary exchequer was literally emptied out into that organization. Some of the Fenians themselves profaned the House of Commons by their presence—breaking the oath they had sworn to the I.R.B., by taking one to Queen Victoria and her lawful successors. The I.R.B. itself, however, in Ireland became almost equally demoralized. Its members swelled the mass meetings where the motto "Land for a landless people," supplanted the time-honoured one of "Ireland for the Irish." Men who were fiery rebels in their youth, and could talk and dream of nothing save an Irish Republic, and pikes, rifles, cannon, and other war material for the establishment of such a republic, directed their attention exclusively to social problems, became eloquent over acres and con-acres, and plagiarized for the benefit of their listeners John Stuart Mill's philosophy page after page. They were Nationalists still at heart, but more socialistic than they were patriotic. They aimed at raising the moral, material and intellectual status of the lower classes all the world over, just as if they had not enough to do in that direction at home. Although they had still a sneaking regard for revolution, they ran the reform ticket and posed as reformers, till the No Rent manifesto drove them into a position they should never have taken. But the most glaring inconsistency in their conduct lay in the fact that they, who in former years denounced in scathing language and detested agitators and agitation, were then themselves agitators, and assisting in, perhaps, one of the most serious agitations next to O'Connell's for Repeal of the Union.



Thus we find that Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar's obstruction toy it was which is—from an English point of view, perhaps, but undoubtedly from that of a real Irish revolutionist—the *fons et origo mali*. Were it not for Messrs. Parnell and Biggar and their obstructive tactics, parliamentary agitation would be now as “dead as a door nail”—to use a very expressive vulgarism—throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. Their experiment raised the expectations of the people. It showed them that through it Irishmen could exasperate British legislators in their own citadel, and such exasperation was sweet to Irish palates. It proved, moreover, that it was shattering the respect so generally entertained for the House of Commons, which had become a bear-garden or something worse under its malign influence. The hate of England and of English institutions was so strong in the breasts of thousands of Irishmen at home and abroad that it was with undisguised joy they witnessed the assaults on the prestige of a chamber which was so highly esteemed and honoured almost everywhere, but which was only known to them as the legislature where laws were enacted for the coercion of their native land.

A belief, therefore, in the efficacy of parliamentary methods being far stronger in Ireland than it ever was before, the fate and fortunes of Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill must have a more than passing interest for the Irish people. That Bill will, if it become law, have practically the effect of sensibly increasing the revolutionary vote in Ireland. It is true of Ireland, as it is of many other countries, that the deeper you go into the strata of society, the more radical is the material you will be sure to find. The Irish artisans and mechanics have been always thoroughly devoted to what they sincerely believe to be their country's cause. They were the bone and sinew of the '82 clubs, established in Dublin in 1848 and the preceding years. They were the firmest and staunchest members of the I.R.B. Gifted with no ordinary tact and intelligence, they have behind them that formidable power which is derived from education, and they have shown on many occasions what proper organization can do almost spontaneously and on the spur of the moment. Mr. Gladstone's measure will provide many of these men with votes. They are now mere zeros in the arena of parliamentary agitation; they will be in the future important factors to be taken into account. As long as they care to use the power accorded them, they will use it in the interest of the most advanced Irish parliamentary candidates who court their suffrages. The same prediction may be almost as safely made in reference to the petty shopkeepers in towns and cities, who will be put for the first time in possession of an implement they will know well how to wield. In addition to these we have the small farmers, who have been always more accentuated in their patriotism

than their affluent brethren, for the former see many things to be gained by adopting the radical programme, while the latter fail to discover what material advantages Home Rule or even an Irish Republic would be likely to bring them. Welding all these various classes into one on behalf of any cause, and bestowing on them the right to vote, means practically the addition to the Irish parliamentary party of members before whose violent harangues and extreme views, those of Mr. Biggar and Mr. Healy will shrink into comparative insignificance. Mr. Gladstone, I am satisfied, does not directly mean such a result as this; but, nevertheless, it is certain to follow. And as what is known as "extreme policies," parliamentary or otherwise, are sure to be popular in Ireland, we may expect in the coming parliament an Irish policy as far advanced of the present one as the present was of those which preceded it.

It is at least certain that Mr. Parnell must either go with the tide or retire altogether from public life. Mr. Biggar's obstructive tactics were hailed with unmixed feelings of satisfaction by the Irish people. His talking against time, and the all-night debates were looked on as feats of which heroes themselves might feel proud. Mr. Parnell's active co-operation and subsequent control of the campaign rendered it somewhat respectable, and increased the number of the "fighting" men who burned with ardour to meet the "hated Saxon" with windy discourses on the floor of the House, or with grim and wry faces in the lobbies. But we hear no more of Mr. Biggar's obstruction. He seems to have utterly forsaken his toy, and to have left it in the hands of Lord Churchill and the Fourth Party; Mr. Parnell himself now never obstructs, nor do those who work with him. Those all-night debates have been, to all appearances at least, quietly given over. The policy of exasperation, which the late Isaac Butt so strongly combated, and which was so warmly taken up at the time by Mr. Parnell, has been shelved, as the obstructionists themselves grew weary of wasting the sweets of their vituperation on empty benches. The consequence is that the enthusiasm with which Mr. Parnell entered on his leadership of the Irish Parliamentary party has in a great measure died out. He has still, of course, the confidence of hundreds of thousands of Irishmen, but it looks suspiciously like the confidence of people who are getting tired of confiding—having no other moral force chief to the fore whom they could well trust to lead them safely through the labyrinths of agitation.

Many persons, who were unwilling to believe it before, are now beginning to see that the Parnellites have not attained the success which was expected of them. More than one-third of the sixty-five men who entered the House of Commons at the opening of the present Parliament and pledged to Home Rule, have deserted their leader.



sit and vote with the Liberal party. It was thought in Ireland that, if the Government dared to introduce an Irish Coercion Bill into the Lower Chamber, the obstructive tactics of the Irish members would be sufficient to prevent it from passing. Yet, what was the result? Mr. Biggar played with the fire, and the fire scorched him to the marrow. His *confrères* soon found obstruction useless in the face of a unanimous assembly, and were overpowered in their opposition. The Land Act was not so much the effect of parliamentary as it was of out-door agitation. Indeed, to speak more correctly, it was not the effect of parliamentary agitation at all. If there was no fierce and fiery upheaval of the Irish people at large, it would not have a place in the statute book to-day. Consequently, the Irish members have little or no right to claim that victory as their score. The Labourers' Act, which, I understand, they look on as another of their achievements, was a fraud, and turned out a fiasco. If anything is to be marked down to their credit it cannot be much. Their cross-questioning and badgering of Mr. Trevelyan have had certainly the effect of redressing a few personal and private grievances, but such a result is neither here nor there, when we consider the great legal and constitutional reforms it was fondly imagined they would bring about. If they gained triumphs, they were Pyrrhic ones. It is, in fact, once more the old story of the mountain and the mouse!

Objections may be made to this line of argument. It may be said, for instance, that the defections from the party weakened it, and prevented it from doing those wonders which credulous folks prophesied of it. I cannot see how the fact of some twenty and odd members in a House of 640 leaving the Opposition benches for those of the Government could be productive of such a failure. If they remained true to Mr. Parnell would the millennium have been reached ere now? But, it may be argued, the Parnellites have not had time enough to satisfy the aspirations of their fellow-countrymen. Let them get a trial of the new Parliament where they will be nearly double their present number, where they will form a phalanx, in which there will be no weak-kneed members, no one likely to desert, and which, by its numerical strength, will be able to decide the destinies of successive Ministries. That the Irish party will return strongly reinforced to the next Parliament, no one can reasonably deny; but that there will not be any defections from it in the future (as there have been in the past) is very problematical indeed. People who assert that the Parnellites of the new Legislature will be an immaculate body of men—cold as granite to the seductive witchery of Ministers, and faithful and true to one another as the three musketeers of Dumas, assert impossible things. The idea of the same party being able to decide the fate of successive Governments is equally impossible. As

Mr. Bright said in the debate on the second reading of the Franchise

Bill: "The English House of Commons, its vast majority of 550 members representing Great Britain, would find out a way of meeting whatever difficulty may be interposed by any number of men, however ill-disposed, who come here from Ireland." Irish writers, who pen such glowing descriptions of Westminster crouching at the feet of Mr. Parnell in the next Parliament, must indeed have very crude notions of what a Parliament really is, or how far its patience may be tested. If Mr. Parnell had all the Irish representatives (which is impossible as long as Ulster remains in its present mood) following his programme in the House, he would not still sway even the one-fifth part of the entire body of its members. How, then, in the name of common sense, can he hope to bring British legislators to their knees? They would, if such a contingency were likely to arise, coalesce to a man to crush him. If he joined the Conservatives to oust the Liberals, and subsequently allied himself to the Liberals in opposition to oust the Conservatives, both parties would see at a glance that they were being made the mere instruments of Mr. Parnell's caprice, and they could easily come to some definite arrangement to defeat his purposes, and ignore his power and following altogether.

Possibly before such an eventuality does take place, the position of affairs in Ireland may be materially changed. The new Franchise Bill, if passed, may lessen Mr. Parnell's popularity by bringing to the front parliamentary candidates of extreme views who will be probably elected in many places, and who, once elected, will consider him too conservative in his views and principles to be their leader. They would necessarily secede from him; and he should be content to lead a fraction of the party, or withdraw altogether from the public stage, in case he cannot conveniently push his political opinions forward far enough to satisfy the aims and aspirations of the most enthusiastic of the new comers. He will, in all likelihood, try to avert such a calamity by introducing an electoral system into the national constituencies much similar to that of the *scrutin de liste*, so ably advocated by the late M. Gambetta in France. Mr. Parnell must know his man personally, and must be able to trust him as one certain to be a true and devoted follower, before he nominates him for a county or borough. In this way he purposes replacing the O'Connor Powers, the McCoans, and the other "black sheep" of the fold, by persons who, whether they have ability or not, will work loyally and faithfully under his command, and will sacrifice every personal and political consideration to the unity of the party at large. I am quite sure that this plan will not succeed. The constituencies must needs have something to say in the matter. I am well aware that several have hitherto elected as their members, young men who were quite unknown to them, and whose



only claim to election was Mr. Parnell's recommendation; but a line must be drawn somewhere, or else let Mr. Parnell be appointed the Elector-General of M.P.'s for seventy-five of the Irish parliamentary seats. Local men will, I am confident, be forthcoming in the proper places to prove that if the country be in subjection to another power it does not follow that she will bow down before any man and accept his authority with complacency.

The new Franchise Bill will, however, preclude the possibility of a dictatorship. The enfranchised mechanics, artisans, and small farmers of the country may elect rebels who would refuse to enter the House of Commons, or rebels who would not. In either case the relations subsisting between both countries would be very much more strained than they are at present. Without the precincts of the House we should have gloomy Irish revolutionary M.P.'s who would scorn to step inside its portals. Within the House itself, troublesome Irish M.P.'s, revolutionary also in their aims and aspirations, would worry and annoy everybody, and make all parliamentary procedure one grim farce, till they were finally expelled, or imprisoned in the Tower. Such "martyrdom" as this would, of course, enhance the popularity of the "victims" in Ireland. Mr. Biggar would be left behind on his slow coach, or tossed on the shelf as an obstructive fossil; Mr. Healy would be compelled to consider himself a mere moderate; and Mr. Parnell would, no doubt, feel horror-stricken at the capers of these wild extremists, with whose chiefs—American or Irish—he should never have coquetted. All these far from edifying events will be productive of one result. England must make up her mind to rule Ireland as a conquered province in a chronic state of siege. Ireland must be disfranchised, and governed directly from Dublin Castle and Downing Street until either that government be overthrown by the force of Irish arms, or the Irish people will give up the hopes and dreams of centuries, and accept for evermore the rule of Great Britain in the land of their forefathers.

JAMES STEPHENS.

## THE "TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."

[The reader is here furnished with a plain rendering of this early Christian treatise—as old in all probability as the beginning of the second century. It has been found by Philotheos Bryennios in the "Jerusalem Manuscript" at Constantinople, and recently published by him. An account of the work was given by Professor Stokes in the last number of this REVIEW. It is needless to say that this addition to the scanty literature of the Christian Church in her earliest days has an interest and importance which it is difficult to exaggerate.

I have only added a few notes of the briefest character, where some illustration seemed to be needed. Those who need fuller information must refer to the learned pages of Bishop Bryennios, whose *Prolegomena* and *Notes* are written in modern Greek.—F. W. F.]

### "THE Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."\*

CHAPTER I.—There are two ways, one of life, and one of death,† and there is a great difference between these two ways.

Now the way of life is as follows. First thou shalt love God who made thee, and next thy neighbour as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldest not to be done to thee, neither do thou to another. And of these commandments the teaching is as follows. Bless those who curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you. For what thank is it if ye love them that love you? do not even the Gentiles the same? But love ye those that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy.‡ Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.§ If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him also the other, and thou shalt be perfect. If any one impress

\* This seems to have been the title given to the book by the actual writer. It is sometimes briefly called "The Teaching of the Apostles."

† Jer. xxi. 8; Deut. xxx. 15.

‡ Enmity will yield to love, and your very foes will cease to hate you.

§ The phrase recalls 1 Pet. ii. 11; but is too general to prove a certain knowledge of that Epistle.



thee to go one mile, go with him two. If any one take away thy cloak, give him also thy tunic.\* If any one take from thee what is thine, ask it not back, for thou canst not even do so.† To every one who asketh thee give, and ask not back, for the Father wills that from our own blessings‡ gifts should be bestowed on all. Blessed is he who giveth according to the commandment, for he is innocent. Woe to him who receiveth; for if a man hath need and receiveth, he shall be innocent;§ but if a man hath not need, he shall give account|| why he received and for what purpose, and being in distress¶ he shall be examined concerning his deeds; and he shall not come out thence till he have paid the uttermost farthing. But respecting this also it hath been said, "Let thine almsgiving drop (*lit.* sweat) into thy hands so long as thou knowest to whom thou givest."\*\*

CHAPTER II.—The second commandment of the teaching is: Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery,†† . . . thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practise witchcrafts or enchantments, thou shalt not procure abortion, nor practise infanticide.‡‡ Thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbour, thou shalt not forswear thyself, nor bear false witness, nor speak evil, nor cherish a grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued,§§ for duplicity of tongue is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but filled with fact.|||| Thou shalt not be

\* It will be seen that the "way of life" is mainly a cento of precepts from the Sermon on the Mount. But out of thirty passages, which might be regarded as quotations from the New Testament, there are not more than five or six which are verbally identical. The majority seem to have been quotations from memory, and slightly inaccurate. The writer never names any Gospel, but it may be regarded as absolutely certain that he was familiar with St. Matthew in whole or in part, and nearly so that he was acquainted with St. Luke (see the quotation in chapter xvi.). There is no clear proof that he was acquainted with the writings of St. John, though there are expressions such as the "vine of David" (comp. John xv. 1-5) and "to perfect in love" (comp. 1 John iv. 18), which may be due to Johannine phraseology. We shall speak of St. Paul's Epistles in a subsequent note.

† Because a Christian may not use force, or go to law before Gentiles.

‡ *χαρισμάτων*. In *Hermas* (Mand. 2) *δωρημάτων*.

§ *Ἀδῶς*. In the New Testament the word only occurs in Matt. xxvii. 4, 24.

|| The phrase may here be used in the sense of "stand trial as to why he received," &c. In the Apostolical Constitutions it is represented by *δώσει λόγον*.

¶ In the New Testament *συνοχή* occurs only in Luke xxi. 25; 2 Cor. ii. 4.

\*\* This passage is in many respects remarkable. 1. It is a quotation professedly from Scripture, or some sacred authority (which is implied by *εἰρηται*), and is repeated in the Apostolical Constitutions. It does not occur in the New Testament, and may be one of the *ἀγραφα δόγματα* or unrecorded sayings of Christ. 2. It shows that even in the first century the sayings of the Sermon on the Mount were not taken so rigidly and literally as to exclude the action of common sense. 3. It is the earliest warning against indiscriminate and promiscuous almsgiving. 4. In the "Constitutions" laymen are to give to the "bishop," and he will know which of the poor ought or ought not to be assisted. Vicarious, or proxy charity, had not begun thus early.

†† . . . *οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις*. The word does not occur in the New Testament nor in the Septuagint (Lev. xx. 13). The prominent allusion to heathen vices in this chapter indicates the early date of the writing.

‡‡ Comp. *Wisdom* xii. 5.

§§ Neither word occurs in the New Testament or LXX.; but we find *δελωστος* in *Ecclus.* xxviii. 13, and *διλογος* occurs in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

|||| Such seems to be the meaning. Comp. Matt. v. 37, xxiii. 3; and for the word, Acts ii. 13.



covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor overweening. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt hate no man,\* but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy own soul.†

CHAPTER III.—My son, fly from every evil, and from everything like it.‡ Be not given to anger, for anger leadeth to murder; nor a hot partisan, nor contentious, nor passionate; for out of all these things murders are generated. My son, be not concupiscent,§ for concupiscence leadeth to adultery;|| nor a base talker, nor a man of high looks;¶ for from all these things adulteries are generated. My son, be not a forecaster,\*\* for it leads to idolatry; nor a user of charms, nor an astrologer, nor a user of expiations,†† nor be even willing to look at these things; for from all these things idolatry is generated. My son, be not a liar, for a lie leads to theft,‡‡ nor a lover of money, nor vainglorious; for from all these things thefts are generated. My son, be not a murmurer, for it leads to blasphemy; nor self-willed,§§ nor evil-minded; for from all these things blasphemies are generated. But be meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering, and compassionate, and harmless, and quiet, and good, and trembling continually at the words that thou hast heard.¶¶ Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor shalt thou give audacity to thy soul. Thy soul shall not be united with the lofty, but with the just and the humble shalt thou converse. Thou shalt accept as good the workings (of Providence) that befall thee,¶¶ knowing that nothing happens apart from God.

CHAPTER IV.—My son, thou shalt remember night and day him that speaketh to thee the word of God, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord; for in the source whence the Lordship is spoken of there is the Lord.\*\*\* And thou shalt seek out day by day the persons of the

\* The use of *οὐ πᾶς* for "no one," is Hebraic, and is another sign that the writer was a Hebraist.

† Not, as it has been rendered, "for thy soul's good." There is a vague resemblance to Jude 22.

‡ We are naturally reminded of 1 Thess. v. 22—*ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι*. Yet we cannot in the least be sure that this is even a reminiscence, for that verse means not "from all appearance of evil," but "from every kind of evil;" and in any case the sentiment is obvious.

§ One who lusts (for evil things), 1 Cor. x. 6.

|| The metaphor resembles Jas. i. 14.

¶ *ὕψηλόφθαλμος*, "lofty-eyed." The word is non-classical, and occurs neither in the LXX. nor the New Testament. The Apostolical Constitutions substitute for it *ρυψόφθαλμος*, "casting lewd eyes," "leering." Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 14.

\*\* *Ὀλωροκόπος*, an augur. Lev. xix. 26 (*οὐκ ὀλωρίεσθε*). Several of these words for unlawful arts occur in the LXX.

†† *περικαθαίρων*, one who tries to avert disease by human or other sacrifices (LXX. Deuteron. xviii. 10). The Apostolical Constitutions add to this brief list a number of strange terms like *θηρεπῶδος*, *λώταξ*, *συμβολοδείκτης*, &c.

‡‡ St. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 20) quotes this passage as "Scripture."

§§ The word occurs in close connection with "blasphemy," in 2 Pet. ii. 10.

¶¶ Is. lxvi. 2.

¶¶ Ecclus. ii. 4.

\*\*\* This is more simply expressed in the Apostolical Constitutions by "For where the teaching about God is, there God is present."



saints, that thou mayest rest in their words.\* Thou shalt not desire a division, but thou shalt reconcile those at strife. Thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not show partiality to rebuke in the case of transgressions. Thou shalt not be of two minds whether it shall be or not.† Do not be one who stretches out his hands to receive and clenches them tight for giving.‡ If thou hast thou shalt give with thine hands, as a ransom for thy sins.§ Thou shalt not defer to give, nor in giving shalt thou murmur,|| for thou shalt know who is the fair requiter of thy reward. Thou shalt not turn away from him who needeth. Thou shalt communicate with thy brother in all things, and thou shalt not say that they are thine own.¶ For if ye be participators in that which is immortal, how much more in mortal things?\*\*\* Thou shalt not take away thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth up thou shalt teach (them) the fear of God.†† Thou shalt not give orders in thy bitterness to thy slave or thy handmaid who trust in the same God, lest they should not fear Him who is God over you both. For He cometh not to call after outward position,‡‡ but (He cometh) on those whom the Spirit hath prepared. But ye, slaves, be subject to your masters as to the image of God, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt not abandon the commandments of the Lord; but thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away.§§ In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAPTER V.—And the way of death is this. First of all it is evil, and full of curse. Adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, sorceries, rapines, false witnesses, hypocrisies, a double heart, deceit, arrogance, malice, self-will, covetousness, base talk, jealousy, audacity, haughtiness, vaunting; persecutors of the good,||| hating truth, loving a lie, not recognizing the reward of righ-

\* The verb *ἐπαπαύσθαι*, "to make rest upon," occurs only in Luke x. 6, Rom. ii. 7. As far as I have as yet observed, the author uses no Pauline word which is not also found in St. Luke's writings.

† Whether or not thy prayer shall be granted. There is a reference to Eccles. i. 28, as also (perhaps) in Jas. i. 8, where *διψυχός* occurs.

‡ This very picturesque expression is imitated from Eccles. iv. 31.

§ A reference to the famous verse, Dan. iv. 27.

|| See 1 Pet. iv. 9. It seems probable that the writer had read this Epistle.

¶ Acts iv. 32.

\*\*\* There is a slight resemblance to Rom. xiii. 27: but so far as I have observed, there is not a single *decisive* quotation from St. Paul in this treatise.

†† It is clear that the resemblances to Eph. vi. 4, 5, 9, &c., in this chapter, are too vague and general to be regarded as certain quotations.

‡‡ This is probably the meaning. The "He" is "Christ," understood from the word "God." Comp. 1 Cor. x. 1, 7. He is no "respector of persons."

§§ This might be taken for a reference to Rev. xxii. 18, 19, but it far more probably came from Deut. xii. 32, and seems indeed to have been a common phrase in Christian writings.

||| The construction suddenly changes, the style being of the simplest character.

teousness, not united to what is good nor to just judgment, watchful not for the good but for the evil;\* far from whom is meekness and endurance, loving vain things, pursuing after a requital, not pitying the poor, not grieving with him who is distressed,† not recognizing those who made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the image of God, turning away from him who is in need, distressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, sinners in all respects. Withdraw yourselves utterly, my children, from all these.

CHAPTER VI.—See that no man lead thee astray from this path of teaching, since he is teaching thee apart from God. For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect;‡ but if thou art not able, do what thou canst. But as regards food bear what thou canst;§ but from an idol-offering abstain with all thy might, for it is a service of dead gods.||

CHAPTER VII.—But as regards baptism, baptise as follows. Having taught all that goes before,¶ baptise into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit in living (*i.e.* running) water. But if thou hast not running water, baptise in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, then in hot.\*\* If thou hast neither (in sufficiency for immersion) pour the water thrice on the head in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.†† Before baptism let the baptiser and the candidate fast, and any others who can; and thou shalt bid the candidate to fast one, or two, days previously.‡‡

CHAPTER VIII.—Let not your fasts be with those of the hypocrites;§§ for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week.

\* The verb ἀγρυπνεῖν is not common in the New Testament, but occurs in Luke xxi. 36; Eph. vi. 18.

† The verb might be supposed to be borrowed from 2 Pet. ii. 7, but it occurs also in St. Luke (Acts vii. 24).

‡ The passage is characteristic of the mild and tolerant spirit of the writer, and is a reminiscence of Matt. xi. 29, 30; xix. 21.

§ The context seems clearly to show that this is *not* an allusion to fasting, but to the burdensome distinctions of clean and unclean meats from which the Jewish Christians were only slowly emancipated. This is another clear proof of the early date of the treatise.

|| St. Paul's rule about "food offered to idols" had been much less stringent. He said, "Ask no questions, but eat whatever is sold in the market, or is put before you; except in cases where, by so doing, you will offend the consciences of weaker brethren." If the writer is here more rigid, it is because (1) he was a Jewish Christian, and (2) the antagonism of heathendom had made all semblance of compromise more dangerous. We observe the same strong view in Justin Martyr.

¶ Having given the preliminary instruction of the previous chapters.

\*\* If the shock of the cold water would injure the child. This seems to show that the writer lived in a cold region.

†† In this permission of (trine) affusion in place of immersion, our rubric is anticipated by eighteen centuries. The allusion, however, seems to be, as Bryennios says, to private baptisms in *periculo mortis*. Infant baptism is not here contemplated.

‡‡ Here we have already a "commandment of men," of which there is not the slightest trace in the New Testament, but which was continued in later times.

§§ The "hypocrites" here used in the Gospel sense for the "Pharisees," is another indication of the very early date of this treatise. For the Pharisaic bi-weekly fast, see Luke xviii. 12. Here, again, we see that the writer was still entangled in Judaic



But fast ye on the fourth day and the Friday. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, so pray ye, "Our Father which art in Heaven [the Lord's Prayer is given exactly as in St. Matthew vi. 9-13, except that "Heaven" is used for his favourite Jewish expression "the Heavens;" "debt" (ὀφειλήν) for "debts" (ὀφειλήματα), and the words "the kingdom and," are omitted from the doxology]. Pray thus thrice in the day.\*

CHAPTER IX.—As regards the Eucharist, celebrate it (*lit.* give thanks) as follows. First for the Cup.† "We thank Thee, O Father, for the holy vine of David‡ thy servant§ (παιδός), which Thou madest known to us by Jesus Thy servant: to Thee be glory for ever." And for the broken bread—"We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known to us by Jesus Thy servant: to Thee be glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered [in corn-grains] upon the mountains, and being brought together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power by Jesus Christ for ever."|| But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptised into the name of the Lord, for respecting this the Lord hath said "Give not that which is holy to the dogs."¶

CHAPTER X.—After being satisfied,\*\* give thanks thus. "We thank Thee, O Holy Father,†† for Thy holy name, which Thou hast enshrined‡‡ in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and faith, and immortality which Thou madest known to us by Jesus Thy servant: to Thee be glory, for ever. Thou, O Sovereign Almighty, didst create all things for the sake of Thy name, and gavest food and drink to men for enjoy-

observances, though he alters the fast days from those on which Moses was supposed to have ascended and descended Sinai to the days of the Betrayal and Crucifixion of Christ.

\* Our Lord did not give this injunction. It arose from the Jewish-Christian standpoint, Dan. vi. 11; Acts iii. 1.

† For the blessing of the Cup first, see Luke xxii. 17-19; 1 Cor. x. 16.

‡ Perhaps the expression came from our Lord's discourse given in John xv., or from Matt. xxvi. 29. It is found also in Clem. Alex. *Paedog.* i. 5.

§ The passage furnishes another indication of the writer's familiarity with St. Luke, for he alone uses the ambiguous word παῖς (= son = servant) both of David and of Christ: Acts iii. 13; iv. 25.

|| This Eucharistic consecration-prayer is as significant for what it says as for what it leaves unsaid, and cannot but have weight in modern controversies. There is not a gleam of anything distantly resembling or approaching the doctrine of transubstantiation, or any analogous doctrine; nor is there even a reference to the words, "This is my Body;" "This is my Blood."

¶ A peculiar application of Matt. vi. 6.

\*\* Professor Wordworth renders this "after the act of reception;" but this seems to be as little accurate as the phrase substituted for it in the Apostolic Constitutions, μετὰ τὴν μετέληψιν "after participation." Μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι must surely mean "after being filled" or "satisfied;" and so Dr. Harnack renders it—*Nachdem ihr euch aber gesättigt habt.* It is another indication of early date as implying the union of the Love-feast with the Eucharist.

†† The same title occurs in John xvii. 11.

‡‡ In the New Testament this word is not used in the active sense which is here required; but it is so found in the LXX. (Ps. xxii. 2; 2 Chr. vi. 2). Bryennios explains it to mean "which thou didst write in our hearts, tabernacled in us."

ment, that they may give Thee thanks. But to us Thou didst impart spiritual food and drink and eternal life by Thy servant. Before all things we thank Thee, that Thou art mighty; to Thee be glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church to deliver her from every evil, and to perfect her in Thy love,\* and gather her together from the four winds, hallowed for Thy kingdom, which Thou preparedst for her: for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away.† Hosanna to the Son of David. If any one is holy, let him come; if he is not, let him repent. Maranatha.‡ Amen."—But permit the Prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.§

CHAPTER XI.—Whosoever then cometh and teacheth you all the things aforesaid, receive him. But if the teacher himself, being perverted, teaches another teaching to overthrow (these precepts), listen not to him; but (if he teaches) to add to righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But as regards the Apostles and Prophets, according to the doctrine of the Gospel, so do ye.¶ Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. He shall only remain a single day,¶ but if need be the second day also; if he remain three days he is a false prophet.\*\* When the Apostle departs, let him take nothing except enough to last till he reach his night-quarters. If he ask for money he is a false prophet. Any prophet who speaks in the spirit†† ye shall not try nor test;‡‡ for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven.§§ But not every one who speaks in the spirit is a prophet, unless he have the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour then shall the false prophet and the prophet be recognized. No prophet who in the spirit orders a table||| shall eat of it, otherwise he is a false prophet. Every prophet, though he teaches the truth, is a false prophet if he does not do what he teaches. Every approved genuine prophet who makes assemblies for a worldly mystery (?)¶¶

\* This is the nearest approach to Johannine phraseology. 1 John iv. 18; John xvii. 15.

† Tertullian (*Apol.* 39, quoted by Bryennios) says that in his days Christians prayed that the end of the world might be put off.

‡ 1 Cor. xvii. 22.

§ This wise injunction emancipates the inspired teachers—"inspired" does not of course mean "infallible"—from the rigid subservience to liturgical forms.

¶ Matt. x. 5-12; Luke x. 4-20.

¶ Either the reading should be *ὅδ' ἡμεῖς δεῖ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν*, or the meaning is, "He shall not remain (necessarily) one day (only), but if need be a second day."

\*\* The existence of wandering emissaries, still called "Apostles," and the fact that they were liable to exactly the same temptations of which we find traces in the warnings of St. Paul in 2 Cor. and Gal. is yet another proof of the antiquity of this treatise.

†† This phrase has a special meaning, partly originating in the charism of "the tongue" (Glossolaly), but afterwards extended to all lofty, rapt, and "inspired" teaching.

‡‡ Comp. Rev. ii. 2.

§§ It is here regarded as a form of the sin against the Holy Ghost: Matt. xii. 31.

||| This curious phrase seems to provide a safeguard against the temptation to the Prophets of giving direction "in the spirit" about Love-feasts, with a secret desire to sustain themselves.

¶¶ This is the most uncertain expression in the teaching—*τοῦτο ἐστὶν μυστήριον αἰών*.



but does not teach others to do what he does, shall not be judged by you. For his judgment is in the hands of God; for the ancient prophets also did likewise. And whosoever says in the spirit, "Give me some money," or anything else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he tell you to give on behalf of others who lack, let no man judge him.

CHAPTER XII.—Let every one who comes in the name of the Lord be received, and afterwards by putting him to the test you shall know him, for ye shall have understanding right and left.\* If he who comes to you is a wayfarer, assist him as much as you can; but he shall only stay with you two or three days, if need be. If, being a handicraftsman, he wishes to settle with you, let him earn his living by work. But if he has no handicraft, devise according to your own good sense that no one may live idle among you as a Christian. If he does not choose to follow your advice, he is a Christ-trafficker.† Take heed of such.

CHAPTER XIII.—Every genuine prophet who wishes to settle among you is worthy of his maintenance. So too a genuine teacher is himself also, like a workman, worthy of his maintenance. Thou shalt therefore take and give to the prophets all first-fruits of the products of the winepress and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep; for they are your chief priest.‡ If ye have no prophet, give to the poor. If ye make a batch of bread,§ (?) take the first-fruit|| and give it according to the commandment. Likewise when you open a cask of wine or of oil, take the first-fruits and give to the prophets. And of silver, and of raiment, and of every possession, taking the first-fruits as well as thou canst judge, give according to the commandment.

CHAPTER XIV.—On the Lord's Lord's-Day,¶ assemble together, and break bread and give thanks, after having confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure.\*\* Let no one who has a difference with his fellow join himself to you till they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled. For this is that which was

*ἐκκλησίας*. The context seems to point to the performance of symbolic actions like those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, &c. Bryennios confesses that the phrase is "dark and uncertain" to him, and he explains it of symbolic actions. Harnack refers it to personal continence, referring to Ignat. *ad Polyc.* 5; Tert. *de Monog.* 11, which do not seem to throw much light on the expression.

\* The meaning is dubious; but probably is as the Apostolic Constitutions paraphrase it, "Ye shall know right from wrong"—i.e., "false teachers from true." More generally, you shall know the difference between good and evil.

† This remarkable word occurs also in Pseudo-Ignatius.

‡ They stand to you in the same relation as deserving of respect, as the chief priests do to the Jews. The incidental comparison, which has no bearing whatever on sacerdotal opinions, is characteristically developed in the Apostolic Constitutions, where the "bishops," who by that time (fifth century) had long been separated from presbyters, are called chief priests; and the presbyters (unknown to this treatise) are "priests," and the deacons are Levites, and the Bishop is the High Priest.

§ He speaks only of first-fruits, not of "tithes" as the "Constitutions" do.

|| I have not met elsewhere with the word *σάρια*, but *συσσάρια* means a common "meal." According to Du Cange and Sophocles it means "a batch of bread." Bryennios leaves it unnoticed.

¶ The tautology is in the original. *Κυριακή* is first used for "Lord's Day" in Rev. i. 10.

\*\* Your "sacrifice" (metaphorically) of "praise and thanksgiving," and of "your-body, soul, and spirit" as in our Communion Office.

spoken by the Lord—"In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles."\*

CHAPTER XV.—Appoint† therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and uncovetous, and true and approved, for they too minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are the honoured among you with the prophets and teachers.

Rebuke one another, not in anger but in peace, as ye have (it) in the Gospel; and to every one who acts wrongly against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear a word from you, until he repents. But so do your prayers and alms and all your deeds, as ye have it in the Gospel of our God.

CHAPTER XVI.—Watch for your life. Let your lamps not be quenched, and your loins not be unloosed, but be ye ready; for ye know not the hour in which your Lord cometh. Ye shall frequently gather yourselves together, seeking the things that are profitable for your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, unless in the last season ye be found perfect. For in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be perverted into wolves, and love shall be perverted into hatred. For as lawlessness increases, men shall hate and persecute and give up one another; then shall appear the world-deceiver‡ as the Son of God, and shall do signs and portents, and the earth shall be given up into his hands, and he shall do lawless things which have never happened since time was. Then shall the race of men§ come into the fire of trial,|| and many shall be offended and shall perish, but they who have endured in their faith shall be saved under the very curse.¶ And then shall appear the signs of the truth. First the sign of the flying forth (of the saints) in heaven,\*\* then the sign of the voice of the trumpet, and the third the resurrection of the dead; not however of all, but as hath been said, "The Lord shall come, and all his saints with Him." Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of the heaven.

F. W. FARRAR.

\* Mal. i. 11, 14.

† χειροτονήσατε. The "bishops" (i.e., the presbyters), &c., were elected by the congregation.

‡ ὁ κοσμοπλανος.

§ ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. This seems to be the meaning.

|| The "Probatory" or "Purgatorial" fire, so often alluded to by the Fathers.

¶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. There seems to be no great difficulty in the translation though Harnack gives it up as unintelligible, and Bryennios thinks that it may mean by "Him whom men curse," or speak of as "the Curse." (1 Cor. xii. 3).

\*\* ἐκπέδησις. The saints soaring upwards to meet their Lord in the air. Some suppose it to mean "the Expansion"—i.e., the sign of Christ with arms outstretched as on the cross. The passage may be a reminiscence of 1 Thess. iv. 13-17 (comp. Matt. xxiv. 31). This seems to be the nearest approach to a quotation from St. Paul, though the order of events appears to be different.



## CHARLES READE.

“ I OWE the larger half of what I am to my mother, the rest to the accident of my father’s grandfather having married the daughter of the village blacksmith.”

That was the sincere self-analysis of a soul before all things honest. Brains first; virility next; ancestry in the background. And yet, in spite of this insistence on the paramount lordship of mind, and the worth of a perfect body, Charles Reade at heart cherished the knowledge that he was by descent a gentleman. Men seldom boast a strain of plebeian blood unless it happens to be blended with *sang azul*; and this chevalier of the chrysostyle, this independent citizen of the Republic of Letters, this unmastered mind, to the last adhered beneath the surface to such old-world beliefs as religion and birth. His pen was so far *con amore* on the side of virtue that his readers—erroneously—may have imagined him to be a saint; and his passionate appeal to the people in one of his grandest dramatic scenes, no less than his habit of constituting his countrymen the real arbiters of every issue, including, as in the Staunton case, life and death, may have conveyed the impression that his political sentiments were democratic. As a matter of fact, he was alike a believer in Christianity, and a Tory in his reverence for proprietary rights, albeit he recked little of the claims of creed and less of those of royalty. According to the popular canons of this year of grace, many of his ideas were hardly up to date; enough that, unlike some dwellers in the land of Bohemia, he never forgot the distinction between vice and virtue, and if he demanded for the frail the respect due to noble impulse, if, in a word, Peg Woffington was his ideal of exalted womanhood, he had the truth to paint her a Magdalen and not a Madonna.

Charles Reade, however, is so universally known that to generalize on his literary characteristics would be to reiterate what has been already well said, both during his lifetime and since his departure. It will be a more faithful tribute to his memory to place on brief record the outline of his life and labour, to tell the story of the man, such as he really was.

On the western side of the grand Chiltern range there lies one of the sweetest little hamlets of old England; "Le Rede" is mentioned as one of its owners in Doomsday Book, and "Rede" bought the manorial rights in 1536. On the hills the land is forest; in the valley rich arable. To his quaint old home at Ipsden, young John Reade, then a gentleman-commoner of Oriel and under age, brought his bride in the year of grace 1795. He had met her at a Blenheim ball, and they wedded impetuously; she being magnetized by the handsome squire who inherited the beauty of Miss Blacksmith, he equally fascinated by the brilliance of the little lady whom Curran called "my pretty Puritan." The little lady boasted as her sire a gentleman who was cutting a bold figure just then, as the defender of Warren Hastings and the boon companion of Prince Florizel. It was perhaps the depravity of Major Scott that caused his daughter to revolt from the world; anyhow, she contrived to Puritanize her husband, and as her creed did not interfere with the field sports which were his idolatry, the pair lived happily to the end of the chapter. Eleven bairnies blessed their union, son Charles being the youngest; and a very bonnie, quick-witted family they all were, for Mr. Curran's Puritan happened to be a woman of extraordinary brain-power, with an intuitive love of letters, and a contempt for mediocrity. Among her intimate friends she reckoned such men as Lord Chancellor Thurlow, George Grote, Frederick William Faber, and Samuel Wilberforce; while during her reign, Ipsden House was emphatically the home of high culture—albeit the atmosphere was perhaps rather surcharged with prelacy and the professoriate. It is necessary, in order to give a fair estimate of the environment of circumstance which influenced our author, to notice particularly the nature of his earlier associations. His mother was bookish, sparkling, and ambitious in a very intense degree. Charles, too, was emphatically her pupil, and, in all except inches and breadth of physique, her *alter ego*. Five sons had been devoted to India, and of these one had died the death of Sir Giles D'Argentine, and hence Mrs. Reade registered a resolve that she would keep the last but not the least by her side. She did so; and if the squire made a man of him, his mother laid the lines of his future reputation, and it was to her personal influence that he owed his nomination to a demyship at Magdalen.

In his undergraduate days the future novelist seems to have been



rather Byronic. A tall, graceful youngster, with a splendidly-proportioned figure and muscles to match, he attracted attention by his long flowing curls. Abhorring alcohol in every form as well as tobacco, he did not assimilate largely with his junior common-room, though he was far from unpopular. He read—in his own fashion—and at the age of twenty-one figured in the third class, and was at once elected fellow. His fellowship rendered him independent, and for the best part of twenty years he lived a life of incessant action, mostly in the open air. Nevertheless, unlike Lord Beaconsfield's fine young English gentleman, he was devoted to books, and in effect was storing up material which afterwards enabled him to construct situations, not only stagey but real. At the time the man was very much a Guy Livingstone. He was a dead shot; he knocked Alfred Mynn round the field at Liverpool; he excelled as an archer and as a pedestrian; few if any could beat him in throwing a cast-net, and among other accomplishments he reckoned theatrical dancing. Anon he was in Scotland herring-fishing, a rather dangerous amusement, for which he entertained a passionate preference; anon for the shooting at Ipsden, delighting the family circle by a geniality which he lost in later life; anon in the vicinity of Leicester Square, where his chambers were alive with uncaged squirrels; anon in Paris, where he studied to some purpose the art of dramatic construction, and, oddly enough also, by way of pastime, the arcana of the violin-trade. He was through the terrible revolution of 1848, and after that the French capital seemed to have lost the fascination it once had for him. Moreover, about this period he had begun seriously to contemplate authorship, and already had commenced to try experiments with the weapon whereof he was to become the master. Not, however, just yet. 'We all are the children of opportunity, and his had not yet come.

In 1851 he was persuaded, not without some pressure on the part of his brothers, to serve the office of Vice-President of Magdalen for the year. Enforced residence within the college walls afforded him leisure to concentrate and mature his experiences, and what was to him at the moment a period of penance proved highly advantageous. He was then thirty-seven years of age; he had been formally called to the Bar, but had no notion of practice; his tastes and his talents impelled him towards authorship. He was a member of the society which boasted Addison, Gibbon, Collins, and "*Noctes Ambrosianæ*" Wilson. He desired, in short, to enter the ranks of literature, and as a dramatist. But how? He had penned to no purpose a few crude dramas, and was then hard at work on one, which his instinct told him possessed magnificent merit. But he could not get a hearing.

The story of Charles Reade's first meeting with the woman who

was destined to mould his future has been so often narrated, and with so many embellishments, that it would seem almost superfluous to repeat it. But as it was the turning-point of a career that was fruitful of the highest results it cannot well be omitted from this brief sketch. It may be termed, indeed, with truth his apology.

Like Oliver Goldsmith, he was, as has been said, quite unable to place his copy, and ready enough to part with it for an old song, so that it should not be buried in oblivion. Now, there happened to be at the time on the boards of the Haymarket Theatre a brisk comedy woman, who was supposed to possess the ear of Mr. Buckstone, the manager. To this actress Charles Reade addressed himself by letter—written possibly in that singular vein of eccentric originality which was his wont. The lady in response requested him to call and bring his play. He did so. She was chatty, but not encouraging. He inclined to quarrel with fate. He left, and the next day there arrived a note from his actress. The play, she declared, had merit; but he had better turn it into a novel, in which case she would find him a publisher. Moreover, she added a postscript to the effect that being sincerely sorry to see a gentleman of his obvious birth and breeding so low in the world, she begged to enclose a five-pound note—as a loan.

The actress was Mrs. Laura Seymour. The play was "Masks and Faces."

Charles Reade was profoundly affected. He did not want five pounds, never having dropped quite to that level—in fact, the benevolent light-comedy woman had mistaken his despondence for impecuniosity. But he called, and in his own grand way—and assuredly no one of his contemporaries had a more magnetic presence—begged that she would allow him to return her money and give him instead her friendship. The offer was accepted, and from henceforward Laura Seymour and Charles Reade became partners. She took the eccentric genius by the hand, and being a hard-headed business woman, turned his brain to the best pecuniary advantage. By her advice "Masks and Faces" appeared as "Peg Woffington," a novel; by her advice, too, instead of running it as a drama of his own, he invited Tom Taylor to take half-profits in consideration of the loan of his name. And then, as he prospered, they joined forces; first in Bolton Row, where she was landlady and he lodger; afterwards at Albert Gate, where the positions were reversed. She was his philosopher, guide, and friend. She discussed with him every MS. that went to press. The arrangement as a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence was immensely profitable to her, but far more so to a man who had never the very faintest notion of the value of money.

Here, by way of parenthesis, it is but just to state emphatically



that Charles Reade held Mrs. Seymour in romantic reverence, and was at especial pains to emphasize in every way possible his denial of their relations being equivocal. The world, of course, thought otherwise, and said so; but the world may have been mistaken. Anyhow, the motto of Albert Gate was *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. Mrs. Seymour went to the Oxford Commemoration, and was introduced by Charles Reade to his friends and relatives—an experiment, by the way, not very successful, since, apart from her antecedents, Mrs. Seymour in private life was hardly up to the strict Society level. Mr. Winwood Reade, Charles Reade's nephew, and himself an author of a certain celebrity, who was a constant inmate of Bolton Row and Albert Gate, and who, to judge by his *littera scripta*, held morality in profound contempt, declared in the most positive terms that the friendship of Charles Reade for Laura Seymour was platonic. In the absence of a scintilla of evidence to the contrary, it is but equitable to the memory of one who always upheld good, and never quite lost grasp of the fervid Puritanism implanted by his magnanimous mother, to adopt the generous and charitable view—the more so because after Mrs. Seymour became a widow, and when Charles Reade was a comparatively wealthy man and had no need of his fellowship, she said positively, "If Mr. Reade were to ask me to marry him, I should refuse." It is by no means certain that such an offer was not made and repeated.

From the date of the production of "Masks and Faces" to the last, the career of Charles Reade was an unbroken success, and no author ever worked harder, or so incessantly. His passion was the drama, but the more exalted aim of his life was to combat injustice. The Theatre was his luxury, and upon it he squandered thousands of pounds, the sum total of his losses in theatrical speculations representing a large fortune; philanthropy was his work, and upon it he lavished both love and money. The former was his *parergon*; the latter his *ergon*. Hence he has left a name as a social reformer; he will be remembered as the author whose life was threatened by ratteners of Sheffield not less than as the master of fiction and the playwright who enriched our national literature by at least one comedy that Sheridan might have envied. Once and once only during his life of authorship he abandoned his ordinary realistic method, and in "The Cloister and the Hearth" gave the world a grand historical study; but this was not repeated, being at the time only a *succès d'esime*, though certainly the verdict of posterity will be in its favour. And once and once only in "The Terrible Temptation" he deserted pure for lubricious morality, and thereby almost jeopardized the reputation he had throughout merited. He was writing then with a pen that betrayed evidences of fatigue, and with an absence

of that mass of material which it was his custom to collect before commencing on fresh work. It was a blunder from a literary point of view, and in other respects an error he lived to regret; but it would be affectation to deny that Charles Reade was ever ought else but Bohemian, with a very tender eye both for his own and other people's frailties.

It is impossible in the limits of an article to write a biography. Enough if slender justice be rendered in feeble outline to a soul whose aspirations, whether human or literary, were from the first most exalted. The man, in truth, justified Lavater; for his physiognomy was noble, and his body the perfection of symmetry and grace. Nature gave him a forehead as high as Shakespeare's but broader; the mild, pensive, ox-eye so dear to the old Greek æsthetes; a marble skin, and a mouth that was sarcasm itself. His personal attractiveness was phenomenal. In any roomful of people, however illustrious, he became, involuntarily—for he was as little self-asserting off his paper as he was dogmatic on it—the centre. Living immersed in Bohemianism, and in the society of a large-hearted yet not very cultured woman, he never parted company with his Ipsden breeding, and his natural bearing was that of one born to command. It was only under the load of intense anguish, when Mrs. Seymour passed away in Faith—almost with the sacramental elements on her lips—that his erect form was bowed; nor did he again—from the moment when he laid his friend to rest—recover his elasticity. His loneliness was perhaps partially alleviated by the society of the one brother who had been his companion and playmate, and had not been condemned, like the rest, to India; but a settled melancholy fell upon him, and it is questionable whether at the last he really grieved to go. It is no libel on his memory to affirm that his nature coveted and keenly relished recognition, and latterly he seemed bitterly conscious of having outlived the sympathies of his day and generation. True, the fresher and more vigorous as well as less conventional brains across the Atlantic remained loyal to their love of his genius, and from America he received a homage that was most gratifying; but at home it was his lot to be left unnoticed. Even the small Scotch universities, supposed to appreciate *literati* and literature, overlooked him. Disraeli was jealous of him, and on the last occasion when they met positively rude. With the present Prime Minister he had no acquaintance, but Lord Selborne was one of his brother fellows at Magdalen, and so also was Lord Sherbrooke; and there was a time—not so very long before Laura Seymour passed away—when he contemplated the possibility of a seat in Parliament. Her decease fatally crushed whatever ambition he may have possessed either for himself or his family, and left him inconsolable. To the last, however, his pen



could not bring itself to be idle. Habit had become so strong that he could not leave his ink alone, and had he been spared he would have given the world a series of Bible characters that would have fascinated even those who regard dogma as undemonstrable, and revelation as romance. With decaying physical yet quickened mental powers, his mind reverted to the old world of his youth, with its sweet and solemn memories. From Cannes he wrote to beg that his brother would join him at Ipsden in the summer of this year, that they might roam its glorious woods once more, and act their childhood over again in the ancient home. It was not to be. He returned prostrate to his much-loved brother's side, but in the suburbs of London; and he died bequeathing his huge volumes of commonplace books, the compilations of forty years, to any public library that may treat them with reverence, and to mankind his last words of Faith and Hope, which are to be graven on his tombstone in Willesden Churchyard.

COMPTON READE.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES.

**A**LTHOUGH the question of "Minority or Proportional Representation" cannot become a practical one until a scheme for the redistribution of seats is before Parliament, yet already no small part of the discussions in the House of Commons and the Press on the County Franchise Bill has been devoted to this subject; its friends and advocates are making the most vigorous efforts to preoccupy the mind of Parliament and of the country in its favour; especially sedulous has been the canvass in the Lobbies of the House of Commons with this object; and already the same combination of members of directly opposite views and aims is being formed, as that which forced its partial adoption in 1867. It may not seem untimely then that one who feels strongly on this subject should endeavour to examine critically the arguments on which the system rests, in a fuller and more complete manner than is possible in a speech.

It is perhaps fortunate that under the Act of 1867 we have already had some experience of the working of minority representation. The principle, it will be recollected, was introduced into that Act against the strongly expressed views of the Government of Lord Derby and of the leaders of both sections of the Liberal party; it was due to a combination of philosophers, who had persuaded themselves that it was in the interest of and in furtherance of true democratic principles, with those on the other hand who feared the result of the Reform Act, and who regarded the principle as a means of checking Democracy, and as affording the opportunity for men with views unpopular to the general constituency to find their way into the House of Commons. The proposal was in the first instance made in the House of Commons, when in Committee on the Reform Bill, by Mr. Lowe (now Lord Sherbrooke). The House had extended



the system of three-membered constituencies, already existing in seven counties, to five of the most populous boroughs; and Mr. Lowe moved that in all such cases every voter should have three votes, with the right to give them to one candidate, or to distribute them as he might think fit.

"It was the last opportunity," he said, "of giving variety to the Constitution; all the other arrows had been shot. If this failed, there was nothing left but one simple uniform franchise, to be extended to and left in the hands of the lowest class in society. . . . He did not argue for any protection of the minority but as a matter of justice to it; he contended that the tendency of the present system was to make that stronger which was already strong, and that weaker which was already weak. . . . He considered the days of party were over. He did not believe that Parliament could by any contrivance whatever so manipulate matters that, with the franchise wholly in the hands of the poorer class of householders, it could raise up any party for a moment successfully to resist the will of that class in whatever they may set their mind upon. It would at all events give some variety of representation, in danger of disappearing by the low level adopted. It would be an advantage to put such a thing in the power of the intelligence and prosperity represented by the minority of a borough. It was the last offer that would be made before it was out of the power of Parliament to do anything to remedy the violence of the changes being made. Woe to Parliament if it refused it its thoughtful attention."

It was supported by Mr. John Stuart Mill and Mr. Fawcett as the friends of Democracy. Mr. Mill regarded it as

"an insignificant makeshift—a makeshift not, however, without considerable real efficacy, and resting in part upon the same principle upon which Mr. Hare's system of personal representation was founded. The principle which he enunciated was, that any body of persons who are united by any ties either of interest or of opinion, should have, or should be able to have, if they desire it, influence and power in the House of Commons proportionate to that which they exercise out of it. . . . His own opinion was, that any plan for the representation of minorities must operate in a very great degree to diminish and counteract the tyranny of majorities. He wished to maintain the just ascendancy of majorities, but this could not be done unless minorities were represented. . . . The true majority could only be maintained if all minorities were counted."

Mr. Fawcett looked upon it as an experiment likely to lead hereafter to "some great philosophic scheme which would enable a pure Democracy to work with all its advantages, and to counteract all its disadvantages."

It was opposed by Mr. Disraeli. He pointed out that

"nothing would offer a greater contrast than the largeness of its principles and the smallness of its application. He was not favourable to the adoption of a principle which worked so vast a change in our electoral system, though applied in a manner which might produce such slight consequences. Why incur great danger for small results? . . . If the principle was good, you must apply it to all constituencies; if bad, why to any? . . . He was not prepared to enter upon a campaign to carry out a system which, as far as he understood it, was alien to the instinct, manners, and conditions of the country—a proposal opposed to any sound principle, and the direct effect of which

would be to create a stagnant representation which would bring about a feeble executive. If the scheme should be applied to the vast majority of constituencies, almost all the representatives for the United Kingdom would be reduced to the position of nominees. They would not be elected by a free people in the light of heaven, but would be nominated as much as were the members for all those boroughs extinguished in 1832, and at a general election you would be able to calculate with exact precision and painful accuracy on the return of members elected by thousands of persons, just the same as agents could formerly calculate on the return of members for Old Sarum. He had always been of opinion that this cumulative voting, and other schemes having for their object to represent minorities, that they were admirable schemes for bringing crotchety men into the House. They were the schemes of coteries, and not the politics of nations, and if adopted would end in discomfiture and confusion.

The most powerful speech, however, was that of Mr. Bright, who pleaded in vehement and eloquent terms on behalf of the old principle of representation. He illustrated the working of the proposal by the case of the United States during their civil war.

"If," he said, "the system of representing minorities according to the proposition now before the House had been established, and had been in existence during that war, the United States Government never could have been borne up as they were by the entire people, and never could have possessed power sufficient to suppress the desperate rebellion in the Southern States. Every American knows that well, and every Englishman ought to know that anything which enfeebles the representative powers and lessens the vitality of the electoral system, which puts in the nominees of little cliques, here representing a majority and there a minority, but having no real influence among the people—every system like that weakens and must ultimately destroy the power and the force of your executive government. . . . A principle could hardly be devised more calculated to destroy the vitality of our elective system, and to produce stagnation, not only of the most complete but of the most fatal character, affecting our public affairs."

I opposed the proposal myself in a speech, which subsequent experience has fully confirmed, and from which I have nothing to retract.

Mr. Lowe's clause was rejected by the large majority of 314 to 141, the votes in the minority being about equally divided between the two parties. In the House of Lords the principle met with a very different reception. Lord Cairns moved it in the form in which it now appears in the Reform Act of 1867—namely, restricting the voters in three-membered constituencies to two votes. His main argument was, that by this means a good substitute would be obtained for the small boroughs without their defects; that the representatives of minorities in large constituencies would be men of great intelligence and independence, free from the dangers of popular excitement and prejudice; that in this way a steadying element would be obtained in times of popular excitement. He complained of the monotony and sameness in the members for large towns and large agricultural districts.



"It would soften" he said, "the asperities of political feelings; contests would be very much diminished in large constituencies where contests are expensive; they would practically come to an end. You would have great constituencies divided into component parts; you would have each portion well represented; there would be freedom from the irritation of political feeling, and from the curse of election bribery. There would also be the greatest possible satisfaction to the people affected, for there was nothing so irksome to those who form the minority of one of these large constituencies as finding that they are virtually excluded from the exercise of political power—that it is in vain for them to attempt to take any part in public affairs."

The proposal was supported by many of the Whig Peers, led by Lord Russell, who defended it on the ground that it was a substitute for nomination boroughs. "He did not see how the Constitution was to be carried on in future. We should not find in our great commercial cities, and in large communities, men who would be willing, and at the same time able, to fill our great offices with credit to the country." The proposal was weakly opposed by Lord Malmesbury and the Duke of Marlborough on behalf of the Government. Lord Derby did not speak. Finally, the amendment was adopted by a majority of 142 peers to 51.

On the return of the Bill to the House of Commons, the amendment was again strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, and others; but it received the unwilling support of the Government, in deference to the strong opinion of the House of Lords, and was carried by a majority of 253 to 204.

In 1870, the question of "minority representation" again arose in settling the system of election for members of School Boards under the Education Act. The late Lord F. Cavendish moved its adoption in the form of the "cumulative vote." He alleged that—

"by giving facilities for the representation of all parties on the School Board a great part of the religious difficulty might be got rid of, because those who represented them would take care that the children of the minority received equal attention and equal justice with those of the majority. It was desirable to take the elections to a great extent out of the hands of the old party leaders in the different localities. We often saw the members of a vestry or other local board chosen because they advocated a policy of judicious retrenchment."

After some discussion, Mr. Gladstone, speaking for the Government, assented to it, alleging that the "main considerations which made the principle inadmissible or inexpedient in parliamentary elections were not applicable in the case of School Boards." The principle was then adopted without a division.

In the same year a Bill was introduced by Mr. Hardcastle to repeal the minority clause of the Act of 1867. It led to a long debate, in the course of which Mr. Disraeli, while declining to undo an arrangement so recently come to, said: "My own feelings are not in favour of refined and fantastic arrangements for the representation of

the people." Mr. Walter, who was returned for one of the three-membered constituencies, while also declining to repeal the clause at present, said: "the difference the minority clause made to the third member was, that it deprived him of the votes of the more moderate electors of the opposite party, and at the same time placed him more absolutely in the hands of those he more especially represented. He was not sure that such a position was that which an independent member would especially covet."

Mr. Fawcett strongly opposed this measure of repeal, but admitted that: "Of all the particular forms of carrying out the principle of minority representation, the House unfortunately selected the worst." Mr. Henley, one of the shrewdest Conservatives of his day, added: "The machinery for carrying out the principle was so bad as to be utterly destructive of the freedom of election." The Bill was strongly supported by Mr. Gladstone, who in the course of his speech said:

"The principle of Parliamentary representation is that we should recognize each constituency as being itself an integer, and what we want in this House is to have the prevailing sense of the community. We do not want to have represented immature particular shades of opinion that may at any time prevail in it, but the sense of the majority, which represents the whole community; because the community is in the spirit and sense of the Constitution recognized as being in itself an integral quantity."

There was an equality of votes on the division that the second reading of the Bill be postponed for six months—181 on each side; and the question that the Bill do now pass was negatived by a majority of 5.

Such being briefly the past history of the question, let us consider how the particular schemes adopted in 1867 and 1870 have worked in practice. The Parliamentary experiment has been tried on too small a scale to enable us, perhaps, to determine conclusively; but there is a general concurrence of opinion on all sides, that whatever be the merits of the principle involved, the choice of method was a most unfortunate one. From a party point of view, indeed, it has been very favourable to the Liberal party. In all the seven counties where it has been applied, the Conservative party were in a majority until the last general election, when in Herefordshire the Liberals turned the scale. In each of these counties, therefore, the Liberals have had the advantage since 1867 of one safe seat out of three. In Liverpool and in the City of London the Conservatives have also been in a majority, and a seat in each case has been made safe for the Liberal minority. In Birmingham and Glasgow, on the other hand, the Liberals have been strong enough to defeat the minority principle, and to return all three members of their party. In Manchester and Leeds alone has the Tory party benefited by the minority vote. In its practical working the principle has been very unequal. In most of the agricultural



counties, where the Conservatives have a clear and secure ascendancy, the effect has been that in spite of the acquisition by the Liberals of the minority seats, greater apathy and political stagnation has prevailed than before. Secure of one seat, the party has seldom thought it worth while to make an effort to improve its position, and hence political inertia has supervened. In some cases the minority member and his friends have done their best to prevent any active movement among their party. They have felt that the position of the sitting member is the more secure in proportion as his party is in a minority, and that political activity might force upon him the expense of a contest, and lead to another candidate being preferred to him. It is manifestly the interest of the minority member in such a case to discourage any party action, and to throw a wet blanket upon any political agitation. In more than one case the minority member has ceased to be in harmony with his party; but practically it is most difficult for a minority to rid itself of its so-called representative. In such a case the member becomes the representative not of the minority, but of a small section of the minority.

In other places, such as Birmingham and Glasgow, where the dominant party has been strong enough to justify it in attempting to carry the three seats, in spite of the minority clause, the opposite effect has been produced. The system has unduly fostered and excited party organization. It has been felt that it is only by the strictest discipline and by the most complete organization, that it is possible to defeat a scheme, to which the dominant party had the gravest objection, and to assert their full influence in the Legislature, in lieu of being reduced to the balance of a single vote. In such a case, assuming that there are three candidates, A, B, and C, the constituency must, after careful canvass, be divided into three districts of equal numbers of voters for the party; the party organizers direct the voters in the one to vote for A and B, in the second for B and C, and in the third for A and C. By implicitly following the orders of their leaders, the party has been able to distribute its votes equally among the three candidates, and to secure the return of all three. The sacrifice, however, has been great; the individual wishes or preferences of the voters have been sacrificed; they have been compelled to forbear voting for the candidates they prefer, at the risk of disturbing the proportion for the three candidates and letting in two of their opponents. Hence the gravest dislike and distrust of the scheme. In other places, again, where the parties are more evenly balanced, and where the contest for the three seats has been between two candidates of either party, the system has led to much intrigue, suspicion, and distrust. One of the two candidates is certain to be returned; his friends can make him safe by abstaining from voting for his colleague; the element of suspicion

has entered into the election, and has been the cause of the system becoming hateful to the party. It is a significant fact that while at Liverpool the Liberal party has been in a minority, and has owed one member since 1867 to the system, yet the party as a whole is opposed to it, and would willingly be relieved of it.

Neither has the system answered the expectations of its framers in supplying a substitute for the nomination boroughs, in the sense of enabling young men of ability to enter upon a Parliamentary career. The minority members have been much like other members, certainly not above the average; but there has been a tendency to substitute for men of independence others of a more strictly party character; thus Mr. Goschen in 1874, feeling that his difference with his party on the subject of the county franchise made it improbable that he would be returned as the minority representative of the Liberals for the City of London, retired from the contest, and the seat was filled by Alderman Lawrence. In Liverpool, in 1880, Lord Ramsay, who had made concessions to the Irish voters, was substituted for Mr. Rathbone. In Berkshire, Mr. Walter was only saved by a large accession of Tory votes from being ousted by a strong party candidate. It is probable that in time this process will be carried further. The minority, secure of one seat, will in the long run insist upon their member being a reliable party man of strong views. Among the anomalies of the system is that the minority member cannot give up his seat in Parliament without causing the loss of a vote to his party, counting two in a division; and in several cases the minority seat, vacant by death or otherwise, has been filled by a member of the majority, thus disturbing the balance of parties and defeating the object of the clause. This objection would become more serious and more anomalous the wider the application of the principle.

It is more difficult to judge of the results of the system of cumulative voting as applied to the election of School Boards. The avowed object of those who obtained its insertion in the Education Act was to secure to various religious sects a representation on the Boards. It was desired to sectarianize the Boards. This object has been thoroughly attained. Whether it has been an advantage to the cause of education may be doubted. In many places wise compromise of parties has averted evils, and has led to the election of men devoted to the main objects of the Act. Where contests have taken place the results have been far from satisfactory. Members elected by the cumulative votes of small cliques and sections of the constituency have been interested only in representing the views of their clique. The effect of the system adopted has been to give undue weight to small sections. Majorities and the more powerful sections of the electors have not been able to secure a representation in proportion to their numbers. The difficulties of



organizing their voters so as to produce their maximum effect when the members to be elected are many, ranging from five to fifteen, are insuperable, and have deterred them from putting forward candidates in proportion to their real strength.

There has, therefore, been in recent contested elections a wasteful accumulation of votes upon the successful candidates of the more powerful sections, and small groups and sections have consequently been able to secure the return of members, when their numbers did not really entitle them to it. Men have been returned upon Boards in this way who have proved to be a power only for mischief. This evil has become more apparent as experience has been gained, and as candidates have found that by obtaining the cumulative votes of a group or section they could be returned without difficulty. These results have been admitted in a recent article by Mr. Westlake,\* a strong supporter of proportional representation, and he has proposed a remedy in the direction of Mr. Hare's scheme for preventing the waste of superfluous votes, and enabling them to be counted for other candidates; a system which, it will be shown, would entail evils and difficulties greater than those it is intended to cure.

Another evil of elections for School Boards in London is that the electoral districts for which five to eight members are elected are enormous, and the expense and labour of canvassing there is very great. This deters many good men from attempting to attain the honour. The system has also offered a premium to selfishness, for it has encouraged candidates to run for their own hand and to betray their colleagues with whom they were avowedly standing on the same platform. It has induced candidates also to swallow ridiculous pledges for the sake of obtaining the cumulative votes of small cliques. The gradual deterioration of the London School Board in respect of many of its members is thus to be explained.

Reverting to the Parliamentary experiment, we must conclude that the system tried has failed; it stands condemned even by those who originally proposed it, if not as a bad scheme, at least as the very worst form in which their theories of representation can be put into practice. It is significant indeed that the supporters of these theories have dropped the title of "minority representation," and have generally adopted that of "proportional representation" as one likely to hide the defects of the present system, and to commend itself more to the community. It rests with them, however, to devise some better, more practical, and more popular scheme of carrying their views into effect, and they have as yet failed to produce one, for there is hopeless disagreement among them whenever a scheme is suggested. Without waiting till they can agree upon a plan, let us examine the premises on which they appear to be agreed

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and on which the theory of proportional representation rests. These may, I think, be fairly stated in two propositions:—

1. That under the present system of what may be called "majority representation," majorities are represented in a greater numerical proportion than they are entitled to, and that consequently they are able to tyrannize over minorities and to carry measures and to support a policy which would not otherwise be possible, and that the minority is in danger of not being sufficiently heard in the council of the nation.

2. That large minorities in various parts of the country are unrepresented by the present system, and that in a true system of representation every minority, however small and however thinly spread over the country or district to which representation is given, should have the opportunity of returning members in proportion to its numbers.

To these propositions Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Seebohm have recently added a third—namely, that the present system of voting fails to secure to the majority its fair influence, that cases occur in which the majority of voters have returned a minority of members, that the division of an area into districts may, without improper design, give by haphazard to an actual majority a minority of members, and that consequently the supporters of the majority system of voting, in grasping for more than is just, run the risk of losing even that to which they are entitled.\* Two illustrations are given in support of this—the one by Sir John Lubbock drawn from the election of 1874, when he states the Conservatives polled only 1,200,000 votes against 1,400,000 votes given for the Liberals and Home Rulers combined, while the actual results gave the Tories a majority of fifty members over Liberals and Home Rulers combined. These figures are, however, unreliable. They do not really give a fair estimate of the voting powers of the two parties in 1874. They appear to be arrived at by counting the actual votes given to all the candidates for both parties, without making allowance for cases where two Liberals contested against one Tory, or *vice versa*, and without taking into account uncontested elections, in which Conservative members were returned in a large proportion of cases. Making these corrections, I shall presently show that the illustration wholly fails. Mr. Seebohm, on his part, quotes the case of the metropolitan constituencies in 1874, when he states there were 70,000 voters for the Tories and 66,000 for the Liberals, but that seven Tory members only were returned against eleven Liberals. These figures also are untrustworthy. A true estimate of the voters on either side gives the following result for the Metropolis in 1874: Tories 79,800,

\* See articles by Sir John Lubbock in the *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1884, and by Mr. Seebohm in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, December, 1883.



Liberals 83,000; Tory members returned 10, Liberal members 12, and excluding the City, Tories, 71,500, Liberals, 76,700. No case I believe can be quoted from our own experience in support of this proposition. Theoretically it may be within the bounds of possibility that such a case might occur; practically it has not occurred, and will not occur, where the areas of representation are numerous.

The proposition thus negatived is also wholly inconsistent with the much more serious one, that under the present system the majority is able to secure a larger representation in the House of Commons than the number of voters as compared with those for the minority, entitle it to; I am willing to admit the statement of fact on which this proposition is based, but I contest the conclusion that this is a matter to be deplored or that it results in the majority tyrannizing over the minority. If large electoral districts, such as London, with forty to fifty members, or Liverpool and Birmingham, returning six or ten members each, were constituted, it might be that, under the strictest party organization, all their members would be returned on one ticket of the same party. I say "might be," because in practice this would seldom or never occur. Experience shows that when there are more than two members for a constituency, the minority is in more than two cases out of three able to secure a member. In the seven counties returning each three members from the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 to that of 1867, under the old rule of majority voting, out of sixty-three elections there were only eighteen or less than one-third in which three members of the same party were returned; in all the other cases the minority was able to return one member out of three. Even in the case of constituencies returning two members each, the proportion in which the representation is divided—that is, where the minority is able to obtain one member, is considerable. Out of 475 elections which have taken place in England since 1867, in constituencies returning two members each, there were 126 cases, or more than one out of four, in which the representation was divided.

The more also that constituencies are broken up, the more districts or divisions there are, the greater are the chances of the minority of the whole being successful at the poll in many of the districts; for parties are distributed throughout the country unequally in relation to one another. Subject to this, it must be admitted that experience shows that, broken up as constituencies now are, the minority, while obtaining a large share of the representation, and in no danger whatever of being extinguished, is not able to return members in the full proportion to its aggregate numbers at the poll; and that the majority has the advantage of returning a greater number of members than its numbers entitle it to. This will be appreciated and may be accurately measured by an examination of

the last two general elections for England and Scotland. Omitting Ireland in the first instance, where the existence of the Home Rule party is a disturbing element, making it very difficult to form a fair comparison, I have made a careful estimate of the voting power of the two parties at these two elections, by taking the actual votes in each constituency contested, which appear best to represent the strength of the two parties, and in the uncontested places taking the relative strength of the two parties as in the proportion of two to one. Applying the same method to both elections, I find the following results:—

In 1874 the polling strength of the Conservative party for England and Scotland was 978,000, that of the Liberal party was 934,000—a difference of only 44,000, or about two per cent. of the aggregate voters. If the members returned had been in the same proportion, the numbers would have been about 276 Conservatives to 266 Liberals—a majority of only ten. In fact, the elections resulted in the return of 312 Conservative members to 230 Liberals—a majority of 82, or 72 in excess of what should have been their majority in proportion to the votes given.

In 1880, the polling strength of the Conservative party was 1,022,000, while that of the Liberals was 1,199,000—a majority of 177,000, or about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the aggregate votes. This majority on the proportional system would have given 290 Liberal members, and 252 Tory members—a majority of 38. The actual return was 335 Liberals and 208 Tory members—a majority of 127, or 89 in excess of the true proportion.\*

Adding to these figures the actual results of the Irish elections, it appears that the election of 1874 resulted in the return of 344 Tory members, 246 Liberals, and 53 Home Rulers, while proportional representation would have resulted in the return of 313 Tories, 291 Liberals, and 38 Home Rulers.† In the actual case the Tories obtained a majority of 33 over Liberals and Home Rulers combined. The proportional system would have resulted in the Home Rulers holding the balance of the two parties, and in combination with either, being stronger than the other.

In 1880, the actual result was 346 Liberals, 235 Tories, and 62 Home Rulers. The Liberals obtained a majority of 50 over Tories and Home Rulers combined. Proportional representation would have resulted in the return of 315 Liberals, 287 Tories, and 41 Home Rulers. The proportional system would again have resulted in the Home Rulers holding the balance between the two parties, and combined with the Tories in being 14 more than the Liberals.

\* The best estimate I have been able to make of the voting strength of parties in Ireland in 1874, is—Conservatives, 64,000, Liberals, 41,000, Home Rulers, 63,000.

† The members for the Universities have been omitted in all these comparisons.



These figures make it clear that while the minority in both cases obtained a very considerable number of members, these were not in proportion to the actual votes at the poll. Majority voting in fact accentuated the decision of the country, and gave in each case a greater number of members to the majority than the proportion due to its voters. In both cases, also, it made the majority independent of the disturbing element of a third and independent party, the Home Rulers from Ireland. Were these results to be deplored? Would the interests of the country have been better served by the return of members in exact proportion to the relative strength of their parties at the poll? In both cases the majority in the House of Commons would have been a very small one, and would have been at the mercy of a combination of the Home Rulers with the opposite party, and in either case the position of the Government would have been precarious; they would have been continually subject to the danger of a coalition, or to the smallest defection of their own friends. Apart from what it may be hoped is the temporary condition of the Irish Home Rule vote, it appears to me to be a subject not for regret, but the reverse, that the system of election by majorities results in giving a certain strength in the House of Commons to the successful party, over and above the actual proportion of its numbers at the poll.

The House of Commons is not merely an instrument of legislation and a forum of discussion, but it is practically the governing power of the country; it is the body from which and by which the executive is chosen; the Government has practically of late years become a committee of men chosen from the House, and daily and hourly dependent on it for its existence. If the two parties were nearly evenly balanced in the House of Commons, it would be almost impossible for a Government to be vigorous and strong. It would be difficult for it to give effect to any policy. It would be liable at any moment to defeat through the defection of some few of its least reliable supporters. Of all the misfortunes which could overtake a country, especially with democratic institutions, a weak executive, unable to develop a policy, domestic or foreign, would be the worst, and this equally so whichever party is in power. When a great issue is before the country at a general election on which the general policy of the executive depends, a majority of even one of the electors must ultimately determine the question. Is it not then important that in the Parliament which is returned there should be a certain force and stability given to this ultimate majority of carrying out the will of the country? Under the proportional system a Parliament would be returned, in which the two parties would be almost equally balanced. The victors at the election would be powerless; and the result would be a weak executive, dependent



upon a small majority, which might be converted into a minority at any moment by the action of a few waverers. It may be questioned whether the constitution would long stand such a condition, and whether it would not be found necessary to borrow from the United States the principle of electing the executive for a term of years by a direct vote of the constituencies, and by making it to a great extent independent of the Legislature.

I might enforce this part of the argument by showing that under the system of party government and party elections, the opinion of the country is scarcely exhibited in its full force by the votes given on either side at a general election. The ties of party are very strong. Very few men having once joined a political party care to change sides, even when dissatisfied with the policy of their party. The defections are more in the direction of abstentions; or the balance is changed by new voters taking their side in greater numbers for one of the parties. There can scarcely be a doubt that in 1874 there was a decided reaction throughout the country against the Liberal party and in favour of a change of Government, far more than was indicated by the very small majority of voters at the poll; and similarly, in 1880, the reaction against Lord Beaconsfield's policy was not to be measured by the majority of Liberal voters. The minority also, as a rule, appears at the poll in greater numbers comparatively than its real position entitles it to; in its efforts to convert itself into a majority it often makes alliances with small sections, by concessions and promises, which the party secure in its position is unwilling to make, and thus its numbers are swelled unduly.

Again, it should be recollected that the two parties are not separated by a well-defined line, they overlap one another to a large extent, and each of them has a great range of opinion between its two extremes. At this moment there is probably a greater distance between the county members of the older type at one extreme of the Conservative party, and the Tory democrats representing or desiring to represent great constituencies, than between Whig county members and the most extreme Radicals. In the conflict for power both parties endeavour to extend themselves in the direction of their opponents, so as to embrace as wide a number of adherents as is compatible with their cohesion as a party; the minority makes, as a rule, greater efforts in this direction than the majority, and hence there is always a tendency towards equality between the parties. It follows also that neither party is likely to be so predominant as to be able to tyrannize over the other, and any attempt to do so would cause a defection of its supporters at the point nearest to the opposite party, for the benefit of the other side. The real security against such tyranny is the fear of the majority that it will lose its supporters in and out of the House of Commons on the flank nearest to its opponents' line.



The application of the principle to Ireland has been advocated more plausibly than elsewhere, and much of the present movement towards it arises from the fear of the extension of the franchise there, and from the belief that it will result in the all but total exclusion of the loyal party from a share in the representation. When, however, carefully examined, the case of Ireland, even under the extended franchise, though sufficiently serious, will probably not be worse than it would be after another election under the present franchise, nor would a remedy be found for what is feared in the direction proposed. It is generally stated that the loyal minority is spread over Ireland in such a manner that it will be quite unable, under the ordinary method of majority voting, to combine for the purpose of securing a share in the representation. It can easily be shown that this is not the case. Let us assume matters at their worst. Let us suppose that the loyal party in Ireland is limited to the Protestants and to a very small number of the upper classes of the Catholics, and that all others will support Mr. Parnell in the elections under an extended franchise; a conclusion which recent elections appear to justify.

The Catholics of Ireland number 3,960,000, or slightly more than three-fourths of a total population of 5,174,000; the residue consists of Protestants of various denominations. The Protestants, however, are mainly concentrated in Ulster, where they form 52 per cent. of the population. Ulster itself contains one-third of the population of Ireland. In three of its counties—Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal—the Catholics are respectively 80, 73, and 76 per cent. of the population. It is probable, then, that with household suffrage these three counties will declare themselves for the extreme party. Deducting these, there remain 1,386,000 inhabitants, or 25 per cent. of the whole population of Ireland, in the five remaining counties of Ulster, where the Protestants are either in a large majority, or are so nearly equal to the Catholic population that it is certain, embracing as they do all the wealth and influence of the district, they will hold their own and carry the elections. If, then, the representatives were fairly distributed over Ireland in proportion to the population of its different provinces, it is certain that the Protestants would secure twenty-five seats out of 100, excluding the University members, or exactly the number which their proportion over the whole of Ireland entitles them to.

Let us now consider what would be the effect of applying the minority or proportional principle to Ireland. This principle may be applied either by dividing Ireland into electoral districts, returning three members each, with the minority or cumulative vote, or by adopting some scheme such as Mr. Hare's plan of proportional representation, to much larger districts such as its provinces. The



first of these would be eminently unfavourable in its working to the loyal party, for on the assumption that the Catholics will give a nearly solid vote for Mr. Parnell's candidates, this party will, in spite of the minority vote, be able to secure all three seats in the electoral districts of Munster, Connaught and Leinster (exclusive, perhaps, of Dublin and Dublin County), where the Catholics are 94, 95, and 90 per cent. of the population. Orders would go forth from a central organisation to different parishes to vote for the candidates so as to defeat the minority scheme, and with the aid of the priests this could easily be accomplished.

The Catholics would also secure the third seat in all the five Protestant counties of Ulster. The Protestants would in this view fail to secure the minority seats in the south and west, and they would lose eight out of the twenty-five seats to which the Protestant counties of Ulster would be entitled. The result, therefore, would be far more unfavourable to them than it will be under the present system of voting. If, on the other hand, the proportional system of representation be adopted on some wider scale, by grouping its constituencies together by provinces, with the cumulative vote, the Protestants or loyal party could not secure more than its true proportion of the whole population—namely, 23·5 per cent., or less than one-fourth, and the Home Rulers, with the aid of the Ulster Catholics, would secure the remainder. In other words, the position would be no better than under the system of majority voting.

It appears then that, looking from the point of view of those who fear the results of the extension of the suffrage in Ireland, there is nothing to be gained by the party of order in adopting proportional representation by either of the methods suggested to us. At worst the loyal party in Ireland may be certain of securing twenty-five out of 100 members. They are fortunately so distributed as to be able to make the best use of their members for electioneering purposes. It is all but certain that even under the existing suffrage and with the present distribution of members, the Nationalists in Ireland will secure seventy-five seats at the next election.

I have thus far argued the question on the assumption that it affects only the relations of the two principal parties in politics. Proportional representation in its wider sense, according to the views of its expounders, is not intended merely to give results more in accordance with what the poll shows to be the actual proportion of voters of these two parties, but, in the words already quoted of Mr. J. S. Mill, to "enable any body of persons united by ties of interest or opinion," to combine together for obtaining a share in the representation equal to their real strength in the country. It is obvious that this object must wholly fail in the case of three-membered constituencies with the minority or cumulative vote, and can only be



attained, where there are very large districts returning numerous members with the cumulative vote, corrected or amplified by some such scheme as that of Mr. Hare. The greater the districts, the better chance there is of minorities being able to combine in the manner desired, and the logical and most perfect development of the principle would be to treat the whole country as one constituency, with the cumulative vote, so that no minority, no groups of persons, however thinly spread over the country, or however separated in distance should be unable to combine together. A principle of this kind must be argued on the supposition that it is universally applied in its highest form of development. Let us consider whether, if carried out, it could result in benefit.

The system appears to consecrate the principle of sectarianism as opposed to nationalism. It invites people to combine together in groups for the purposes not of the public interest, but their own private interests, or their own special views. As religious differences are among the principal motives of combination it is probable, nay, almost certain, that all the religious sects would specially endeavour to return as many members as possible. The Irish Roman Catholics living in England would certainly so combine to return members, and would send a formidable contingent to join the extreme party from Ireland. Other sects would follow their example. Many special industries, sections or interests would do the same. It is difficult to see where there could be found those who would combine only for national interests. If there were such a party sufficiently powerful in its numbers to obtain a majority of voters, the difficulties of organization, as is shown by the example of the School Board elections, would prevent it securing a representation in proportion to its numbers, and all the cliques and sections would be represented in excess of their real strength. The evils already indicated, resulting from the attempt to represent the minority of the two great parties, would be intensified if the attempt be extended to all minorities. The House of Commons would become a collection of men representing cliques and petty interests, and without any common views as to the general policy of the country. The same arguments apply, in a less degree only, when the principle is applied, not to the whole country, but to large constituencies or districts returning six or ten or more members.

It will be admitted that under the present system many of these cliques, sections and interests spread over the country, or in large districts are unable to secure a special representation, though they are often represented indirectly by members who have obtained election for other reasons than that they represent an interest. Does it follow that an interest is without influence because it fails to secure special representation? It is matter of common experience that any interest or section has influence on an election in proportion



to its real strength, and the party which puts itself into an attitude of hostility to any such section is certain to feel it in the contest. Thus the Catholic party in England, though it is unable to secure a special representation, has very great influence in the elections, and any attempt to deal in a hostile spirit with it would be resented and would have a marked result at the elections. Party action, indeed, lends itself to the protection of small minorities and of special interests even to a greater degree than is always consistent with the public welfare. When the Government of the day proposes to legislate adversely to a special interest, it happens only too often that the cause of this interest is taken up by the Opposition, without regard to the merits of the case, and a very small defection from the Government ranks is sufficient to make legislation difficult or impossible, or to secure terms for the interest concerned.

Let us assume that in spite of these arguments it be desirable to adopt proportional representation. What form of it is possible other than what has already been tried and condemned? Two principal systems have been suggested; the one a modification of the three-membered constituencies, by the adoption of the cumulative vote. This would represent the principal minority, but not smaller minorities. It would fail then to satisfy the views of the philosophers. It would be easy to show that in practice it would be open to all the difficulties and objections felt under the system now in force. With the cumulative vote the ordinary contest in three-membered constituencies of two members of each party would become as complex as where under the present system of minority voting, one of the parties endeavours to secure three seats.

The other and wider scheme of proportional representation is that of applying to districts returning not three but several members, the cumulative system of voting. It is proposed by Mr. Westlake and Sir John Lubbock to correct the admitted defects of this system, by adding to it an elaborate scheme for providing against the wasteful accumulation of votes on the more popular candidates. By the plan of Sir John Lubbock, which differs in some important respects from Mr. Westlake's, voters would be able to indicate the order of their preference for the various candidates, and after a quota of votes, sufficient to secure his return, has been counted for the candidate highest in the poll, the votes of the remaining voting papers, on which he stands first, are to be counted for the second candidate named in them, and so on for the third and other candidates. It is asserted as a great merit of this system, that the necessity for the interference or dictation of a party caucus would be obviated. It would be easy to show that this would be very far from the case, and that the scheme has very grave defects.



In the case put by Sir John Lubbock, in illustration of his plan, of a constituency returning six members with 72,000 voters, where there is a contest between four Liberals and three Conservatives, it appears in the first place to have escaped his notice, that unless the party in a majority exceeds the minority, in a proportion of more than four to three, it cannot secure a majority of members, where both parties make the best use of their numbers, and three members of each party would be returned in spite of the one having a majority of 10,000. Secondly, it would be a mere chance which of the candidates other than the one whose quota is first filled, would be the unsuccessful one on either side, for there is no provision for taking into account the order of preference on the papers used in making up the quota of the first or other candidates on the list, and the result might be very materially affected if the order of preference on these earlier and more numerous papers, were taken into account. Thirdly, the plan would very unduly favour independent candidates, representing small sections of a constituency, and the larger sections could only defeat this and secure their due share of members by the most rigid party organization, and probably by abandoning the method in practice.\* Lastly, in its practical application the plan would immensely favour the first and earlier candidates of the party on the polling papers, for it cannot be doubted that a large proportion of voters would number the candidates in the order in which they stand on the voting papers.

These are only a few of the many objections and difficulties arising from this ingenious puzzle which it is sought to substitute for the simple system of majority voting. Fully to explain them would require many more pages, and would unduly tax the mathematical faculties of most readers. Generally, it may be said of this and its kindred schemes, that they would of necessity more than ever compel a resort to the most rigid party organization, for success would most certainly rest with that party which most completely surrenders

\* Suppose in a constituency returning seven members, 72,000 electors vote, and that two independent candidates, representing special sections, obtain each 7,200 votes, or one-tenth of the total number of voters, and 30 per cent. less than the required quota, and suppose that the remaining voters are divided between the main parties of the constituency, Liberals and Tories, in the proportion of 33,000 to 24,000, and that they start respectively four and three candidates. The voters of these two parties, if voting on the plan of Sir John Lubbock, could, at the very best, return only three and two candidates respectively, with the required quota of 9,001. The fourth Liberal candidate and the third Tory candidate would be rejected with about 6,000 votes each, and the two independent candidates would be returned each with 7,200 votes. It would result that one-sixth of the constituency would return two members, and five-sixths would return only five members; the independent votes, therefore, would have nearly double their proper weight. To defeat this, both Liberals and Tories would find that the only course would be to abandon voluntarily Sir John Lubbock's plan of voting, and by strict organization to divide their votes equally between their four and three candidates. By doing this, the 33,000 Liberal voters would return four members, each with 8,250 votes, and the 24,000 Tories would return three members, each with 8,000 votes, and the two independent members, each with 7,200, would be rejected.



itself to party discipline; that they would unduly favour the minority in any ordinary contest between candidates of the two parties, and would give a still greater advantage to small minorities or sections, who should restrict their votes to special candidates; and that to the same extent they would make it difficult to the majority to return its candidates.

Assuming, however, that one of these plans could be made intelligible to the ordinary voter, and to be possible of application, is it conceivable that it could be adopted generally? It has been suggested that it should be applied to great constituencies, such as Liverpool or Birmingham, or to the whole of London, or to the separate provinces of Ireland; but why not then to Scotland, where the Liberals return a very large proportion of the members? or to groups of English counties, where the Conservatives have an equally assured predominance? or why not to the whole country? for if the principle of representation of minorities is good it is one which should be universally applied. The attempt to do this would certainly fail, for it would range against it all the traditions of existing constituencies. Why, then, should it be applied to the Metropolis or to other great towns? Of all parts of the country, London is that where there is greatest variety of representation, where both parties have a share in it nearly equal to their real strength, and where the existing system, which is practically that of electoral districts returning two members each, produces a result eminently satisfactory as regards the quality, variety, and moderation of its members. Indeed, the strongest possible argument may be derived from London, that by breaking up large constituencies into districts returning one or two members each, variety of representation will be sufficiently arrived at, and the minority of the whole fairly represented, without any artificial attempt to secure it, while simplicity of election is retained, and the important principle of responsibility of members to the whole of their constituents and not to a section is maintained intact.

Lastly, it is said that minorities in districts where they have long been unable to secure a member are discouraged and feel as though left out in the cold; and that it is no satisfaction to them that their party is elsewhere in a majority. What, however, members of a party mainly desire is to contribute to the general result of the contest throughout the country, and not so much to have special representation of their own. So long as they are in a minority in their own district, they do not contribute to the general result, and the only way in which they can do so is to convert themselves as soon as possible into a majority. For this reason, then, the minority values very little the right of being represented by a minority member. Nor does experience show that the system is necessary for the purpose of providing seats for men of eminence. The men of proved experience and capacity in politics



who cannot find seats under the present system are very few in number.

In conclusion, then, it appears to me that the alleged defects and dangers of the system of representation by majorities do not exist, or exist only in the imagination of a certain school of philosophers and of timid politicians. It is not the fact that majorities of members are returned in so great a proportion above the number of their aggregate voters, as to make them unduly dominant and dangerous; it is not the fact that the principal minority is in danger of being trampled upon or extinguished, or of failing to make its views heard in the council of the nation; it is, however, the fact that the majority of members is somewhat larger, as a rule, than the actual number of the voters at elections appears to justify, and this gives to it the power, and no more than sufficient power and opportunity, to develop its policy and to carry out the ascertained will of the nation; it makes the executive independent of the shifting views of a few waverers and gives a stability to the Government of the country, and is therefore an advantage rather than the reverse.

On the other hand, proportional representation would result in weakening the position of the executive, in making it more difficult, if not impossible, to the nation to carry out its will; it would in practice, even in its more complete methods, give undue weight and prominence to groups and cliques of opinion not yet ripe for dealing with in Parliament; it would result in the return of members specially representing in greater proportions than now crotchets and immature opinions, and the interests of classes without reference to national questions; it would therefore inculcate among electors the moral that the interests of classes are to be preferred to those of the nation; it would further complicate all the machinery of elections, and would most probably result in compelling a resort to the most rigid and exacting rule of party organization, with the object of defeating the artificial precautions against majorities, and as the only means of carrying out the decisions of the country. Least of all could such schemes be relied on for defeating the objects of Democracy. Democracy would certainly in the end discover the means of using them for its own purposes, and by a rigid system of party discipline would carry its measures, in spite of the precautions thus feebly directed against it.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES.

ALL the more prominent of the American journals have discussed the various international and social questions suggested by the finding of dynamite at the railway stations of Charing Cross, Paddington, and Ludgate Hill. It is a matter of universal regret that the Explosive Substances Act of April, 1883, has not completely fulfilled the purpose for which it was designed. While in America the discussions have revealed not a little confusion of reasoning, it is evident that popular opinion has steadily gravitated to the support of two more or less clearly defined expressions of national sentiment. In the first place, there is every reason to believe that America will heartily join with England in any common action that may promise to be both just and efficient. In the second place, the difficulties in the way of efficient action appear to be very considerable, if not absolutely insurmountable. Let us examine as briefly as may be practicable the grounds on which these two propositions seem to rest. Such an examination will involve a commingling of what may be called theoretical and historical methods of discussion.

So far as one is able to judge, there is in the United States but one opinion as to the motives at the bottom of the plots. The purpose of the conspirators appears to have been simply to make an impression on the English Government that there can be neither peace nor safety for any class of people in England till the Irish question is settled in a manner acceptable to the party in whose behalf the conspirators are acting. For the purpose of producing this impression, the conspirators are willing not only to destroy any amount of property, but even to put to death, by an instantaneous and indiscriminate slaughter, a vast number of innocent people.

Before such a method of recommending political opinion a common humanity must everywhere stand aghast with horror. But there are reasons why Americans should be especially emphatic in their condemnation of such methods. If there is any one idea more peculiarly dominant in the philosophy of the American system of government



than any other, it is that an evident minority shall not be allowed to impose by violence its political doctrines and methods upon an evident majority. When, therefore, we see a contemptible faction trying to intimidate a Government into the adoption of political projects by means of a general system of murder and arson, we of all people ought to be among the most ready to join in the adoption of such measures as may promise the most effectual remedy of the evil.

Nor can it be held that in this matter Americans in practice have confined themselves to mere sentiment, or have fallen short of what their political philosophy would seem to demand. It has traditionally been a part of their national policy to act upon the farewell advice of Washington, not only in abstaining from all foreign complications, but also in removing all just causes of foreign grievance. It was in this spirit that the very next year after the formation of the Government, a stringent statute in behalf of neutrality was passed. This statute was the basis of the "Neutrality Act of 1818," under which the Government has been able to arrest and to punish all those against whom there has been evidence of beginning or setting on foot any military expedition or enterprise against any foreign Government or people with which America is at peace. In view of the stringent and comprehensive provisions of this law, it can hardly be maintained that Americans have been reluctant to prevent the use of their territory for the organization of plots against foreign Powers. For equally obvious reasons, moreover, it would be incorrect to assume that there has been any lack of proper abhorrence of the recent dynamite plots. It is indeed true that there has been no very great outburst of violent indignation. But it is not easy to discover any good reason why there should be; and there are certainly some very good reasons why there should not be. It is manifest that if the tumult is so great as to create the general impression that the difficulty is incurable except in the manner demanded by the conspirators, the main object of the conspirators will have been secured. The evil is one that is not to be reached and remedied by popular agitation, but, if at all, by executive circumspection and action. If there are laws adequate to the removing of the danger, those laws simply need to be enforced; if, on the contrary, there are no adequate laws, the fact should be calmly pointed out, and adequate laws should be framed. In either case no great excitement can be of any service, simply for the reason that public opinion in America is already in a condition\* to welcome any action that may be shown to be practicable and desirable.

It is, however, worthy of note that the earnestness of public opinion on this question is not adequately indicated by what may seem to be the small amount of popular excitement. For this apparent apathy there is just now an especial reason. At all times, but more especially at the present time, the party newspapers are anxious not to alienate the Irish vote. That vote on the eve of a Presidential election is thought to be of considerable importance. It is not singular, therefore, that considerations of prudence should lead to some moderation in the expression of views. On the other hand, those papers whose especial business it is to create opinion on behalf of the Irish cause, have seized upon the event as a sure indication that there is but one solution of the question involved. This, however, may safely be con-



ledged principles of International Law, or in the provisions of the Treaties between England and the United States, or in the municipal laws regulating the possession and transportation of explosive substances. Let us look briefly at each in turn.

Let us suppose for a moment that a person accused of blowing up one of the railway stations is a British subject, who, after committing his crime, has taken refuge in the United States. The proofs against him are sufficient to justify his arrest and commitment for trial. Do the usages of International Law justify his detention for extradition? The answer is that, though there is not unanimity, there is certainly a preponderance of authority in favour of a denial of such an obligation. The Government of the United States, in common with the Government of England, has invariably held that, independent of special compact, no State is bound to deliver up fugitives from justice on the demand of a foreign Power. In 1853 Lord Palmerston clearly expounded the doctrine in the House of Commons. He was asked whether a demand for the expulsion of foreign refugees had been made. He not only declared that no demand had been made, but he also took pains to say that, if any demand should be made, it would meet with a firm and decided refusal. His reasons were expressed in the declaration that "the British Government has never undertaken to provide for the internal security of other countries." This answer, so bluntly given, was doubtless the correct one. In 1849 a similar reason, presented by the English Government, had obliged the Emperors of Russia and Austria to withdraw a demand for extradition from the Government of Turkey.

But let us suppose that the person accused is not a British subject, but a citizen of the United States. Here too, we find that the acknowledged usages of International Law do not justify an extradition. In Great Britain, and in the United States, the general principle prevails, that crimes are of strictly territorial jurisdiction. In the absence of specific treaty, therefore, persons accused must be tried and punished in the country where the crime is committed. It was in specific recognition of this principle that in the treaty of 1852, between the United States and Prussia, provision was made that "none of the contracting parties shall be bound to deliver up its own citizens or subjects under the stipulations of the treaty." A similar exception as to the extradition of citizens is to be found in nearly all the extradition treaties between the United States and the German Powers. These facts bring us to the general conclusion that the whole subject of extradition comes within the determination of specific treaties; and also, of course, that in the absence of treaties there is no international usage that can be considered as having binding power. It is because this principle is now so universally admitted, that where no treaty exists, it is not customary to ask for the extradition of criminals. The doctrine carries with it, of course, the further principle, that there can be no just demand for extradition in any case which the treaty of extradition does not cover. We are thus brought to inquire as to the light thrown upon the subject by existing treaties.

The treaty of extradition passed between the United States and Great Britain in 1842 has never been modified in any essential particulars. It provides for the extradition of persons charged with



sidered simply as the expression of a very limited class. These reasons, though not in themselves very important, or indeed very creditable to the persons who entertain them, are still of sufficient weight to account for what in England appears to have been regarded as the indifference of Americans on the subject of dynamite plots. But in reality there has been no apathy. It may safely be said that on the part of all those people who possess a fair amount of judgment there is absolutely no difference of opinion as to what is desirable. The whole business, not simply of organizing murder and arson, but of aiding with money and sympathy the Irish agitation, as it is generally carried on in this country, meets with general and hearty condemnation. It is of course true that a few politicians, whose fortunes and hopes especially depend on the Irish vote, have opened their mouths wide in expressions of sympathy with the methods which the Irish pursue. It is also true that these expressions have attracted considerable attention. But to suppose that they express the national sentiment, or indeed the sentiment of any considerable portion of the American people, is entirely to misunderstand the national feeling. The Irish, in believing that they receive the moral support of the United States, are making the same mistake that the Italians made in supposing that England was on the point of joining Italy against Austria in 1858. The cheering crowds which followed Orsini in his enthusiastic round of political preaching, doubtless made considerable impression upon the fervid imagination of the Italians. But they cruelly deceived themselves. Everybody now knows that there was never a moment when the boisterous hurrahings did not bear the same relation to the sober sense of the nation that Burke's half-dozen shrivelled grasshoppers, with their importunate chink under the fern, bore to the thousands of great cattle which quietly chew the cud beneath the shadows of the oaks. And the same expressive simile describes precisely the importance that is to be attached to the noise that is made about assisting Ireland. There are, of course, many who believe that the misfortunes of the Irish people are largely due to a long-continued system of injustice at the hands of the English. But this is probably no more than is now believed by vast numbers of the English themselves. When the practical question as to remedy for existing evils is to be considered, what may be called the judgment of the United States is probably not very different from the judgment of the Liberal party in England. Certain it is that while there was considerable disapproving noise over the execution of O'Donnell, there was also not only an overwhelming approval of the verdict, but also a well-nigh universal admiration of the fairness of the trial and the promptness of the punishment. The discords in the general chorus of approval came almost exclusively from those who, for one reason or another, were already committed to the Irish cause. It may safely be assumed that there is nothing whatever in public opinion to justify the belief that there will be any reluctance to enforce the laws with rigour or to modify them to suit new emergencies, in case modification should seem to be necessary.

But while public opinion is entirely favourable to energetic action, it is not to be denied that the subject is surrounded with many difficulties. Evidently relief is to be found, if at all, either in the acknow-



ledged principles of International Law, or in the provisions of the Treaties between England and the United States, or in the municipal laws regulating the possession and transportation of explosive substances. Let us look briefly at each in turn.

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certain specified crimes. The crimes enumerated as subject to extradition are "murder," "assault with intent to commit murder," "piracy," "arson," "robbery," "forgery," and "the utterance of forged paper." These are all. They do not include conspiracy to murder. The article, moreover, closes with the following words: "Provided that this (extradition) shall only be done upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial." A similar proviso also appears in the convention of 1843, in regard to extradition between the United States and France. Thus we have specific declarations that extradition shall not be regarded as binding, except under three very specific conditions: First, the crime for which extradition is demanded must be one of those enumerated in the treaty; secondly, the charge must be made against specially named persons; and thirdly, the proofs of guilt must be sufficient to justify arrest and commitment for trial.

A single glance at these provisions is enough to show that no action brought under authority of the treaty could hold against a dynamite conspirator. Let us in illustration take the simplest case imaginable. Suppose that the British Government receive sufficiently strong presumptive evidence that Mr. John Doe has concocted all the plots recently brought to light in London. It turns out that Mr. John Doe is a British subject, who stationed himself in New York in order to collect dynamite and infernal machines, for purposes of general destruction. He makes his purchases, and sends his infernal machinery to Mr. Richard Roe in England. Mr. Richard Roe succeeds in blowing up the Houses of Parliament or the Bank of England. The proofs are found to be ample, and accordingly the English Government asks that Mr. John Doe be arrested and given up for trial and punishment. Who does not see that, if the arrest were made, there is nothing whatever in the treaty to prevent the release of the prisoner by writ of *habeas corpus*? His freedom would be secured by the simple fact that he had not committed either of the crimes enumerated in the treaty.

But if the conspirator could not be punished under the authority of the extradition treaty, the question still remains, whether the exigencies of the case might not be met by the provisions of municipal law. But here, too, we shall find deficiencies and limitations similar to those in the treaty of 1842. It is doubtful whether the laws either of England or of America afford any adequate means of bringing a conspirator to justice. The absence of such laws from the English statute-books have had ample illustration during the present generation. The circumstances of the Orsini plot are fresh in our memory, and are exactly in point. He had long been preaching a crusade against Austria. Crowds applauded him, and he came finally to think that England was prevented from interceding in behalf of Italy by Napoleon III. His plans therefore demanded the removal of Napoleon. He concocted a plot in London, he bought explosives in Birmingham, he threw his bombs at the imperial carriage in the Rue Lepelletier, and he killed a great number of people. The French Government acknowledged the right of England to give asylum to political offenders; but they asked whether the English Government might not fairly be



expected to prevent the use of English territory for the concocting and maturing of plots for assassination. The answer of the English was in substance: We have no law that will enable us to arrest a man for conspiracy against a foreign Power. The French responded: Then you should frame such a law. Lord Palmerston introduced into the House of Commons the Conspiracy to Murder Bill. Palmerston's Government was one of unusual strength. He had come back from the election of 1857 with all the prestige of a policy triumphant over the "insolent barbarian" in China, added to the prestige of a successful termination of the Crimean War. He was victorious over the most powerful of his political enemies, for Cobden and Bright had both gone down before the tide of Ministerial favour. But now the Government was destined to defeat. No sooner was the Conspiracy to Murder Bill fairly before the House than the newspapers and the clubs everywhere ominously lifted up their voices against it. The consequence was that, when the measure came to a second reading it was found that the tide of opposition was too strong to be resisted. The Government was defeated, and thus a Ministry, one of the strongest since the days of Pitt, was driven from power. Among those who opposed the passage of the Bill are to be found the names of Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone, as well as those of Roebuck and Disraeli.

It is to be said, moreover, that this decision was not at variance with the traditional policy of the English Government and the English people. Everybody knows that London has long been the headquarters of the revolutionists that have been exiled from the Continent. The several conspiracies of Louis Napoleon were there concocted. Associations were there formed to supply men and money to the Polish revolutionists, to Garibaldi, to Hungary, to Greece, to Queen Isabella, to Don Carlos. In 1860, Lord John Russell declared in the House of Commons that at the moment when he was speaking recruiting officers were forming at one place a legion to fight for Victor Emmanuel against the Pope, and at another place a legion to fight for the Pope against Victor Emmanuel. His speech showed unmistakably that England had long been the place where political refugees had been free to plot against the Governments that had driven them into exile. The reason was simply that London was conveniently located for such conspiracy, and that there was no law to enable English officers to arrest conspirators.

When the American Civil War broke out, the deficiencies of English municipal law became conspicuously and painfully apparent. The fitting out of the *Alabama* for the purpose of cruising against the ships of a friendly Power seemed to require some action at the hands of the English Government. The proofs of the intended destination of the vessel were acknowledged by the law officers of the Crown to be ample. But to all the representations of the American Minister Lord John Russell replied steadfastly, that English law furnished no warrant for the detention of the vessel. And in that declaration Lord John Russell was doubtless strictly correct. Until some overt act of hostility had been committed no arrest could be made. It was not until the passage of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 that the English Government was authorized to arrest and detain suspected vessels. But even although this Act removed the particular disabilities



that had proved so embarrassing in 1861, it did almost absolutely nothing more than that. The title of the law shows that it has not the remotest reference to the possible arrest of conspirators against a nation which is not at war. It is simply "an Act to regulate the conduct of Her Majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between foreign States with which Her Majesty is at peace;" and this title shows the exact limitations of the enactment. Moreover, the absence of provision to prevent conspiracy against foreign Powers is observable in subsequent laws. In all the minute and multitudinous provisions of the Explosives Act of 1875, there is probably not a single clause that any court would interpret as justifying the arrest and detention of a conspirator against the Government or the people of a foreign Power. The law of April 10, 1883, amplified and fortified the provisions of the Act of 1875. It provided that explosions which caused loss of life would come under the penalty of murder; that explosions which did not lead to loss of life would come under the penalty of penal servitude for life; that an attempt to cause an explosion would be a felony with twenty years of penal servitude; that any person found with an explosive substance in his possession under a reasonable suspicion that it was for an unlawful object, or if he could not explain that it was for lawful purposes, would be liable to fourteen years of penal servitude; and that any person who solicits money for or advocates the commission of any crime under the Act, is to be treated as a principal. Here, too, there was no provision that could afford any assistance in the prevention of conspiracy against foreigners. In view of this fact, it can hardly be regarded as very singular that one of the Continental journals should take occasion to remark "how differently the English judge of a crime according as it is committed against their own or against a foreign country;" and that another should somewhat spitefully exclaim, that "after having sown the wind of revolution among other peoples, they are now reaping the revolutionary whirlwind among themselves."

But whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the English policy, it certainly has the merit of consistency. Whenever plots against the English Government or against the English people have been revealed it has struck at the conspirators with unmistakable energy. Meantime, it has steadily maintained the doctrine so well formulated by Palmerston in 1853, in regard to conspiracy against foreign Powers. It might be said now with the same truth as it was said thirty years ago, that "the British Government has never undertaken to provide for the internal security of other countries." And so long as this continues to be a good expression of the policy of the British Government, the question will continue to be asked whether the English people are not estopped from complaining that other countries afford shelter for conspirators against Great Britain. It is difficult to see how Sir William Harcourt is any more justifiable in demanding that the dynamite fiends of 1883 shall be "denationalized" as pirates and enemies of the human race, than were Walewski and Persigny in making a similar demand concerning the colleagues of Orsini in 1858. It is at least not easy to see that political motives were more predominantly the inspiration of the one class of conspirators than of the other.



But now, if we turn from a consideration of the laws of Great Britain to an inspection of the laws of the United States, we shall find that, although there are many provisions substantially common to the statutes of both nations, there are also some very striking differences. The first difference to attract our attention is in the much earlier passage in the United States of an energetic Foreign Enlistment Act. While it is true that there was placed on the English Statute Book a Foreign Enlistment Act in the 59th of George III., yet the utter weakness of the enactment was shown both by the inability of the Government to arrest the *Alabama* in 1861, and also by the public declarations of Lord John Russell, above quoted, concerning the prevalence of foreign enlistments. It was not until after the passage of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 that the English Government found itself in position to prevent foreign enlistments, or detain vessels built or equipped for foreign service. But, as already above noted, a Neutrality Act was passed by the Government of the United States within the first year of its existence. This was several times modified, until it took permanent form in the Neutrality Act of 1818. Section 6 of that Act provides for the fine and imprisonment of any person setting on foot within the jurisdiction of the United States any military expedition or enterprise against a friendly power. Other sections of the same Act provide for arrest and punishment of persons engaged in fitting out any vessels, or enlisting for service on any vessel, designed to act against any friendly Power. The only modification it has been thought necessary to give the statute was provided by a slight amendment in 1875, extending its scope by authorizing district courts to take cognizance of all complaints by whomsoever made. But there is a still more important distinction between the American Act and the English than that which relates simply to the matter of priority. While the English Foreign Enlistment Acts of 1819 and 1870, as above noted, are framed to prevent enlistments for service against a belligerent Power with which England might be at peace, the American Acts, on the contrary, have provided for the punishment of persons engaged in setting on foot an expedition against any friendly Power, whether belligerent or not. Open enlistments, for service against a friendly Government, such as those referred to by Lord John Russell as going on in London in 1860, never could have taken place in the United States. It is not easy to see how England, by authority of any Act of Parliament, can prevent the organization on English soil of any military expedition against the United States or France or any other non-belligerent Power. But the statute of 1818 gives ample power of that kind to the Government of the United States; and it has been in the exercise of that power that Fenians have been arrested and punished. Of course the hare has to be caught before it can be cooked. But if the game is once in hand, and the evidence is forthcoming, there is likely to be little difficulty about the other parts of the process.

It might not be easy to show that the collector of explosives and infernal machinery is amenable to the punishments provided for in the American Neutrality Act. That statute was aimed at the particular class of evils which at the time of its passage were thought to tend in the direction of foreign complications. The so-called revolutionary chemists had not yet begun their work. But as soon as nitro-glycerine



and its various compounds had come to be an element of revolution and international disturbance, another statute seemed to be called for. Accordingly in 1868 an Act was passed by Congress making it unlawful for any person knowingly "to transport, deliver, or cause to be delivered on board any vessel," either of the explosives named, except in the manner specially prescribed for in the Act. A fine of not less than \$1,000, nor more than \$10,000, was made the penalty for an infraction of the law—one half to go to the informer; and when death ensues as a consequence of the violation of the Act, the person violating it is to be deemed guilty of manslaughter. It was to this statute that Attorney-General Brewster, by direction of the President, called the attention of all the United States attorneys and marshals in the circular sent to each of them on the 12th of March. The provisions of the Act seemed to be ample; and the command of the President to all United States attorneys and marshals is "to be diligent in your efforts to prevent the offences described, and to detect and prosecute those who have committed, or may hereafter commit, them." Thus it appears not only that our municipal law amply provides for the arrest and punishment of dynamite conspirators, but also that the "due diligence" recognized by the Washington Treaty of 1871 is likely to be fully exercised. The only obstacle in the way of their punishment is the requisite evidence of guilt.

That this obstacle is very great there can be no doubt. The shipping of dynamite is a very different matter from the fitting out of vessels and the enlistment of troops. A military company cannot be brought together, nor can a vessel be built and equipped, without attracting attention. But dynamite enough to destroy a building can be put into a barrel of flour or into a tub of butter. If all the officers in the United States were to devote themselves exclusively to the work of detection, they would still not be able to prevent the shipping of dynamite to England if there is any very prevalent and very persistent effort to do so. There is scarcely a mine in the country in which dynamite is not used, and from which it might not be sent to the other side of the Atlantic in one way or another, in spite of any possible vigilance on the part of American officers. Indeed, a moment's thought is enough to convince one that the only efficient method of warding off the danger is through a concentrated vigilance near the spot where the danger is felt to exist. Even if it could be shown that all the dynamite plots were concocted on American soil it would still remain true that the American Government could not be held bound to exercise more than "due diligence" to prevent them. That the Government will exercise less than "due diligence" there is no probability whatever. But after all is said and done, it will be found that reliance must be placed chiefly upon the municipal law of England, and upon that service of the police which Sir William Harcourt so glowingly eulogized in introducing the Explosives Act of April, 1883.

Americans have had their laugh over the entertaining pages of Sir Lepel Griffin on Democracy in America. Many of the newspapers have copied his sayings, and some of them have indulged in comments nearly as amusing as the words of Sir Lepel himself. Nothing, however, but good-nature has been awakened; and this fact is enough to show that there is no longer any of that sensitiveness to foreign



criticism which was so manifest in the days of Dickens and Mrs. Trollope. It cannot yet be said that the Americans are quite as indifferent to the opinions of foreigners as are the English. The recorded saying of the British squire: "If you don't like the country, blank you, get out of it," has no counterpart in the literature of travel in the United States. We are not only willing to be criticised, but if the criticism is handsomely done, we are willing to pay handsomely for it. We were delighted to give several thousand dollars to Mr. Matthew Arnold for telling us so plainly and gracefully that "numbers" cannot safely be relied upon, and that it is only the "remnant" that we must look to for our political salvation. The country listened with pleasure to what the distinguished author had to say, and is now betaking itself with even more than usual energy to the search for that remnant which he so artistically recommended.

The most thoughtful of Americans do not deny that many of the evils encountered by Mr. Arnold and Sir Lepel Griffin exist, and are to be deplored. But in regard to the causes of the evils and the remedies for them, there are differences of opinion between the typical Englishman and the typical American. The American insists that the evils complained of are not chiefly due to the form and methods of government. Take one or two illustrations. To an Englishman the roads in America seem unendurably bad. One of the last words of advice given by Mr. Freeman to his audience at Cornell University, was, "that they should mend their ways." His other special grievance was that no postman delivered his letters—that he was obliged either to go or to send over a bad road to the post-office. Sir Lepel Griffin declares that hack fares are six times as high in New York as they are in London; and Mr. Arnold observes that a cabman's fee for driving a few squares from a hotel to Central Park in New York was a dollar and a half. All these facts are doubtless annoyances. But to charge them upon our system of government is a manifest absurdity. The elevated roads in New York carry passengers the distance of ten miles for ten cents. The amount of time consumed by a cab in traversing the same distance would be four times as great; the fare demanded twenty times as much; and the discomforts of the passenger would be correspondingly greater. The cabs, therefore, have simply been driven out of existence by the other and superior modes of conveyance. The few that remain linger about the great hotels, and are idle for the most of the day. The only possibility of subsistence is in the large fees they exact from the few people who employ them. If the city government were rigidly to enforce a large reduction of prices, it is certain that even then there would be no very great increase of patronage. The consequence would be that a diminished income would drive the cabmen to other vocations. The simple question is, whether to have the privilege of employing a cabman at a high price, or not to have the privilege of employing him at all. The cab can no more compete with the street car and the elevated road than the English coach can compete with the railway; and so, too, it will be found that criticism of the roads and the mail service are equally wide of the mark. A moment's thought is enough to show that in a sparsely settled country, with an area sixty times the area of England and Wales, a system of postmen is quite out of the ques-



tion. For a postage of two cents the Government undertakes to deliver punctually a letter addressed to any post-office between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Moreover, the mail service is prompt and efficient. The fastest railway trains are those which carry the mails, dropping and taking on pouches day and night along the road while the trains are at full speed. No Government could fairly be expected to do more. Except in towns with more than twelve thousand inhabitants the postal obligations of the service are at an end when the mail is delivered at the post-office to which it is addressed. The roads are indeed bad. But from one end of the country to the other no spot is to be found where they are worse than were the roads in all parts of England in the last century. Did not Lord Hervey write that the roads between Kensington and London had grown so infamously bad that his family lived in the same solitude as they would do if cast on a rock in mid-ocean? Does not Fuller relate that he saw an old lady drawn to church by six oxen; and did not Arthur Young, in the course of his "Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties," have to lift out the chalk wagons stuck in the mud between Billericay and Tilbury? Indeed, the tribulations of English travellers before the time of Metcalf and Telford were much like those of travellers at the present time in the frontier regions of America. It may well be doubted, however, whether even the unfathomable mud of our prairie States ever imposes so many discomforts on the modern traveller as did the road between Tetsworth and Oxford upon Arthur Young a hundred years ago. But, admitting that many of the roads in the newer parts of the country are often in bad condition, we still find that the explanation is easy and sufficient. The soil is deep, and has an obvious affinity for water; and the distances are so great that the methods of Telford and Macadam are commonly impracticable. The evils will pass away with time. It must not be forgotten that there are now twenty-five millions of people occupying territory west of Cincinnati, upon which fifty years ago there were scarcely twenty-five thousand. That the people upon this fraction of the country have already got for themselves nearly or quite fifty thousand miles of railroad is fair evidence of enterprise in "improving their ways."

But what do thoughtful Americans think of the administrative evils that seem to abound? They admit that their cities are ill-governed, and that their civil service is very defective. But there are few who believe that these evils are incurable. With the great majority even of our most intelligent political thinkers there is no lack of hopefulness and confidence. The grounds of their hope are partly theoretical and partly historical. Theoretically, the position is this. It is not easy to believe that an evil can become so great as to threaten destruction without being recognized as an evil by a majority of the people; and when the evil is seen, there is nothing to prevent a majority of the people from taking hold of it with vigorous hands and correcting it. They may at times act blindly; but if they make a mistake, they have only to try some other method.

The people are disposed, moreover, to fit themselves for judging aright in regard to political and social questions. This is shown in the generous provisions that have been made for education. Some of the Western States have managed their school-lands so successfully



that they confidently expect a school fund of from twenty to forty millions of dollars. All excepting the oldest States have land-grant endowments for State universities. One of the largest and most prosperous universities in the country is in a Western State. Agricultural and industrial schools have also been endowed by the setting apart of public lands for their support. Wherever one goes, except perhaps in the very largest cities, the most conspicuous and the most substantial buildings are the school-houses. A city two thousand miles west of New York could be named, which, though perhaps as generally devoted to the mammon of unrighteousness as any in the land, has a public free school building that was economically erected some years ago at a cost of nearly or quite two hundred thousand dollars. Many of the States have enacted compulsory school laws, and although these laws are not very vigorously enforced, they at least show the tread of public opinion. It is upon such means as these that the people rely for that measure of education which will enable them to cope successfully with whatever questions come before them.

The historical grounds of confidence are not less assuring. A people that within a generation has freed several millions of slaves, has put down a rebellion like that in America, has increased its population from 20,000,000 to 60,000,000, has endowed a hundred colleges and a score of universities, has built 70,000 miles of railroad, and has had money enough left to be willing to reduce its national debt at the rate of 132,000,000 dollars a year, can hardly be expected to distrust its own ability. Indeed, it would be singular perhaps if a people with such an education were not somewhat bumptious and chauvinistic. But setting aside all such evidences of national energy and ability as may perhaps be thought to result from material advantages, let us ask whether, even in the management of political matters, there are not some historical grounds of confidence. Let us look for a moment at one phase of political evils that have given thoughtful Americans the greatest anxiety.

The state of our Civil Service a few years ago had come to be a prodigious evil. Perhaps it ought to be said that it is such an evil at the present time. But a survey of the past few years will be enough to show that great changes have taken place, and that a great reform is in progress.

Early in the history of political parties in the State of New York, the principle came to prevail that was finally formulated in the phrase, "To the victors belong the spoils." This policy of giving into the hands of victorious candidates the distribution of political largess in the shape of political offices, was engrafted into the Federal Government in the presidency of Andrew Jackson. It grew to be a national policy, so that gradually it came to be understood that when a new candidate was elected he was to reward all those who had conspicuously aided him, and so far as possible was to punish all those who had conspicuously endeavoured to secure his defeat. Of course it is impossible for the heads of departments at Washington to have personal knowledge in regard to all candidates for office. Candidates for positions in America were recommended by members of Congress, as formerly candidates for positions under the English Government were recommended by members of Parliament. This gave opportunities to Con-



gress men not only to give rewards to their particular friends, but also to promise rewards for particular services. After every presidential election the offices at Washington were besieged with hungry applicants for position. It was estimated a few years ago by Mr. Garfield that a third part of all the working time of members of Congress was consumed with the hearing of applicants for office; with the distributing of rewards for past services, and inducements for services yet to come. Whenever a party in power was thrown out and the opposing party came in, the cry was louder and more general than before. When Mr. Lincoln came to the presidency in 1861 his life was nearly worried out of him by the new applicants for positions. But all the anxieties and the labours of the war exempted him from this unremitting demand upon his time. One of his amusing stories has been often told, as illustrating in his characteristic way the persistency of the office-seeker. There was a senator in Washington distinguished above all his associates as an expert office-broker, whose name, for the purpose of the story, has been called the Hon. Jeremiah Jones. Early and late, when news from the seat of war was most encouraging, and when anxiety was most pressing, the honourable senator was busy pushing forward his claimants for the Post-office and the Custom-house. One day Mr. Lincoln was asked by an old friend to describe to him the routine of his daily employment. He complied with the request, describing minutely what happened to him during the day, and then added: "After all this comes night, and I must think of rest. I think of the brave boys in the field and on the sea, of the aching hearts and praying lips at home. I kneel down and pray too. Then I jump up, look under the bed to see if Jerry is there, and if not, thank God, and bounce in."

This anecdote illustrates very well the principal evil of the system. The injury was not that the service was generally corrupt or inefficient, for such was not the fact; but rather that its baneful influence was everywhere felt on the legislative branch of the Government. It was nothing less than a general system of bribery, by which men were able to climb into legislative power, who, without the aid of the system, would not have been chosen. Nor was this all. When once a senator or representative had gained power by this means, it was only by the same means that he could retain it. From one election to another, therefore, the thoughts and the energies of Congressmen, instead of being devoted to the legitimate work of legislation, had to be expended upon the work of judiciously distributing rewards and inducements. The condition of the service bore a strong resemblance to that of England before the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1853. In one respect the American system was less faulty than the English; in another it was worse. The service itself was not so corrupt; but as there was no permanent tenure of office, and as consequently the number of vacancies was very much greater, the evil influence upon the Legislature was more general and more far-reaching.

In round numbers, it was a hundred years in England before the evils of Walpole's system began to attract any very widespread attention. It was far more than a hundred years before any serious effort was made to sweep those evils away. In America, twenty-five years after Jackson's day were enough to arouse a considerable portion of the



people to an earnest sense of the need of reform. Civil Service Reform Associations sprang into existence in all parts of the country. Of course the politicians heaped every kind of ridicule upon them. One of the chief engineers of the dominant party declared our Civil Service "the best on the planet." Another rang the changes upon the platitude that "there can be no government without party, and no party without machinery." Still another regarded the schemes for reform as the idle visions of those whom he was pleased to ridicule as "the literary fellers." The masses of the office-holders looked upon the proposed innovation much as the late Mr. Anthony Trollope looked upon the similar innovation in England. But in spite of opposition and ridicule the movement went steadily on. Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, one of the most earnest advocates of reform, visited Europe, and, after making a careful study of European systems, published a history of the Civil Service in England. Mr. George M. Curtis, the accomplished editor of *Harper's Weekly* was made President of the New York Association, and, a little later, President of the National Reform League. A newspaper, the *Civil Service Record* was established, the special business of which was to be the calling of attention to the abuses that prevailed and to the bad appointments that were made. Mr. Garfield was one of the most earnest and eloquent advocates of reform. In an address at Williams College he declared that "Congressmen have become the brokers of patronage, and Civil Office has become a vast corrupting power, to be used in running the machine of party politics," that "every man of the 102,000 feels that his only hope of staying is in toadying to those in power, so that the offices are an immense bribe, securing to the party in power an army of retainers who are the most servile of their sort in the world." In his seat in Congress he declared: "We press appointments upon the departments, we crowd the doors, we fill the corridors, senators and representatives through the offices and the bureaus, until the public business is obstructed, the patience of officers is worn out, and sometimes, for fear of losing their places through our influence, they at last give way, and appoint men, not because they are fit for the position, but because we ask for it."

Such were the opinions of Mr. Garfield. The chief engineer of the old party machinery in New York was Senator Conkling. When Mr. Garfield was nominated for President, Conkling insisted that the ticket could not be elected in New York unless it carried also the name of a representative of the other wing of the party. In recognition of his power, Conkling was allowed to name the candidate for Vice-President. He nominated his friend and associate in the machine politics of New York, Mr. Arthur. The result was what might have been foreseen. As soon as Garfield and Arthur were elected, the question at once arose as to the methods to be adopted in making the new appointments. Were the methods of the reformers or the methods of the machine to prevail? The tremendous import of the question is seen in the fact, that thousands of the most important offices in the country depended on the decision. Conkling was imperious and sullen. He demanded nothing short of an absolute adhesion to the old methods. The test came in the appointment to the collectorship of the port of New York—perhaps the most lucrative office in the gift of the President. Mr. Garfield appointed a prominent reformer and opponent of



Mr. Conkling. Thus the issue was fairly joined. The question now was, whether the new administration could fight a winning battle on the ground it had chosen. There were, so to speak, three courts of appeal. The appointment, in the first place, was subject to approval or rejection by the Senate. Conkling determined to bring all the powers of the machine to bear, and to prevent the confirmation. But in this effort he was unsuccessful. To most men this result would have been the end of the battle. But not so with the haughty senator from the Empire State. He took the unprecedented course of resigning his seat in the Senate, and appealing to the Legislature of New York for re-election, he looked in confidence for an approval of his course and a condemnation of the course of the President. The contest was one of unexampled energy and bitterness. Conkling conducted the campaign in person, and received the active assistance—thought to be scandalous at the time—of his friend the Vice-President of the nation. To such desperate measures did the machine resort. It cannot be doubted that it had recourse to every form of corruption known to the most corrupt political machine. But all its efforts were in vain. The balloting continued for weeks; but the supporters of Garfield resisted every allurements, and held their phalanx unbroken. Conkling was at length beaten, and in the impotent rage of defeat was driven into private life.

It is not singular that all over the country those office-holders who were indebted to party intrigue for their position began to look upon the situation with anxiety. During the spring and early summer of 1881 this anxiety was nursed into alarm by the ominous murmurings of public opinion. The machine-drivers finally became desperate, and their desperation culminated in the murder of the President by a persistent and disappointed office-seeker.

It is not necessary to believe that Guiteau had accomplices in his act of desperation. We do not care very much to know whether Jacques Clement, or Ravallac, or Noheling, or Guy Fawkes acted with the knowledge of the leaders whose parties the mad criminals respectively supposed themselves to be serving. It is enough that we are convinced that in every case the act of violence was simply a desperate effort to remove a great obstacle that stood in the way of a great desire. Guiteau had wit enough to learn from the talk in Washington that Garfield was bringing about a political revolution. This idea, combined with his own political disappointments, was enough to drive him to desperation. While it is not conceivable that he cared for the good of the country, it is certain that he was anxious for the good of the machine.

But the machine was not broken; thus far it had simply been scotched. The people as yet had given no decision on the question, for no opportunity as yet had been offered. But the opportunity was not long in coming. The test was afforded at the next election of governor in the very State where the questions of reform and anti-reform had been so long agitated. There was an earnest contest in the local elections preliminary to the nominating convention. The command of the primary meetings, which the machine had long enjoyed, gave the anti-reformers a majority. They had too much wit, however, not to know that the situation demanded the most popular candidate they could put forward. The Chief Justice of the State resigned



his position to take the nomination. He was a man of untarnished career, of unblemished integrity, and of unquestionable ability. The only word to be said against him was that he was the representative of anti-reform. When the election came, he was buried under an opposing majority of 192,000, the largest ever given by any party in any State election. The same verdict was pronounced elsewhere. When Congress had adjourned it was the fashion of members to ridicule all projects of reform. The campaign was conducted in reckless defiance of public intelligence. The result was as startling as it was impressive. The most conspicuous enemies of reform were everywhere dismissed by their constituents from the public service. Such was the verdict of the court of last resort.

When Congress met in December it was evident that they had heard the thunder of the elections. The effect was decisive and instantaneous. The Pendleton Bill for reforming the service, which had received little favour before the recess, was now passed rapidly through its various stages in the Senate, and was carried to the House of Representatives. From the moment Congress had met the question of reform had taken precedence of all others. Bill after Bill had been introduced into the House by members anxious to put themselves on record as advocates of the new doctrine. When the Senate Bill came to the Representatives, it was hurried through the various stages of procedure amid great excitement and applause. What happened was afterwards amusingly described by the President of the National League: "Members who could not laugh loud enough at the ridiculous whim of transacting the public business upon business principles, now tumbled over each other in their breathless haste to make that whim the national policy." The Bill became a law by a vote of 155 ayes to 47 nays. As was also said by Mr. Curtis, "It may well be doubted whether any reform of similar scope and importance even commended itself more rapidly to public approval, or whether any measure could ever more fully justify a confident reliance upon a persistent and reasonable appeal to public opinion."

The Pendleton Bill was framed with the approval of the officers of the League. The Senate Committee, when the measure was under consideration, invited Mr. Eaton to give the committee the benefit of his judgment in regard to some matters of detail. A part of Mr. Eaton's judicious advice was couched in the following words: "I think no law should be passed which would require the application of the system of examinations to the whole service of the Government at once, or even to all that part to which it is legitimately applicable, as I have defined it. It would be too large altogether." This advice was acted upon. The Bill provides for the manner of making subordinate appointments in all the larger offices, and for extending the provisions of the Bill as they may seem to the President to be desirable.

In accordance with the Act, a "Civil Service Commission" was appointed to have general superintendence of the introduction of the new system. At the head of this Commission Mr. Eaton was appropriately appointed. It is now a little more than a year since the Commissioners entered upon their labours, and they have just made public their first annual report. The year has been largely devoted to preparing the rules to be observed in conformity with those



prescribed by Congress, and in putting the system into working order. The system is now in successful operation. The report states that it now governs appointments to 14,000 clerical places. Under the law, it can be extended by simple executive order to other similar places as rapidly as may seem desirable, until it comes to embrace the whole clerical force employed by the Government. Examinations have been held in nearly all of the large cities of the country, and the appointments made under the system in Washington and elsewhere are reported to have proved eminently satisfactory. Several heads of departments who were at first unwilling to adopt the system of examinations, have at length welcomed the services of the Commission as a much-needed relief from the persistent importunities of office-seekers. The system is disappointing nobody, except those politicians who have predicted its failure, and who want to use the offices of the Government as a means of promoting their own selfish purposes. It is but just to the President, moreover, to say that, whether his private opinions have changed or not, he has been officially faithful in giving effect to the law. He could have thwarted the whole measure by simply abstaining from action; but such has not been his policy. Though some of his appointments have provoked the energetic criticism of the reformers, it cannot be denied that on the whole he has been obedient to the demands of public sentiment.

If any further evidence were needed to show the strong hold the reformatory movement has taken upon the people, it would be found in the passage of laws for the reform of the service in several of the larger States. It is a fact full of significance that the Legislature of New York has responded to the public demand, and has placed its Civil Service on a footing similar to that adopted by the Federal Government. The League is said to represent about 70,000 voters in New York alone; a stupendous fact, which neither of the great political parties can afford to ignore or defy. Whether the figures are approximately correct or not, it may be regarded as certain that no Presidential candidate conspicuously opposed to Civil Service reform can carry the election in New York, in opposition to a candidate of the other party, who is conspicuously in favour of reform. One may go further than that, and say that no doubtful record or hesitating utterance will be accepted by the reform party as a sufficient guarantee of good intentions in case of elections. The Independent Republicans have already issued their public declaration on the subject. When it is remembered that the electoral vote of New York is almost indispensable to the success of a Presidential candidate, it will be seen that the bearings of Civil Service reform on the coming choice of candidates is not likely to be overlooked.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

### I.—ORIENTAL HISTORY.

THE most important work that has appeared in this department during the last few months is Mr. Flinders Petrie's "Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh." Mr. Petrie has spent two years in surveying, measuring and otherwise examining the pyramids of Gizeh and their neighbourhood, excavating where it was necessary and living the while on the spot in a deserted tomb. His scientific training, mathematical knowledge, and habits of careful and patient observation all combined to render him ideally qualified for the work he undertook. For the first time we have before us the results of a thoroughly accurate survey of the Great Pyramid; results which will be unpalatable not only to the followers of Professor Piazzi Smyth and the believers in the Pyramid religion but to other theorists as well. More especially Mr. Petrie has brought some powerful and almost convincing arguments to bear against the "accretion" theory first proposed by Professor Lepsius, according to which a pyramid grew round a central core, successive casings of stone marking, like the rings of a tree, successive years in a king's reign. Perhaps the most generally interesting part of Mr. Petrie's volume is that in which he discusses the character of the tools used by the Egyptians of the age of the fourth dynasty, and shows that tubular drills and jewel-points must have been employed by them. Equally interesting are his remarks on the joints of the casing-stones. These joints, with an area of some thirty-five square feet each, though having a mean opening of not more than  $\frac{1}{80}$ th inch, were yet cemented throughout. As he says: "To merely place such stones in exact contact at the sides would be careful work; but to do so with cement in the joint seems almost incredible." The fact is a fresh illustration of the marvellous civilization possessed by the subjects of the Pharaohs five thousand years ago, and of the amount of practical science with which they were then acquainted.

Mr. Petrie has not confined his keen powers of observation to the mechanical and architectural sides of the subject he was investigating. Archæology also has been enriched by them. Thus he has succeeded in determining the name of the builder of the pyramid of Abu-roash by the help of some fragments of a diorite statue which he picked up in a heap of rubbish. In a communication published after the appearance of his book he has also sketched in outline for the first time the periods to which the ancient pottery found in Egypt must be assigned. Whether he has been equally successful in overthrowing the view which sees in the so-called granite temple of the Sphinx an early tomb older than the epoch of the fourth dynasty, is not so clear to the present writer. At all events, the proof that it was



originally built in connection with the second pyramid of Khephren is still wanting, though its utilization by Khephren admits of no question.

Without doubt, parts of Mr. Petrie's work may be supplemented hereafter, but what he has done will never need to be done again, and the Egypt Exploration Fund may be congratulated on having secured his services for the excavation of the ruins of Zoan, the Hyksos capital of Egypt.

I cannot turn away from Egypt without drawing attention to two articles entitled "Sénutile Prophète," by M. Révillout, the well-known Coptic scholar, which have been published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.<sup>\*</sup> Senuti was one of the most remarkable of the men thrown up by the wave of fanaticism that accompanied the establishment of Christianity in Egypt, and his influence upon the history of the Coptic Church was perhaps greater than that of any one else. The son of a fellah of Ekhnâm, he entered upon a life of asceticism at the early age of ten. Brought in consequence by his father to his uncle Pjôl, the reformer of the rule of Saint Pacomius, he was admitted at once into the monastic order, and eventually succeeded Pjôl as head of the monastery. From the very outset of his career he was believed to receive revelations from heaven, and his reputation as a prophet spread over all the eastern part of the Roman world. He accompanied his friend St. Cyril to the Council of Ephesus and there, according to his biographer, materially aided in bringing about the condemnation of Nestorius. After St. Cyril's death he sided with his successor Dioscorus on the monophysite question, as a result of which he was never canonized by the Church at large. Strong, however, in the support of Senuti, the Christians of Egypt remained monophysites in spite of the Council of Chalcedon, and so originated troubles which eventually led to the subjugation of Egypt by the Arabs. Senuti was 109 years of age at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and lived for nine more years afterwards.

The spirit that breathes in his writings is that of Cyril and the monks who murdered Hypatia. He boasts of having "tortured" some of his own monks "until they rolled on the ground half dead," and when one of them died under the blows of his stick, inflicted in a moment of irritation, he sees in his death the hand of God punishing the sinner who had dared to offend himself. It is no wonder, therefore, that he incited the mob to slay and burn alive their pagan brethren, who were still numerous among the educated and richer classes, and to destroy their houses and temples, in spite of imperial prohibitions to the contrary. The "demons," as he called them, were not only pagan, but wealthy, and on this double account were worthy of being exterminated. He prays that the leading man among the Hellenisers of Ekhnâm, whom M. Révillout shows there is good reason for believing to be the famous Nonnus, may have "his tongue bound to his toes," and in this state be thrown into "the abyss;" and his biography states that he had the pleasure of seeing the wish accomplished. Perhaps one of the most striking passages in his sermons is his apostrophe to the sword: "Sword! sword! sharpen thyself and rage! Sharpen thyself and

<sup>\*</sup> viii. 4, 5 (1883).



glow ! Prepare to destroy ; strike, desolate and overthrow everything. . . . The sword is put in the hand that slays ; the hand seizes it ; for it is said : 'The sword is sharpened and it is furbished to give it into the hand of the slayer.' " Such language is instructive in the light of recent events in Egypt. We have only to read Mohammedan and Christian instead of Christian and pagan, and the massacres of Alexandria and Tantah become intelligible. A people who regarded Senuti as the most perfect of Christian saints must have possessed a boundless depth of ferocious fanaticism.

M. Révillout's monograph, which is full of interesting digressions, is based on a biography of Senuti by his disciple Besa, preserved in the Vatican Library, as well as on the writings of the prophet himself, now in the Borgia Museum and the National Library in Paris. The Coptic liturgy also contains a good number of his works, as he is considered a father of the Coptic Church by the Egyptian Christians, and is preferred by them to all other saints. The Paschal services, for example, are all taken from him. M. Révillout hopes soon to publish all these fragments, as well as some others partly to be found in the Bodleian Library, partly brought to Europe by M. Devéria. As he remarks : "They offer a collection of subjects of the most varied kind, and nothing can be more interesting than the study of them to all those who wish to know what Christian and pagan Egypt was in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era."

There is no end to the surprises of cuneiform discovery. A new language must now be added to the many which have already been revealed to us by the decipherment of the cuneiform texts. The western frontier of Susiana was occupied by tribes called Kossæan by the classical writers, and described by them as wild and dangerous. Some of these tribes invaded Babylonia in the sixteenth century before our era, and founded there a dynasty which lasted for several centuries. Some years ago a tablet was found among those brought from the library of Nineveh to the British Museum, which explained the signification of the names of some of the Kossæan kings. Since then a larger and fuller tablet of the same kind has been discovered, and more recently another which gives a list of Kossæan words with their Assyrian equivalents. This has been published for the first time by Professor Fr. Delitzsch, in an interesting little book entitled "Die Sprache der Kossäer." In this he endeavours to fix the geographical and linguistic position of this newly discovered people, and adds at the same time all that we now know about their religion and history.

The same scholar has also brought out a monograph,\* which ought to be in the hands of all Hebrew and Old Testament students. It is intended as an introduction to his Assyrian dictionary, which is shortly to appear, and its object is to criticize the shortcomings of existing Hebrew lexicons, and to point out the value of Assyrian for Hebrew lexicography. Not only the antiquity of the Assyrian monuments, but also the near relationship of the Assyrian language to Hebrew, makes it a much safer guide than Arabic or other Semitic idioms in the endeavour to determine the meaning of obscure Hebrew words. Professor Delitzsch gives many illustrations of the light that it throws

\* "The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research." London : Williams & Norgate.



upon the language of the Old Testament. One of the most generally interesting facts noticed by him is the mention in an old Babylonian hymn of twelve precious stones of transcendent splendour, "enchased in gold and destined to adorn the shining breast of the king." The description reminds us irresistibly of the breastplate of the Jewish high-priest.

A. H. SAYCE.

## II.—NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

MESSRS. CLARK have added to their Foreign Theological Library a translation of the "Methodical Exposition of the Parables of Jesus," by Siegfried Goebel. An English reader will naturally compare the book with the well-known "Notes on the Parables" by Archbishop Trench, and without the least national partiality it is inevitable that he should at once give the palm to the work of the Archbishop. Goebel's treatment of the nature of parabolic teaching is far inferior to that of Dr. Trench in range and suggestiveness; nor is his book at all equal to the "Notes on the Parables"—which appear to be unknown to him—in point of style, interest, or learning. We miss in it the tone of spiritual fervour, and the annotations rich with gems of thought from St. Augustine, Richard and Hugo de St. Victore, St. Thomas Aquinas, and many patristic and mediaeval commentators, which lend so deep an attractiveness to the Archbishop's treatise. We miss also the fine tact, the deep feeling, and the delicate suggestiveness which give to the "Notes" a permanent place in English literature. On the other hand, we may freely concede to the writer that "solid exegesis, sound judgment, and sober skilful interpretation" which Dr. Weiss commends in him.

His definition of a parable is somewhat cumbrous and not very valuable. He says that, "in the first instance, it may be generally defined as a narrative moving within the sphere of physical or human life, not professing to communicate an event which really took place, but expressly imagined for the purpose of representing in pictorial figure a truth belonging to the sphere of religion, and therefore referring to the relation of man or mankind to God." He admits, indeed, that the incidents of the history may be borrowed from actual life. It would be an interesting inquiry, which has never yet been systematically pursued, to consider how far the framework of the parables of our Lord can be traced in the political circumstances, literary forms, and domestic incidents of the times in which they moved. One deeply interesting example of a story adopted from current events and suggested by local surroundings, is the unquestionable allusion to the story of King Archelaus in the parable of the Pounds, delivered not far from Jericho. To this allusion Goebel does indeed very slightly refer, but he makes little use of it for purposes of elucidation. It is not, however, in the direction of historic or literary illustration that his services are chiefly valuable. His characteristic merit is a strong practical sense which shows itself from the first in his remark on the *purpose* of parabolic teaching. "It is," he says, "a purpose lying in the nature of the parables—namely, to present directly to the hearer's view the teaching to be imparted either by exhibiting it in the concrete image (*typical parables*)



or in a symbol taken from the world of nature or man (*symbolic* parables). In the former case, the parable serves the purpose of facilitating the apprehension of the teaching even to feeble powers of intelligence; and in the second case, of convincing even the reluctant will of its truth." He criticizes the opinion that the parable is meant to reveal the truth to the receptive, and to conceal it from the unreceptive. He shows that in the typical parable there is no figurative veil at all, and no one can suppose that the parable of the Good Samaritan (for instance) was meant in any way to *conceal* the duty of loving our neighbour. No one, again, can have mistaken the import of such symbolic parables as the fishing net or the costly pearl. The writer infers that the end of concealment of truth from the unreceptive and impenitent by means of figurative clothing, was only combined with the main end of instruction, when Jesus was speaking in special cases, and before a mixed circle of hearers.

The sound sense of the writer is also shown by the decisive way in which, with a few words, he sets aside untenable views. Thus, in treating of the Ten Virgins he rejects Cremer's notion that the epithet "foolish," as compared with the Hebrew *בְּרָא* suggests any want of modesty. He also sets aside Stier's fancy that these virgins may have been admitted to the feast a little later. The whole treatment of this important parable is marked by independent judgment. He dispenses with all inquiry about what is meant by the oil, lamps, and vessels. The "oil," he says, cannot (as most commentators suppose) mean the Holy Spirit of God, because in the parable it does not appear as a gift, but as a self-procured possession. He places the essence of the parable in its rebuke of the want of self-preparation, not (as most writers do) of the want of perseverance in readiness.

The parable of the Unjust Steward is one which has been subjected to the wildest perversions, from that of the Emperor Julian, who said that it taught dishonesty, to that of those who made the steward's conduct a tardy act of just reparation. Goebel thinks that the steward's object was not a falsification of the bonds, with which the publicity of the transaction does not agree, but an abuse of his power as a steward in a manner which was not just to his master. The general meaning of the parable is that we should regard the ambiguous blessing of Mammon merely as a means for securing God's approbation, and should be guided in its use with a view to His future reward.

In reading this volume the student will find much that is valuable, and the writer's originality will often be suggestive even when it leads him to questionable conclusions. It is no small merit in him that he has thought out each parable for himself.

Dean Goulburn's two volumes, "On the Liturgical Gospels for the Sundays of the Year," is an unpretending but useful book. Its primary object is devotional. The writer designed to furnish devout churchmen with a single holy thought for every day in the year, founded on the Gospel of the day—a thought sufficiently expanded for full comprehension, yet sufficiently compressed to leave the mind something to do for itself. He wishes to promote the duty of *meditating* on the Scriptures as distinct from reading them, and he also hopes that his two volumes may be useful at family prayers. The thoughts are, he tells us, "decoctions of sermons preached at various periods during the last forty years," and writers like Bengel, Bishop Hall, Quesnel,



Isaac Williams, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, and the late Bishop Trower, are freely laid under contribution. He has striven against the tendency to diffuseness, superficiality, and attenuation, and aims at masculine vigour. Probably, however, many readers will find his introductions more useful than the thoughts themselves. These are devoted partly to the development of the context, and partly to an illustration of the varying phases adopted by different English translators from the days of Wyclif down to the Revision of 1881. The volumes are marked by all the piety and clearness of style which are found in the Dean's other books, and they will be welcomed by a large class of readers.

The works of Professor Westcott are, it need hardly be said, of a far higher order, and of far more permanent value than Dean Goulburn's. Three of his works—on "The Historic Faith," on "The Revelation of the Father," and on "The Epistles of St. John"—have recently been published. In the two former of these books the reader will be furnished with a number of fine suggestions, which will repay his closest attention. He will find familiar topics treated in a manner the reverse of familiar. Dr. Westcott cannot say anything commonplace, and remarks which might be commonplace in another writer cease to be so in his pages, because they come with an accent of original thought and of deep sincerity, and in connection with a mode of viewing life which is often more spiritual and less conventional than that of any living writer. Again and again he reminds us of a writer with whom perhaps he has no special sympathy—the late Professor Maurice; but he has greater erudition and a style, which though not easy, is less hard to follow than that of Mr. Maurice. But while general readers may learn from these discourses, Dr. Westcott's edition of "The Epistles of St. John" will be welcomed by all scholars and theologians as the most important contribution to the study of St. John's writings since the treatise of the lamented Eric Haupt, of whom Dr. Westcott speaks with deserved praise. We are glad to find that he holds the view that the First Epistle is probably the latest utterance of divine revelation, and "the final interpretation of the whole series of the divine revelations; and under this aspect it proclaims and satisfies the highest hope of man." It thus completes the continuous unfolding in many parts of the spiritual progress of mankind, of which the Bible is the historic and literary record. Of the value of Dr. Westcott's examination of the text it is needless to speak, for it will be recognized even by those who belong to a different school of textual inquirers. He regards the First Epistle as a pastoral, since it is destitute of all that is local and special, and he also looks upon it as inseparably connected with the Gospel. This, which is a matter of demonstration, adds greatly to the force of the evidence which establishes against all attacks the genuineness of the Gospel also. The Epistle is mainly directed against Ebionism, Docetism, and Cerinthianism—that is, against prevalent forms of error concerning the Person of Christ, which represented Him as merely human, or as phantasmal, or which "severed Jesus"—*i.e.*, disintegrated the man Jesus from the Divine Logos. Dr. Westcott does not, however, feel able to accept the ancient and deeply interesting reading "severs" for "does not confess," in iv. 3; and his reasons, though not convincing,



are entitled to great weight. To the present writer it is encouraging to find that the views of Dr. Westcott are in several important instances identical with those at which he had already arrived in another work; and especially that in alluding to the story of St. John and Cerinthus, Dr. Westcott also remarks, "It is strange that either St. John or Cerinthus should have visited the baths at Ephesus." No one has pointed out with finer insight than Canon Westcott the subtle characteristics of the Apostle's style with its large abstractions and sharp antitheses, and its method of developing ideas by parallelism or by antagonism. He points out how carefully St. John defends himself against the suspicion of introducing novelties, and how he sets before his readers—not propositions about Christ, whose Cross and Resurrection he does not even mention—but the Living Christ Himself for present fellowship. It is not possible here to enter into the many questions suggested in the commentary, but we may call attention to the author's remarks on the title "The Elder" (p. lv.); on Antichrist (p. 69), on the Devil (p. 87), on the apparently harsh direction given in 2 John 11; and to the thoughtful essays which close the volume, especially to those on "The Two Empires—the Church and the World," and on "The Relation of Christianity to Art."

Professor Dickson's Baird Lectures, "On St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit," are a careful examination of St. Paul's psychology, together with a review of the opinions published on the subject by many eminent German theologians. The author considers that the recent treatises of German scholars on the subject are marked by great acuteness and subtlety, but "present a somewhat motley combination of exegesis, criticism, and speculation, dubious methods and incongruous results." He thinks that they have been misled by supposing that St. Paul drew his conception of the terms "flesh" and "spirit" from Greek philosophy, whereas he really drew them from Old Testament usage. He concludes that by "spirit" St. Paul means the divine power initiating and sustaining the Christian life, and by "flesh" neither material substance nor the lower sensuous nature, but the creaturely side of man's nature as contradistinguished from the power of the Divine Spirit in Christ.

In the first number of his "Old-Latin Biblical Texts," Professor Wordsworth gives us a specimen of very thorough labour in the limited but valuable field of research into which he was led in preparing his plans for an edition of the Latin Vulgate. These old Latin texts contain many most interesting variants from the Vulgate and the ordinary texts, and cannot be left out of account in the recent development of Biblical criticism. In this number Mr. Wordsworth examines the St. Germain manuscript (g), now numbered ("Lat. 11553") in the National Library at Paris. He gives us a careful account of the manuscript, and the use hitherto made of it by Martianay, Bentley, Walker, Sabatier, and others: he edits the manuscript itself and gives some estimate of its more remarkable readings. Mr. Wordsworth's labours leave little or nothing to be desired on the grounds of thoroughness, enthusiasm for his subject, and a laborious accuracy which regards nothing as too minute for attention.

F. W. FARRAR.



## III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—Readers of Dr. Busch's previous work on "Prince Bismarck during the War, 1870-1," will give a ready welcome to his new book, which has just been very well translated for us by Mr. Beatty-Kingston.\* They will be to some extent disappointed, for little of the present book is drawn from records of the Chancellor's private conversation, and that little is for the most part confined to materials already published in the earlier work, which the author has freely utilized in the composition of this one. But the book is most interesting and instructive. The author describes it as a series of sketches towards a historical portrait of his master, and his aim is to interpret the policy and character of the latter, especially on certain sides which have suffered from popular misrepresentation. We have separate chapters on Prince Bismarck's moral principles of statesmanship, on his religious views, on the Junker-legend, on his policy towards Austria, towards France, towards the Press, towards Socialism, &c., and every position is supported by copious extracts from the Chancellor's speeches and letters. Dr. Busch is not always successful in establishing the particular conclusion he wishes us to accept, but he certainly dispels some common misapprehensions, and his work will lead all who have paid no more than ordinary attention to German politics to a considerably better understanding of the personality and the public policy of the great statesman whom the author has such exceptional opportunities of knowing. Information of a like sort would be at present invaluable regarding the public men of Egypt, but in the absence of it, the next best thing we can have is the opinion of a keen observer who has been much behind the scenes. Such is the anonymous author of "Khedives and Pashas"† who manifestly writes, as he declares, on what he knows well, and has given us a series of most valuable as well as entertaining sketches of contemporary Egyptian rulers and statesmen. One of the most pleasing is the sketch of Tewfik, of whom the writer has a much more favourable opinion than is usually held. Arabi, again, who is the subject of one of his longest chapters, he represents as the most utterly commonplace man that ever achieved great notoriety. The characters of Ismail, Nubar, Riaz, Sir E. Malet, and others, are all drawn with a strong, free, impartial hand, and the book will be found very readable, and in the present situation of affairs opportunely instructive.—Of all the figures now moving about Egypt none has struck the popular mind more than the lofty and simple character of General Gordon, and it is therefore no matter for surprise that another life of him should make its appearance, smaller in size and meant for a wider public than Mr. Hake's.‡ Mr. Forbes is not personally acquainted with General Gordon, and his little book makes no pretence to be anything more than an abridgment of the

\* "Our Chancellor." By Moritz Busch. London: Macmillan & Co.

† "Khedives and Pashas." By One Who Knows Them Well. London: Sampson Low & Co.

‡ "Chinese Gordon." By Archibald Forbes. London: G. Routledge & Sons.



larger works of Dr. Andrew Wilson and Mr. Birkbeck Hill, with a continuation of the narrative down to date. This may not seem very high work for a writer of the position of Mr. Forbes; still he has not despised the task, and if there are marks of haste here and there, he has done it on the whole sympathetically and well. He has given us a brief, clear, effective story of a remarkable career.—All the books that we have just noticed have been biographies or biographical studies of living men, but they have been called for to meet a public interest which will not be denied such satisfaction in the case of the celebrities it recognises. Our next work, however, is the biography of a living man that has been provoked by no public demand, but has been written and published by the subject of it himself, an eminent London physician, in obedience to a theory that it is "performing a duty incumbent on all to make known experiences, which have been neither few nor unsuccessful, in relation to the science and art of medicine, and may not prove uninteresting in regard to its history."\* Dr. Williams' autobiography is thus meant primarily for the profession, and its technical parts are certainly its most valuable ones. They are also often its most interesting ones, for the general story of the author's life, in which they are set, is rather a dry chronicle, considering the number of interesting people he was thrown among. It is curious to find a modern scientific man of some distinction declaring that he lost £12,000 by a transaction, because he opened the negotiations on a Sunday.—The last addition to Mr. Morley's "English Men of Letters" is Dean Church's Bacon. A fresh estimate of Bacon by a competent hand was required, dealing with the investigations and conclusions of Mr. Spedding and others. The Dean of St. Paul's has sought to be fair and judicial, and while acknowledging the force and ingenuity of much of the pleading in Bacon's favour, has found himself obliged—most reluctantly, he says—to reject that pleading, and to arrive at a judgment more like that of Macaulay. Such a judgment is probably the right and enduring one, and Dr. Church presents it, and indeed his whole story of Bacon's life, with much force and literary felicity.

TRAVEL.—The Travels of the month consist of two books on South America: one, of considerable importance and interest, by Professor Crawford of Dublin, on the Argentine Republic;† and the other of slighter texture, by Messrs. Ulick Burke and Robert Staples, on Brazil.‡ Professor Crawford was engineer-in-chief of an expedition sent out at the instance of the Government of Buenos Ayres to explore and survey the route for the proposed Transandine Railway, and he now describes his experiences in the low country and among the Andes, accompanying the narrative in many cases by excellent drawings, also his own workmanship. His experiences were often exciting and dangerous, and his story never flags. In the appendix he gives us a connected account of the economical and political state of the republic, of which we know too little in this country. The book is a valuable

\* "Memoirs of Life and Work." By Charles J. B. Williams, M.D. London: Smith Elder & Co.

† "Across the Pampas and the Andes." By Robert Crawford, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

‡ "Business and Pleasure in Brazil." By Ulick Ralph Burke and Robert Staples, jun. London: Field & Tuer.



contribution to the literature of the subject. Mr. Burke's can hardly be described in like terms. He went to Brazil in 1882, on a visit of combined business and pleasure, and dutifully kept his wife posted in all his doings by regular letters, and it is these letters he now publishes. Much of the book is perhaps rather trivial for publication; but many phases of things in Brazil come before us in an interesting way.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Dr. Bain collects some of his published essays, and reprints them, along with his rectorial address at Aberdeen, and a new paper advocating the abolition of clerical subscription.\* He thinks subscription useless and unnecessary, and points for proof to the fact that there is much less divergence from a common standard among the English Unitarians, who have no tests, than among the clergy of churches that have them. But this only shows that in a small body the social sanction is more effectual. In another paper Dr. Bain proposes to cure our parliamentary deadlock by suppressing all oral debate, and substituting for it the practice of circulating printed speeches, if speeches they can then be called, among the members, and delivering them to the Press. It may be true that members do not listen much to speeches now, but they would certainly read less of them.—“*Mediaeval Military Architecture*,” by Mr. G. J. Clark (Wyman & Son), is also, in part, a collection of previous contributions to periodicals; but it supplies a distinct want in our literature. The military architecture of the Middle Ages has been almost neglected as compared with the ecclesiastical, and a thorough work on the subject by a careful and well-informed investigator deserves a cordial welcome. The work of Mr. Clark will be found to be a storehouse of wide and exact knowledge on this department of mediaeval architecture, and it goes in detail over many of the famous old keeps and military ruins that still survive.—Mr. Dickson's “*Bible in Waverley*,”† is a volume of much merit and interest. It does for Scott what Dr. Wordsworth does for Shakespeare, and shows not only how very extensive a use was made of the Bible in the composition of the Waverley novels, but how pointed was often the interpretation which the Scriptural passage received as employed by Scott. Mr. Dickson has done his work with good taste and discrimination, and will deepen the impression not only of Sir Walter's familiarity with the Bible, but of his reverence for it.—Dr. Daryl's “*Public Life in England*,”‡ of which a good English translation is now published, consists of a series of letters contributed to a leading Paris newspaper by a Frenchman who had resided ten years in this country. M. Daryl does not touch on the lighter social phases which M. Max O'Rell has described in “*John Bull and his Island*,” but confines himself to the main features of our public life, our parliamentary institutions, our press, our theatres, &c. It is a remarkably good account of the subject, always thoughtful and sensible, written with the charm of style that seems to come by nature to French journalists, and with a general accuracy that seems never to come to them at all.

\* “*Practical Essays*.” By Alexander Bain. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

† “*The Bible in Waverley*.” By Nicholas Dickson. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black.

‡ “*Public Life in England*.” By Philippe Daryl. London: Routledge & Son.

## THE SINS OF LEGISLATORS.

(CONTINUED.)

THE reply to all this will doubtless be that nothing better than guidance by "collective wisdom" can be had—that the select men of the nation, led by a re-selected few, bring their best powers, enlightened by all the knowledge of the time, to bear on the matters before them. "What more would you have?" will be the question asked by most.

My answer is that this best knowledge of the time with which legislators are said to come prepared for their duties, is a knowledge of which the greater part is obviously irrelevant, and that they are blameworthy not seeing what is the relevant knowledge. No amount of the linguistic acquirements by which many of them are distinguished will help their judgments in the least; nor will they be appreciably helped by the literatures these acquirements open to them. Political experiences and speculations coming from small ancient societies, through philosophers who assume that war is the normal state, that slavery is alike needful and just, and that women must remain in perpetual tutelage, can yield them but small aid in judging how Acts of Parliament will work in great nations of modern types. They may ponder on the doings of all the great men by whom, according to the Carlylean theory, society is framed, and they may spend years over those accounts of international conflicts, and treacheries, and intrigues, and treaties, which fill historical works, without being much nearer understanding the how and the why of social structures and actions, and the ways in which laws affect them. Nor does such information as is picked up in the factory, on 'Change, or in the justice-room, go far towards the required preparation.

That which is really needed is a systematic study of natural causation as displayed among human beings socially aggregated.



Though a distinct consciousness of causation is the last trait which intellectual progress brings—though with the savage a simple mechanical cause is not conceived as such—though even among the Greeks the flight of a spear was thought of as guided by a god—though from their times down almost to our own, epidemics have been habitually regarded as of supernatural origin—and though among social phenomena, the most complex of all, causal relations may be expected to continue longest unrecognized; yet in our days, the existence of such causal relations has become clear enough to force on all who think the inference that before meddling with them they should be diligently studied. The mere facts, now familiar, that there is a connection between the numbers of births, deaths and marriages, and the price of corn, and that in the same society during the same generation, the ratio of crime to population varies within narrow limits, should be sufficient to make all see that human desires, using as guide such intellect as is joined with them, act with approximate uniformity. It should be inferred that among social causes, those initiated by legislation, similarly operating with an average regularity, must not only change men's actions, but, by consequence, change their natures—probably in ways not intended. There should be recognition of the fact that social causation, more than all other causation, is a fructifying causation; and it should be seen that indirect and remote effects are no less inevitable than proximate effects. I do not mean that there is denial of these statements and inferences. But there are beliefs and beliefs—some which are held nominally, some which influence conduct in small degrees, some which sway it irresistibly under all circumstances; and unhappily the beliefs of law-makers respecting causation in social affairs, are of the superficial sort. Let us look at some of the truths which all tacitly admit, but which scarcely any take deliberate account of in legislation.

There is the indisputable fact that each human being is in a certain degree modifiable both physically and mentally. Every theory of education, every discipline, from that of the arithmetician to that of the prize-fighter, every proposed reward for virtue or punishment for vice, implies the belief, embodied in sundry proverbs, that the use or disuse of each faculty, bodily or mental, is followed by an adaptive change in it—loss of power or gain of power, according to demand.

There is the fact, also in its broader manifestations universally recognized, that modifications of Nature in one way or other produced, are inheritable. No one denies that by the accumulation of small changes, generation after generation, constitution fits itself to conditions; so that a climate which is fatal to other races is innocuous to the adapted race. No one denies that peoples who belong to the



same original stock but have spread into different habitats where they have led different lives, have acquired in course of time different aptitudes and different tendencies. No one denies that under new conditions new national characters are even now being moulded; as witness the Americans. And if no one denies a process of adaptation everywhere and always going on, it is a manifest implication that adaptive modifications must be set up by every change of social conditions.

To which there comes the undeniable corollary that every law which serves to alter men's modes of action—compelling, or restraining, or aiding, in new ways—so affects them as to cause in course of time adjustments of their natures. Beyond any immediate effect wrought, there is the remote effect, wholly ignored by most—a re-moulding of the average character: a re-moulding which may be of a desirable kind or of an undesirable kind, but which in any case is the most important of the results to be considered.

Other general truths which the citizen, and still more the legislator, ought to contemplate until they become wrought into his intellectual fabric, are disclosed when we ask how social activities are produced; and when we recognize the obvious answer that they are the aggregate results of the desires of individuals who are severally seeking satisfactions, and ordinarily pursuing the ways which, with their pre-existing habits and thoughts, seem the easiest—following the lines of least resistance: the truths of political economy being so many sequences. It needs no proving that social structures and social actions must in some way or other be the outcome of human emotions guided by ideas—either those of ancestors or those of living men. And that the right interpretation of social phenomena is to be found in the co-operation of these factors from generation to generation, follows inevitably.

Such an interpretation soon brings us to the inference that of the aggregate results of men's desires seeking their gratifications, those which have prompted their private activities and their spontaneous co-operations, have done much more towards social development than those which have worked through governmental agencies. That abundant crops now grow where once only wild berries could be gathered, is due to the pursuit of individual satisfactions through many centuries. The progress from wigwams to good houses has resulted from wishes to increase personal welfare; and towns have arisen under the like promptings. Beginning with traffic at gatherings on occasions of religious festivals, the trading organization, now so extensive and complex, has been produced entirely by men's efforts to achieve their private ends. Perpetually Governments have thwarted and deranged the growth, but have in no way furthered it; save by partially discharging their proper function and maintaining social order. So, too, with those advances of knowledge and those



improvements of appliances, by which these structural changes and these increasing activities have been made possible. It is not to the State that we owe the multitudinous useful inventions from the plough to the telephone; it is not the State which made possible extended navigation by a developed astronomy; it is not the State which made the discoveries in physics, chemistry, and the rest, which guide modern manufacturers; it is not the State which devised the machinery for producing fabrics of every kind, for transferring men and things from place to place, and for ministering in a thousand ways to our comforts. The world-wide transactions conducted in merchants' offices, the rush of traffic filling our streets, the retail distributing system which brings everything within easy reach and delivers the necessities of life daily at our doors, are not of governmental origin. All these are the results of the spontaneous activities of citizens, separate or grouped. Nay, to these spontaneous activities Governments owe the very means of performing their duties. Divest the political machinery of all those aids which Science and Art have yielded it—leave it with those only which State-officials have invented; and its functions would cease. The very language in which its laws are registered and the orders of its agents daily given, is an instrument not in the remotest degree due to the legislator; but is one which has unawares grown up during men's intercourse while pursuing their personal satisfactions.

And then a truth to which the foregoing one introduces us, is that this spontaneously-formed social organization is so bound together that you cannot act on one part without acting more or less on all parts. We see this unmistakably when a cotton-famine, first paralyzing certain manufacturing districts and then affecting the doings of wholesale and retail distributors throughout the kingdom, as well as the people they supply, goes on to affect the makers and distributors, as well as the wearers, of other fabrics—woollen, linen, &c. Or we see it when a rise in the price of coal, besides influencing domestic life everywhere, hinders the greater part of our industries, raises the prices of the commodities produced, alters the consumption of them and changes the habits of consumers. What we see clearly in these marked cases happens in every case in sensible or in insensible ways. And manifestly, Acts of Parliament are among those factors which, beyond the effects directly produced, have countless other effects of multitudinous kinds. As I heard remarked by a distinguished professor, whose studies give ample means of judging—“When once you begin to interfere with the order of Nature there is no knowing where the results will end.” And if this is true of that sub-human order of Nature to which he referred, still more is it true of that order of Nature existing in the social arrangements produced by aggregated human beings.

And now to carry home the conclusion that the legislator should bring to his business a vivid consciousness of these and other such broad truths concerning the human society with which he proposes to deal, let me present somewhat more fully one of them not yet mentioned.

The continuance of every higher species of creature depends on conformity, now to one, now to the other, of two radically-opposed principles. The early lives of its members, and the adult lives of its members, have to be dealt with in contrary ways. We will contemplate them in their natural order.

One of the most familiar facts is that animals of superior types, comparatively slow in reaching maturity, are enabled, when they have reached it, to give more aid to their offspring than animals of inferior types. The adults foster their young during periods more or less prolonged, while yet the young are unable to provide for themselves; and it is obvious that maintenance of the species can be secured only by a parental care adjusted to the need consequent on imperfection. It requires no proving that the blind unfledged hedge-bird, or the young puppy even after it has acquired sight, would forthwith die if it had to keep itself warm and obtain its own food. The gratuitous parental aid must be great in proportion as the young one is of little worth, either to itself or to others; and it may diminish as fast as, by increasing development, the young one acquires worth, at first for self-sustentation, and by-and-by for sustentation of others. That is to say, during immaturity, benefits received must be inversely as the power or ability of the receiver. Clearly if during this first part of life benefits were proportioned to merits, or rewards to deserts, the species would disappear in a generation.

From this *régime* of the family-group, let us turn to the *régime* of that larger group formed by the adult members of the species. Ask what happens when the new individual, acquiring complete use of its powers and ceasing to have parental aid, is left to itself. Now there comes into play a principle just the reverse of that above described. Throughout the rest of its life, each adult gets benefit in proportion to merit—reward in proportion to desert: merit and desert in each case being understood as ability to fulfil all the requirements of life—to get food, to secure shelter, to escape enemies. Placed in competition with members of its own species and in antagonism with members of other species, it dwindles and gets killed off, or thrives and propagates, according as it is ill-endowed or well-endowed. Manifestly an opposite *régime*, could it be maintained, would, in course of time, be fatal to the species. If the benefits received by each member of it were proportionate to its inferiority—if, as a consequence, multiplication of the inferior was furthered and multiplication of the superior



hindered, progressive degradation would result; and eventually the species, as a whole, would fail to hold its ground in presence of antagonistic species and competing species.

The broad fact then, here to be noted, is that Nature's modes of treatment inside the family-group and outside the family-group, are diametrically opposed to one another; and that the intrusion of either mode into the sphere of the other, would be fatal to the species either immediately or remotely.

Does any one think that the like does not hold of the human species? He cannot deny that within the human family, as within any inferior family, it would be fatal to proportion benefits to merits. Can he assert that outside the family, among adults, there should not be a proportioning of benefits to merits? Will he contend that no mischief will result if the lowly endowed are enabled to thrive and multiply as much as, or more than, the highly endowed? A society of men standing towards other societies in relations of either antagonism or competition, may be considered as a species, or, more literally, as a variety of a species; and it must be true of it as of other species or varieties, that it will be unable to hold its own in the struggle with other societies, if it disadvantages its superior units that it may advantage its inferior units. Surely none can fail to see that were the principle of family life to be adopted and fully carried out in social life—were reward always great in proportion as desert was small, fatal results to the society would quickly follow; and if so, then even a partial intrusion of the family *régime* into the *régime* of the State, will be slowly followed by fatal results. Society in its corporate capacity, cannot without immediate or remote disaster interfere with the play of these opposed principles under which every species has reached such fitness for its mode of life as it possesses, and under which it maintains that fitness.

I say advisedly—society in its corporate capacity: not intending to exclude or condemn aid given to the inferior by the superior in their individual capacities. Though when given so indiscriminately as to enable the inferior to multiply, such aid entails mischief; yet in the absence of aid given by society, individual aid, more generally demanded than now, and associated with a greater sense of responsibility, would, on the average, be given with the effect of fostering the unfortunate worthy rather than the innately unworthy: there being always, too, the concomitant social benefit arising from culture of the sympathies. But all this may be admitted while asserting that the radical distinction between family-ethics and State-ethics must be maintained; and that while generosity must be the essential principle of the one, justice must be the essential principle of the other—a rigorous maintenance of those normal relations among citizens under which each gets in return for his labour, skilled or

unskilled, bodily or mental, as much as is proved to be its value by the demand for it: such return, therefore, as will enable him to thrive and rear offspring in proportion to the superiorities which make him valuable to himself and others.

And yet, notwithstanding the conspicuousness of these truths, which should strike every one who leaves his lexicons, and his law-deeds, and his ledgers, and looks abroad into that natural order of things under which we exist, and to which we must conform, there is continual advocacy of paternal government. The intrusion of family-ethics into the ethics of the State, instead of being regarded as socially injurious, is more and more demanded as the only efficient means to social benefit. So far has this delusion now gone, that it vitiates the beliefs of those who might, more than all others, be thought safe from it. In the essay to which the Cobden Club awarded its prize in 1880, there occurs the assertion that "the truth of Free Trade is clouded over by the *laissez-faire* fallacy;" and we are told that "we need a great deal more paternal government—that bugbear of the old economists."\*

Vitally important as is the truth above insisted upon, since acceptance or rejection of it affects the entire fabric of political conclusions formed, I may be excused if I emphasize it by here quoting certain passages contained in a work I published in 1851: premising, only, that the reader must not hold me committed to such teleological implications as they contain. After describing "that state of universal warfare maintained throughout the lower creation," and showing that an average of benefit results from it, I have continued thus:—

"Note further, that their carnivorous enemies not only remove from herbivorous herds individuals past their prime, but also weed out the sickly, the malformed, and the least fleet or powerful. By the aid of which purifying process, as well as by the fighting so universal in the pairing season, all vitiation of the race through the multiplication of its inferior samples is prevented; and the maintenance of a constitution completely adapted to surrounding conditions, and therefore most productive of happiness, is ensured.

"The development of the higher creation is a progress towards a form of being capable of a happiness undiminished by these drawbacks. It is in the human race that the consummation is to be accomplished. Civilization is the last stage of its accomplishment. And the ideal man is the man in whom all the conditions of that accomplishment are fulfilled. Meanwhile, the well-being of existing humanity, and the unfolding of it into this ultimate perfection, are both secured by that same beneficent, though severe discipline, to which the animate creation at large is subject: a discipline which is pitiless in the working out of good: a felicity-pursuing law which never swerves for the avoidance of partial and temporary suffering. The poverty of the incapable,

\* "On the Value of Political Economy to Mankind." By A. N. Cumming, pp. 47, 48.



the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many 'in shallows and in miseries,' are the decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence.

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To become fit for the social state, man has not only to lose his savageness, but he has to acquire the capacities needful for civilized life. Power of application must be developed; such modification of the intellect as shall qualify it for its new tasks must take place; and, above all, there must be gained the ability to sacrifice a small immediate gratification for a future great one. The state of transition will of course be an unhappy state. Misery inevitably results from incongruity between constitutions and conditions. All these evils, which afflict us, and seem to the uninitiated the obvious consequences of this or that removable cause, are unavoidable attendants on the adaptation now in progress. Humanity is being pressed against the inexorable necessities of its new position—is being moulded into harmony with them, and has to bear the resulting unhappiness as best it can. The process *must* be undergone, and the sufferings *must* be endured. No power on earth, no cunningly-devised laws of statesmen, no world-rectifying schemes of the humane, no communist panaceas, no reforms that men ever did broach or ever will broach, can diminish them one jot. Intensified they may be, and are; and in preventing their intensification, the philanthropic will find ample scope for exertion. But there is bound up with the change a *normal* amount of suffering, which cannot be lessened without altering the very laws of life.

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"Of course, in so far as the severity of this process is mitigated by the spontaneous sympathy of men for each other, it is proper that it should be mitigated; albeit there is unquestionable harm done when sympathy is shown, without any regard to ultimate results. But the drawbacks hence arising are nothing like commensurate with the benefits otherwise conferred. Only when this sympathy prompts to a breach of equity—only when it originates an interference forbidden by the law of equal freedom—only when, by so doing, it suspends in some particular department of life the relationship between constitution and conditions, does it work pure evil. Then, however, it defeats its own end. Instead of diminishing suffering, it eventually increases it. It favours the multiplication of those worst fitted for existence, and, by consequence, hinders the multiplication of those best fitted for existence—leaving, as it does, less room for them. It tends to fill the world with those to whom life will bring most pain, and tends to keep out of it those to whom life will bring most pleasure. It inflicts positive misery, and prevents positive happiness."—*Social Statics*, pp. 322–5 and pp. 380–1 (edition of 1851).

The lapse of a third of a century since these passages were published, has brought me no reason for retreating from the position taken up in them. Contrariwise, it has brought a vast amount of evidence strengthening that position. The beneficial results of the survival of the fittest, prove to be immeasurably greater than those above indicated. The process of "natural selection," as Mr. Darwin called it, co-operating with a tendency to variation and to inheritance of variations, he has shown to be a chief cause (though not, I believe, the sole cause) of that evolution through which all living things, beginning with the lowest and diverging and re-diverging as they evolved, have reached their present degrees of organization and adaptation to their modes of life. So familiar has this truth become



that some apology seems needed for naming it. And yet, strange to say, now that this truth is recognized by most cultivated people—now that the beneficent working of the survival of the fittest has been so impressed on them that, much more than people in past times, they might be expected to hesitate before neutralizing its action—now more than ever before in the history of the world are they doing all they can to further survival of the unfittest!

But the postulate that men are rational beings, continually leads one to draw inferences which prove to be extremely wide of the mark.\*

"Yes truly; your principle is derived from the lives of brutes, and is a brutal principle. You will not persuade me that men are to be under the discipline which animals are under. I care nothing for your natural-history arguments. My conscience shows me that the feeble and the suffering must be helped; and if selfish people won't help them, they must be forced by law to help them. Don't tell me that the milk of human kindness is to be reserved for the relations between individuals, and that Governments must be the administrators of nothing but hard justice. Every man with sympathy in him must feel that hunger and pain and squalor must be prevented; and that if private agencies do not suffice, then public agencies must be established."

Such is the kind of response which I expect to be made by nine out of ten. In some of them it will doubtless result from a fellow-feeling so acute that they cannot contemplate human misery without an impatience which excludes all thought of remote results. Concerning the susceptibilities of the rest, we may, however, be somewhat sceptical. Persons who, now in this case and now in that, are angry if, to maintain our supposed national "interests" or national "*prestige*," those in authority do not promptly send out some thousands of men to be partially destroyed while destroying other thousands of men whose intentions we suspect, or whose institutions we think dangerous to us, or whose territory our colonists want, cannot after all be so tender in feeling that contemplating the

\* The saying of Emerson that most people can understand a principle only when its light falls on a fact, induces me here to cite a fact which may carry home the above principle to those on whom in its abstract form it will produce no effect. It rarely happens that the amount of evil caused by fostering the vicious and the good-for-nothing can be estimated. But in America, at a meeting of the State Charities Aid Association, held on December 18, 1874, a startling instance was given in detail by Dr. Harris. It was furnished by a county on the Upper Hudson, remarkable for the ratio of crime and poverty to population. Generations ago there had existed a certain "gutter-child," as she would be here called, known as "Margaret," who proved to be the prolific mother of a prolific race. Besides great numbers of idiots, imbeciles, drunkards, lunatics, paupers, and prostitutes, "the county records show two hundred of her descendants who have been criminals." Was it kindness or cruelty which, generation after generation, enabled these to multiply and become an increasing curse to the society around them? [For particulars see "The Jukes: a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and Heredity." By R. L. Dugdale. New York: Putnams.]



hardships of the poor is intolerable to them. Little admiration need be felt for the professed sympathies of people who urge on a policy which breaks up progressing societies; and who then look on with cynical indifference at the weltering confusion left behind, with all its entailed suffering and death. Those who, when Boers asserting their independence successfully resisted us, were angry because British "honour" was not maintained by fighting to avenge a defeat, at the cost of more mortality and misery to our own soldiers and their antagonists, cannot have so much "enthusiasm of humanity" as protests like that indicated above would lead one to expect. Indeed, along with this sensitiveness which they profess will not let them look with patience on the pains of "the battle of life" as it quietly goes on around, they appear to have a callousness which not only tolerates but enjoys contemplating the pains of battles of the literal kind; as one sees in the demand for illustrated papers containing scenes of carnage, and in the greediness with which detailed accounts of bloody engagements are read. We may reasonably have our doubts about men whose feelings are such that they cannot bear the thought of hardships borne, mostly by the idle and the improvident, and who, nevertheless, have demanded thirty-one editions of "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," in which they may revel in accounts of slaughter. Nay, even still more remarkable is the contrast between the professed tender-heartedness and the actual hard-heartedness of those who would reverse the normal course of things that immediate miseries may be prevented, even at the cost of greater miseries hereafter produced. For on other occasions you may hear them, with utter disregard of bloodshed and death, contend that in the interests of humanity at large it is well that the inferior races should be exterminated and their places occupied by the superior races. So that, marvellous to relate, though they cannot think with calmness of the evils accompanying the struggle for existence as it is carried on without violence among individuals in their own society, they contemplate with contented equanimity such evils in their intense and wholesale forms when inflicted by fire and sword on entire communities. Not worthy of much respect then, as it seems to me, is this generous consideration of the inferior at home which is accompanied by unscrupulous sacrifice of the inferior abroad.

Still less respectable appears this extreme concern for those of our own blood which goes along with utter unconcern for those of other blood, when we observe its methods. Did it prompt personal effort to relieve the suffering, it would rightly receive approving recognition. Were the many who express this cheap pity like the few who patiently, week after week, and year after year, devote large parts of their time to helping and encouraging, and occasionally amusing, those who, in some cases by ill-fortune and in other

cases by incapacity or misconduct, are brought to lives of hardship, they would be worthy of unqualified admiration. The more there are of men and women who help the poor to help themselves—the more there are of those whose sympathy is exhibited directly and not by proxy, the more we may rejoice. But the immense majority of the persons who wish to mitigate by law the miseries of the unsuccessful and the reckless, propose to do this in small measure at their own cost and mainly at the cost of others—sometimes with their assent but mostly without. More than this is true; for those who are to be forced to do so much for the distressed, often equally or more require something doing for them. The deserving poor are among those who are burdened to pay the costs of caring for the undeserving poor. As, under the old Poor Law, the diligent and provident labourer had to pay that the good-for-nothings might not suffer, until frequently under this extra burden he broke down and himself took refuge in the workhouse—as at present it is admitted that the total rates levied in large towns for all public purposes, have now reached such a height that they “cannot be exceeded without inflicting great hardship on the small shopkeepers and artisans, who already find it difficult enough to keep themselves free from the pauper taint;”<sup>\*</sup> so in all cases, the policy is one which intensifies the pains of those most deserving of pity, that the pains of those least deserving of pity may be mitigated. In short, men who are so sympathetic that they cannot allow the struggle for existence to bring on the unworthy the sufferings consequent on their incapacity or misconduct, are so unsympathetic that they can, without hesitation, make the struggle for existence harder for the worthy, and inflict on them and their children artificial evils in addition to the natural evils they have to bear!

And here we are brought round to our original topic—the sins of legislators. Here there comes clearly before us the commonest of the transgressions which rulers commit—a transgression so common, and so sanctified by custom, that no one imagines it to be a transgression. Here we see that, as indicated at the outset, Government, begotten of aggression and by aggression, ever continues to betray its original nature by its aggressiveness; and that even what on its nearer face seems beneficence only, shows, on its remoter face, not a little maleficence—kindness at the cost of cruelty. For is it not cruel to increase the sufferings of the better that the sufferings of the worse may be decreased?

It is, indeed, marvellous how readily we let ourselves be deceived by words and phrases which suggest one aspect of the facts while leaving the opposite aspect unsuggested. A good illustration of

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Chamberlain in *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1883, p. 772.



this, and one germane to the immediate question, is seen in the use of the words "protection" and "protectionist" by the antagonists of free-trade, and in the tacit admission of its propriety by free-traders. While the one party has habitually ignored, the other party has habitually failed to emphasize, the truth that this so-called protection always involves aggression; and that the name aggressionist ought to be substituted for the name protectionist. For nothing can be more certain than that if to maintain A's profit, B is forbidden to buy of C, or is fined to the extent of the duty if he buys of C, B is aggressed upon that A may be "protected." Nay, "aggressionists" is a title doubly more applicable to the anti-free-traders than the euphemistic title "protectionists;" since, that one producer may gain, ten consumers are fleeced.

Now just the like confusion of ideas, caused by looking at one face only of the transaction, may be traced throughout all the legislation which forcibly takes the property of this man for the purpose of giving gratis benefits to that man. Habitually when one of the numerous measures thus characterized is discussed, the dominant thought is concerning the pitiable Jones who is to be protected against some evil, while no thought is given to the hard-working Brown who is aggressed upon, often much more to be pitied. Money is exacted (either directly or through raised rent) from the huckster who only by extreme pinching can pay her way, from the mason thrown out of work by a strike, from the mechanic whose savings are melting away during an illness, from the widow who washes or sews from dawn to dark to feed her fatherless little ones; and all that the dissolute may be saved from hunger, that the children of less impoverished neighbours may learn lessons, and that various people, mostly better off, may read newspapers and novels for nothing! The error of nomenclature is, in one respect, more misleading than that which, as we see, allows aggressionists to be called protectionists; for, as just shown, protection of the vicious poor involves aggression on the virtuous poor. Doubtless it is true that the greater part of the money exacted comes from those who are relatively well-off. But this is no consolation to the ill-off from whom the rest is exacted. Nay, if the comparison be made between the pressures borne by the two classes respectively, it becomes manifest that the case is even worse than at first appears; for while to the well-off the exaction means loss of luxuries, to the ill-off it means loss of necessities.

And now see the Nemesis which is threatening to follow this chronic sin of legislators. They and their class, in common with all owners of property, are in danger of suffering from a sweeping application of that general principle practically asserted by each of these confiscating Acts of Parliament. For what is the tacit assumption on which such Acts proceed? It is the assumption that no man has any claim to his property, not even to that which he has



earned by the sweat of his brow, save by permission of the community; and that the community may cancel the claim to any extent it thinks fit. No defence can be made for this appropriation of A's possessions for the benefit of B, save one which sets out with the postulate that society as a whole has an absolute right over the possessions of each member. And now this doctrine, which has been tacitly assumed, is being openly proclaimed. Mr. George and his friends, Mr. Hyndman and his supporters, are pushing the theory to its logical issue. They have been instructed by examples, yearly increasing in number, that the individual has no rights but what the community may equitably over-ride; and they are now saying—"It shall go hard but we will better the instruction," and over-ride individual rights altogether.

Legislative misdeeds of the classes above indicated are in large measure explained, and reprobation of them mitigated, when we look at the matter from afar off. They have their root in the error that society is a manufacture; whereas it is a growth. Neither the culture of past times nor the culture of the present time, has given to any considerable number of people a scientific conception of a society—a conception of it as having a natural structure in which all its institutions, governmental, religious, industrial, commercial, &c. &c., are inter-dependently bound—a structure which is in a sense organic. Or if such a conception is nominally admitted, it is not believed in such way as to be operative on conduct. Contrariwise, incorporated humanity is very commonly thought of as though it were like so much dough which the cook can mould as she pleases into pie-crust, or puff, or tartlet. The communist shows us unmistakably that he thinks of the body politic as admitting of being shaped thus or thus at will; and the tacit implication of many Acts of Parliament is that aggregated men, twisted into this or that arrangement, will remain as intended.

It may indeed be said that even irrespective of this erroneous conception of a society as a plastic mass instead of as an organized body, facts forced on his attention hour by hour should make every one sceptical as to the success of this or that proposed way of changing a people's actions. Alike to the citizen and to the legislator, home-experiences daily supply proofs that the conduct of human beings baulks calculation. He has given up the thought of managing his wife and lets her manage him. Children on whom he has tried now reprimand, now punishment, now suasion, now reward, do not respond satisfactorily to any method; and no expostulation prevents their mother from treating them in ways he thinks mischievous. So, too, his dealings with his servants, whether by reasoning or by scolding, rarely succeed for long: the falling short of attention, or punctuality, or cleanliness, or sobriety, leads to



constant changes. Yet, difficult as he finds it to deal with humanity in detail, he is confident of his ability to deal with embodied humanity. Citizens, not one-thousandth of whom he knows, not one-hundredth of whom he ever saw, and the great mass of whom belong to classes having habits and modes of thought of which he has but dim notions, he has no doubt will act in certain ways he foresees, and fulfil ends he wishes. Is there not a marvellous incongruity between premises and conclusion?

One might have expected that whether they observed the implications of these domestic failures, or whether they contemplated in every newspaper the indications of a social life too vast, too varied, too involved, to be even vaguely pictured in thought, men would have entered on the business of law-making with the greatest hesitation. Yet in this more than in anything else do they show a confident readiness. Nowhere is there so astounding a contrast between the difficulty of the task and the unpreparedness of those who undertake it. Unquestionably among monstrous beliefs one of the most monstrous is that while for a simple handicraft, such as shoe-making, a long apprenticeship is needful, the sole thing which needs no apprenticeship is making a nation's laws!

Summing up the results of the discussion, may we not reasonably say that there lie before the legislator several open secrets, which yet are so open that they ought not to remain secrets to one who undertakes the vast and terrible responsibility of dealing with millions upon millions of human beings by measures which, if they do not conduce to their happiness, will increase their miseries and accelerate their deaths?

There is first of all the undeniable truth, conspicuous and yet absolutely ignored, that there are no phenomena which a society presents but what have their origins in the phenomena of individual human life, which again have their roots in vital phenomena at large. And there is the inevitable implication that unless these vital phenomena, bodily and mental, are chaotic in their relations (a supposition excluded by the very maintenance of life) the resulting phenomena cannot be wholly chaotic: there must be some kind of order in the phenomena which grow out of them when associated human beings have to co-operate. Evidently, then, when one who has not studied such resulting phenomena of social order, undertakes to regulate society, he is pretty certain to work mischiefs.

In the second place, apart from *à priori* reasoning, this conclusion should be forced on the legislator by comparisons of societies. It ought to be sufficiently manifest that before meddling with the details of social organization, inquiry should be made whether social organization has a natural history; and that to answer this inquiry, it would be well, setting out with the simplest societies, to see in

what respects social structures agree. Such comparative sociology, pursued to a very small extent, shows a substantial uniformity of genesis. The habitual existence of chieftainship, and the establishment of chiefly authority by war; the rise everywhere of the medicine man and priest; the presence of a cult having in all places the same fundamental traits; the traces of division of labour, early displayed, which gradually become more marked; and the various complications, political, ecclesiastical, industrial, which arise as groups are compounded and re-compounded by war; quickly prove to any who compares them that, apart from all their special differences, societies have general resemblances in their modes of origin and development. They present traits of structure showing that social organization has laws which over-ride individual wills; and laws the disregard of which must be fraught with disaster.

And then, in the third place, there is that mass of guiding information yielded by the records of legislation in our own country and in other countries, which still more obviously demands attention. Here and elsewhere, attempts of multitudinous kinds, made by kings and statesmen, have failed to do the good intended and have worked unexpected evils. Century after century new measures like the old ones, and other measures akin in principle, have again disappointed hopes and again brought disaster. And yet it is thought neither by electors nor by those they elect, that there is any need for systematic study of that law-making which in bygone ages went on working the ill-being of the people when it tried to achieve their well-being. Surely there can be no fitness for legislative functions without wide knowledge of those legislative experiences which the past has bequeathed.

Reverting, then, to the analogy drawn at the outset, we must say that the legislator is morally blameless or morally blameworthy according as he has or has not acquainted himself with these several classes of facts. A physician who, after years of study, has gained a competent knowledge of physiology, pathology and therapeutics, is not held criminally responsible if a man dies under his treatment: he has prepared himself as well as he can, and has acted to the best of his judgment. Similarly the legislator whose measures produce evil instead of good, notwithstanding the extensive and methodic inquiries which helped him to decide, cannot be held to have committed more than an error of reasoning. Contrariwise, the legislator who is wholly or in great measure uninformed concerning these masses of facts which he must examine before his opinion on a proposed law can be of any value, and who nevertheless helps to pass that law, can no more be absolved if misery and mortality result, than the journeyman druggist can be absolved when death is caused by the medicine he ignorantly prescribes.

HERBERT SPENCER.



## THE HISTORICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS' COMMISSION.

**I**T is not often that appeals to history are of much practical value. The modern mind is singularly impatient of them. It believes in its own power of managing its own affairs and determining its own issues; and a writer or speaker who based an argument for modern practice or for modern belief upon the usage or the opinions of a thousand years ago would simply invite ridicule.

To this prevailing attitude of mind there is one great exception. Almost all the communities which bear the name of Christian base their practices and their beliefs upon the practices and the beliefs of early Christian times. The historical churches claim direct continuity with those times. The communities which at various periods have established themselves side by side with the historical churches for the most part rest their claim to attention upon the alleged fact that they preserve some primitive practice or belief in a more perfect form than other communities. And within the historical churches themselves there are periodical recurrences of an appeal to antiquity on behalf of some usage or some principle which is considered to be in danger of being lost or obscured. The Reformation was an appeal to antiquity on a gigantic scale. The Church of England exists as an institution, separate from Latin Christendom, by virtue of such an appeal. Professedly basing its doctrines and its organization upon Scripture, it bases them in fact upon early interpretations of Scripture and early institutions which are conceived to be in harmony with Scripture. Its great divines have given to this appeal to antiquity an elaborate form. Forced into an apologetic attitude by the accusation of schism, they have so successfully thrown their strength into the endeavour to prove against the Church of Rome that history is on their side, that some of their opponents have been known to

abandon their position and to assert that "the appeal to history is a heresy."

Within the last fifty years the historical argument has been used in the Church of England not only as a weapon of defence against the Church of Rome, but also as a weapon of attack in internal controversy. The movement which began in 1834 has been a succession of appeals to history. The appeals have been for the most part one-sided. The Evangelical and Liberal parties within the Church of England have produced many enthusiastic preachers and several suggestive writers, but they can scarcely be said to have produced any great theological scholars. The result has been that the party which was once called "Tractarian," but which may perhaps be better designated by the more significant term "Sacerdotal," has been thought, on the whole, to have made good its ground. It has, at any rate, claimed the victory with such unflinching and plausible pertinacity that it speaks every day to a wider circle of sympathetic followers, and that large numbers even of persons who have no special interest in the points in dispute have come to acquiesce in the opinion that, whatever may be said of reason and of Scripture, at least Christian antiquity is in favour of its main contentions. In the meantime the claims of that party have by no means diminished. The general acceptance of the sacramental theory being taken for granted, other parts of the sacerdotal system, which forty years ago were ignored or kept in the background, are brought into prominence; the weakness of the opposition in earlier stages of the controversy has given ground not only for confident assertion but for sanguine hope; and that which not long ago was a struggle for tolerance is fast becoming a struggle for supremacy.

The sanguine hope with which this struggle is made is indicated by the nature of the position which it attempts to force. The contention is for the inherent and absolute right of the Church of England to self-government. The ground of that contention is almost entirely historical. The appeal is made not only to antiquity but to what is asserted to be an uninterrupted series of historical facts. It is alleged not only that Jesus Christ created a society with divine rights over which the secular power cannot, from the very nature of the case, have any control, but also that that society has existed for eighteen centuries as a visible and actual institution, side by side with various and successive forms of civil government, often borrowing from them their coercive powers over men's bodies, and always allowing them large powers of regulation in matters external and indifferent, but always and inherently independent of them in regard to that which constitutes its essence, in its beliefs, its sacraments, and its discipline. Of this society it is assumed that the Church of



England is a part, and that, being a part, it has whatever rights in relation to the civil government are possessed by the society as a whole: it has been a practical application of this assumption that some members of that Church have been ready to go to prison rather than submit to what they conceived to be encroachments of the civil power upon the spiritual domain. The particular encroachment to which exception was taken was the interference of a court which is nominally ecclesiastical, but which is alleged to be actually secular, with a question of ritual. The leaders of the sacerdotal party, apparently thinking that the subject was ripe for discussion, supported the "martyrs" in their resistance, and left no stone unturned to arouse public attention to the fact that they were "martyrs for conscience sake." A Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the ecclesiastical courts, as being the chief causes of grievance, and that Commission, possibly travelling beyond its proper limits, has entered into the wider subject of the history of the relation of civil to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and has drawn from that history some important deductions, which are apparently alleged as the basis of the recommendations which are offered for future legislation.

The general question is thus fairly raised. The Report of the Commission has been not inaptly described as "An epitome of the claims of Sacerdotalism" (*Edinburgh Review*, January, 1884, p. 253). But although it can hardly be said to be impartial, it at least does this service that it rests the determination of the question on the appeal to history. Its arguments consequently admit of investigation, and although the Report has already served as the text of two articles in these pages, there seems to be room for a further inquiry into the ultimate grounds on which it rests, viewed as matters not of theory but of ascertainable historical fact.

The result of the appeal which the Commissioners make to Christian antiquity is formulated in the proposition that—

"in the historical growth of ecclesiastical judicature three principles are involved: (1.) The existence of an ecclesiastical law independent of, and, in modern States, anterior to the national secular law; (2.) The acceptance by the nation of that law, so far as it is of general obligation, as the law of religion of the National Church; and (3.) The annexation, by the nation, to the sentences of the law so accepted, under varying limitations, of the coercive power by which alone the sentences can be enforced upon the unwilling" ("Report," p. xvi.).

Of these alleged principles the most important is the first; the other two would, in a national or established church, flow logically from it. In proof, or at least apparently in proof, of it, the Commissioners have published not only a summary of historical facts drawn up by themselves ("Report," pp. xiv.-li.), but also a series of historical appendices, for some of which, whatever may be thought of their

value as evidence, students of history cannot help being grateful. But it is to be noted as a point of great significance that the array of historical facts by which they justify their general deduction as to the existence of an independent ecclesiastical law in national churches are, with the exception of a few "early illustrations of the relation of Church and State," taken from the history of the Middle Ages and subsequent times. If the Commissioners had not been persons who were altogether above the suspicion of disingenuousness, it might have been thought that these facts had been purposely adduced in order to draw away the attention from the real point at issue. For the required proof lies not in the facts which are adduced but in those which are assumed. The demonstration that such and such usages or beliefs prevailed in the Middle Ages would not be generally allowed to afford an argument for modern practice. The force of such a demonstration, assuming it to be made, is in the assumption which underlies it, that what prevailed in the Middle Ages prevailed from the beginning. In other words, even if it be allowed that the Commissioners prove their point in regard to the Middle Ages, they are not thereby warranted in drawing a general inference as to the relations of ecclesiastical to secular law. But that they do so is clear not only from the terms of their proposition, but also from the still more explicit language of Bishop Stubbs in the first of his Historical Appendices, in which the language of the first of the "three principles" is "more fully stated thus:—There is in the Church of Christ an organized system of belief, morals, and internal self-government, common in every material point to the whole body of Christians, and whether viewed as a system of divine authority or of consensual mechanism, an integral part of primitive historical Christianity" (p. 22).

This is consequently the point which requires a fuller investigation than, as far as their published evidence goes, the Commissioners appear to have given it. Is it or is it not true, as a matter of history, that in the several communities which at various times have borne the name, or claimed to be parts, of the Church of Christ, there has been and is an ecclesiastical law independent of the national secular law, or in the more explicit words of Bishop Stubbs, "an organized system of belief, morals, and internal self-government?" The issue may be raised in a still more convenient form by putting side by side a recent resolution of the great representative body of the sacerdotal party, and a memorandum which has been published by one of the most distinguished of English lawyers:

"The English Church Union herein views with satisfaction the recognition by the Commissioners of the inherent right of the spirituality to determine questions concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church." (Resolution reported in the *Guardian*, January 30, 1884, p. 164.)



Lord Coleridge, who was himself a Commissioner, submitted to the Commission, and has since published, the following as the first of a series of propositions :—

"That where the State grants or permits public position or public privilege or the holding of property in mortmain to the members or the officers of any religious body, it follows that the State must have authority over the doctrines and practices of the body to which it grants or permits such position and privilege and such holding of property." (Communicated to the *Guardian*, January 2, 1884, p. 21.)

In determining which of these contradictory views is supported by history, it is of course necessary to distinguish at the outset between the period before and the period after Constantine. In the former period the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular law can hardly be said to have existed, at least in the sense in which the terms have been used in subsequent times. The Christian communities received or framed their own terms of association. They had a common aim and acted on common principles, but there is no evidence of their having had a common body of rules. In matters of discipline each community seems to have been at liberty to act for itself. The machinery for enforcing discipline was of the simplest. It is that which is inherent in all voluntary associations. Any one, whether he were an officer or an ordinary member, who broke the rules, was liable to be suspended or expelled. The action was that of the majority. Even in St. Paul's days, and when the Apostle had sent a strong injunction to deal with an offender in a specified manner (1 Cor. v. 3-7), the majority of the community at Corinth took upon itself the responsibility of dealing with that offender in a different manner, of which St. Paul subsequently expressed his approval (2 Cor. v. 11). From the nature of the case there could be no appeal to the civil power, inasmuch as no civil rights were touched. The expelled officer of a Christian community was for all civil purposes what he had been before. It was impossible for the civil courts to take cognizance of the fact that his former associates no longer either prayed with him or dined with him. Nor was the case altered when a dispute arose between one community and another. A community in Asia Minor might give formal notice to a community in Italy that it declined henceforth to admit its travelling members to hospitality or to honorary privileges. The "excommunication"—that is, the renunciation of fellowship of one community by another, was no more a matter for the cognizance of the Emperor than the refusal of a society in London to continue to admit to temporary and honorary privileges the travelling members of a society in Paris would be a ground for action in an English court.

But as soon as a Christian community began to have property, the intervention of the State became both possible and actual. The

governing case is that which is mentioned by the Commissioners ("Report," p. 13), of a bishop of Antioch, in the middle of the third century, who was sentenced by a Synod to deposition and excommunication for having taught one of the forms of heresy which are now known under the general name of Monarchianism. He declined to accept the verdict of the Synod, and remained in possession of the church buildings. At length, on a favourable opportunity, an appeal was made to the heathen Emperor Aurelian, who, assuming that the buildings were held in trust for Christian purposes, interpreted Christianity to be the doctrine taught as such by the bishops of Italy, and ejected the bishop for having confessedly taught what the bishops of Italy disallowed.

Now, upon the theory of the inherent right of the Christian communities to govern themselves, this state of things would have continued even after Christianity was recognized and protected by the State. The communities would have continued to hold or to frame their own terms of association and their own terms of union, to appoint or dismiss their own officers, and to lay down their own rules for the discipline of their members, the interference of the State being only admitted when property or civil rights were involved. In the opinion of many persons this was actually the case. They conceive the Christian communities to have formed a single association, and they regard the "union" of that association with the State as an alliance of two equal and independent societies, each of them gaining by the support of the other, but each of them also continuing to move on a different plane, the one dealing only with "the things that are Cæsar's," and the other with "the things that are God's."

With such a theory the facts of history are altogether inconsistent. It is not until the Christian communities acted in concert with the State that there is any evidence of their having combined as a single body for united action, or of their having had either common rules of discipline or a common formula of belief. Nor is this a mere accident of time. In each of these respects the influence of the State can be distinctly traced. In consolidating the Christian communities, as for a time they were consolidated, into a visible unity, and in the creation for that unity of both a common code and a common creed, it pleased God to act through the existing forces of society and through the machinery of civil government.

1. Not only is there no evidence that before the time of Constantine the aggregate of Christian communities acted in concert for any common purpose, but there is direct evidence that it was the intervention of Constantine which brought about their confederation. For he brought together representatives of the several groups of communities, first at Arles and afterwards at Nicæa; and it was not until they were so brought together that they made the rule, which was



the basis of confederation, that they should recognize each other's disciplinary action, and that the formal exclusion of a member from a single community should involve his exclusion from the whole of the combined communities. The term "*ecclesia catholica*" came in Roman law to have a definite denotation. It was applicable only to those communities which formed part of the general confederation. The bond which was thus forged was also made indissoluble. Like a "free and sovereign State" which has once joined the American Union, a community which had once joined the confederation of Christian Churches could not afterwards withdraw from it. Within less than a century after the confederation had been formed the question of the right of withdrawal was formally raised, and formally decided by the State in the negative. The Churches of North Africa found fault with the majority of the confederate Churches on grounds very similar to those on which, in the sixteenth century, many churches of Western Europe objected to the Church of Rome. They alleged that those churches were too lax in their terms of communion, and, without changing either their organization or their creed, they claimed the right to exist for the future independently. But the State declined to allow the claim. The seceding Churches, or Donatists as they were termed, argued that the matter was outside the cognizance of the State; but the State was too strong for them, and it visited adherence to what was called their "schism" with the penalty of death. The arguments have since changed sides. They are now used by the party which the Donatists opposed to prove the positions for which the Donatists contended; but the fact remains and cannot be evaded that the great society whose traditions they profess to continue, and with whose supposed modern representative they wish the State to have no concern at all, owes, if not its existence, at least its unity and its universality, to the fact that the State used against would-be seceders from it the *ultima ratio* of the sword.

2. In legislation for the confederation of communities thus formed, for the "*ecclesia catholica*," that is to say, of the Civil Law, the State had the initiative. Individual communities, and separate groups of communities, might hold meetings and make rules of discipline for themselves, but all legislation by and for the whole body took its origin in the action of the State. It was the Emperor who, on his own authority, convoked the only meetings at which legislation was possible. Those meetings, "*œcumenical councils*" as they are termed, consisted of persons whom the Emperor designated, to the exclusion of persons whom he refused or omitted to summon. They assembled on days and at places which he appointed. He or his commissioners regulated the conduct of business; and although the members were allowed to deliberate and to pass resolutions, the validity of those resolutions depended upon the emperor's ratification.

of them. For each of these facts there is ample evidence ; and the force of that evidence is strengthened rather than weakened by the devices which have sometimes been adopted to evade it. In addition to thus possessing and exercising the right of initiating legislation through œcumenical councils, the Emperors had and exercised an admitted right of legislating directly on points of discipline in precisely the same way as they legislated on matters of taxation or of property. In the Civil Law, as it has come down to us, the Emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries put their hand upon almost every part of the ecclesiastical order. They lay down precise rules as to the qualifications of those who are to be ordained. They disallow ordinations, and limit their number. They punish bishops who make too free a use of the weapon of excommunication. They order clerks to take their proper part in church services. They even interfere with the celebration of the Eucharist, by forbidding it in private houses. Nor was their interference confined to general legislation ; they both interfered in particular cases, and, what is still more important, their interference was requested. For instance, in A.D. 385, Pope Siricius complained to the Emperor Maximus that one Agricius had been appointed presbyter in Gaul in violation of church rules. The Emperor referred the question to a meeting of Gallican bishops. The instance is the more noteworthy, because the Emperor's words contain an expression of the principle upon which he acted. The investigation of the facts and the adjudication upon them was entrusted to the neighbouring bishops, as being best acquainted with the ecclesiastical usage and civil law which bore on the particular case ("ut iisdem residentibus et cognoscentibus quid habeat consuetudo, quid legis sit, judicetur" *Epist. Maximi in the Concilia Gallie*, ed. Sirmond. i. p. 25). This was in entire harmony with Roman customs. The Emperor left the decision of a question which required special knowledge to experts. Their authority to hear and determine the case proceeded from him ; their action was free in the sense in which the action of any specially constituted commission is free ; they could only do what they were commissioned to do by the authority which constituted them ; and to that authority they were of necessity responsible. Nor was it otherwise with cases of heresy. There is a "pious opinion" that the Church, acting through its own higher officers, proceeded in such cases to summon a council of bishops, and that the decision of the majority of the bishops must be taken as the voice of the Church, or even, as some have thought, of the Holy Ghost. But an examination of some of the undisputed documents which remain dispels the illusion. The State both selected the persons who should constitute the court, and gave them their authority to decide. For example, towards the end of the fourth century, an Illyrian bishop named Palladius, and



one of his presbyters named Secundianus, were accused of Arianism. They denied the charge, alleging that their language was in entire harmony with that of the Nicene fathers. Both they and their accusers agreed in requesting the Emperor Gratian to summon a council to decide between them. Palladius claimed to be heard in a general council, at which bishops from all parts of the world would be present, and the Emperor was at first willing to summon such a council; but Ambrose begged him not to do so, and his intervention was so successful, that in the end, only thirty-two selected Western and African bishops were brought together. Against such a court Palladius protested; but his protest was unavailing. After what was rather an altercation than a trial, the charge of Arianism was alleged to be proved, and he was sentenced to be deposed from office. It is difficult to regard a society as being independent, and as having "an inherent right of self-government," whose officers are liable to be put on trial and removed by a body of persons who, even if they be members of the society, are selected *ad hoc* and constituted into a court by an external and irresponsible power. (The official record of the case of Palladius will be found in Mansi's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 602).

3. The State had an enormous influence on the formation of doctrine. Without taking account of the fact that sometimes the Emperors themselves promulgated doctrines and anathematized those who declined to accept them, as though they had a concurrent right with the churches in the matter of doctrine (*καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ αἱ πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίαι*, "both We and the churches everywhere," were the words of Zeno in issuing the "Henoticon"), or of the fact that by excluding certain persons from the councils at which doctrines were formulated they prejudiced the decisions of such councils, there is the fact which is frequently ignored, but upon which it would be difficult to lay too much stress, that the State recognized excommunication, and attached to it civil penalties. The effect of this action on the part of the State was to crush minorities, and to render the free expression of opinion on the part of the members of the churches impossible. Whatever party at any meeting had a majority on any particular question was able by the help of the State to coerce its opponents. In most civil matters, and in free communities, the minority of one period tends to be the majority of another. Opinions as a rule work slowly, and "minorities always win." But when the temporary majority has the power not only of silencing its opponents at the time, but also of thrusting from office, and of punishing with imprisonment or death any who afterwards assert their agreement with such opponents, a body of opinion is created and crystallized, against which it is almost impossible to struggle with success. The history of the later phases of more than one of the

great doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries is the history of the unsuccessful struggle of a minority which had once been a majority, and which had a fair prospect of becoming a majority again, against the coercion of the State. It may no doubt very properly be contended that in the providence of God the "secular arm" was the instrument by which the truth was preserved. But the fact that it was the secular arm which did so preserve the truth can hardly be disputed. For example, at the council which the younger Theodosius summoned at Ephesus in A.D. 449, the majority supported the theory as to the One Nature of Christ, which had been put forth by Eutyches. The death of the Emperor, and the accession of his sister Pulcheria, who had been on the side of the minority, changed the balance of power. Another council was summoned, which met at Chalcedon, and in which the theory of Eutyches was condemned; and the imperial decrees which followed that council menaced the Eutychians with confiscation and exile, deprived them of their ecclesiastical positions, and made their teaching penal. But supposing that the support of the State had continued to be given to the decisions of the Council of Ephesus, and that the Council of Chalcedon had never been held, there is strong reason for believing that in that case the theory of Eutyches, instead of being scouted as heretical, would have formed part of the dominant creed of at least the churches of the East. If it be considered how firmly the Eutychians held their ground in spite of the imperial decrees against them, and if it be also considered that only a small proportion of mankind feel themselves called upon to act the part of martyrs for their belief, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, if Pulcheria and her husband Marcian had not interfered, the definitions of the Council of Chalcedon would never have furnished phrases for the Athanasian creed.

It would be almost an abuse of language to speak of a society which was formed in the way, and which existed under the conditions which have been described, as independent or self-governed. Not only the original formation of the confederation but also its subsequent consolidation was due, if not to the sole action of the State, at least to its co-operation. Without that co-operation the aggregate of Christian communities would not have had either their present rules of discipline or their present formulæ of belief; nor is there adequate ground for supposing that they would have had any common rules or common formulæ at all. For in that case the disintegrating forces of self-will and heresy would have had no sufficient check, and being, as they are, inherent tendencies of human nature, unceasingly at work within the Christian, as within other communities, they would, in the absence of a check, have rendered even the semblance of "visible unity" impossible. It was no doubt in the con-



sciousness of this fact that the majority of the Christian communities, so far from resisting the co-operation and control of the State, accepted and even welcomed it. The conceptions of the Church as a power distinct from the State and overshadowing it, and of ecclesiastical law as separate from civil law and independent of it, were not yet formulated. Those conceptions arose out of a new state of things. For with the decline of the Western Empire the relations of the Christian communities to the State underwent inevitable change. The State was no longer the pillar of the faith, and the penal laws against heresy tended to fall into desuetude. It was consequently natural that appeals to the State for either legislative or executive action should become less frequent. The combined communities had to fall back more and more upon their own resources. But by this time the rules of discipline which had at various times been recognized and sanctioned were sufficiently numerous to form a short code of law; the definitions of doctrine which had been laid down by the great councils exhausted for the time all the more important points of controversy; the members of orthodox communities formed so large a proportion of civilized mankind that formal exclusion from their society was a strong deterrent, even though civil penalties had ceased to follow it. The churches had thus a less and lessening need of the support of the civil power; they were strong enough to walk alone.

Upon this state of things supervened the formation of the great Teutonic kingdoms in Italy and Gaul and Spain. Except among the Franks and after the conversion of Clovis, the religion of the dominant race in these kingdoms, so far as it was Christian at all, was at first Arian. If the orthodox churches asked the support of the State in those kingdoms, they ran the risk of obtaining decisions favourable not to themselves but to their heretical opponents. It was therefore natural that they should take their stand on the past and be satisfied, for the most part, with the collections of disciplinary rules which had begun to be formed by putting together and translating into Latin the canons of the general councils and of some local councils of Asia Minor. Of these collections several are extant; those which were first printed by Justeau and Quesnel belong in all probability to the latter part of the fifth century, and that of Dionysius Exiguus to the beginning of the sixth. They do not materially differ from one another except in length, some collections including the canons of a larger number of councils than others. They form the basis of the later Canon Law, and they probably also form the ground of the conception with which the Commissioners deal of "an ecclesiastical law independent of, and in modern States anterior to, the national secular law." But they are wholly inadequate to support any such statement. They were neither

universally accepted nor accepted as a whole. They were private documents, and as such had no binding authority. Their adoption, so far as they were adopted, was merely a sagacious expedient, in a time of disintegration and change, for securing some uniformity of faith and practice. For, contrary to an hypothesis which is often advanced, so long as this attempt to dispense with the co-operation of the State lasted, the churches of a nation had no cohesion. The bishops of that which had once been a Roman province—small bodies of eight or twelve persons—held meetings and agreed upon local rules. But this state of things was temporary and transitional; and there are strong grounds for thinking that it was also a failure. The conversion of Reccared from Arianism to Catholicism was hailed by the West-Gothic Churches as the signal for reverting to the old state of things, and for seeking again the co-operation of the civil power. Reccared at once summoned a great meeting of bishops and magnates, and proceeded to legislate about both faith and discipline. This meeting is the more remarkable because its effects remain to the present day. The form of what the Articles of the Church of England term the "Nicene" Creed, and the use of that creed in the liturgies of that and other Western Churches, are due to the action of this West-Gothic meeting. Its procedure is, therefore, the more noteworthy, and a careful study of it will tend to dispel many illusions as to the "*Noli me tangere*," which has been supposed to be the constant utterance of the Church to the State. The king not only summoned the meeting, but presided at it. He began by appointing a three days' fast; he produced the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople; and in the latter the famous "*filioque*" clause was for the first time authoritatively inserted. The fact that it was so inserted, and that its insertion is not an accidental error of the manuscripts, is proved by the fact that one of the twenty-three anathemas which the meeting appended to the creed specially relates to it. The creed so set forth was subscribed to not only by all the bishops, but by all the lay magnates of the kingdom. The king afterwards, by his own authority ("*nostra, deo supplex, instituere decrevit auctoritas*"), orders the creed to be recited at every celebration of the Holy Communion; and to make it clear that this is his doing, and not that of the sacerdotal element in the meeting, he adds, as an injunction to that sacerdotal element, "*To all the canons which are to be added by your Holiness to the ecclesiastical rules prefix this, which, God teaching us, our serenity has decreed concerning the setting forth of the creed.*" (The full record of this meeting, which is known as the Third Council of Toledo, will be found in all the collections of councils—*e.g.*, Mansi, ix. 977; also, with omissions, in Bruns i. 210, 393.)

It would be difficult to call this the "self-government" of a



National Church. The king went to a mixed Parliament, and propounded a slightly varied form of creed. He required not only that it should be assented to at the moment, but also that it should be habitually recited at the church services. If it be said that this was a usurpation, and not the legitimate exercise of an acknowledged right, there are the patent facts in disproof of such a theory, not only that the king's action was welcomed by the assembled bishops at the time, but also that it has been accepted for thirteen centuries by the concurrent voice of Western Christendom, and that it is endorsed by every clergyman who recites the Communion office, whether in the Church of England or in the Church of Rome.

Nor does the control of the civil power over both doctrine and discipline diminish as we approach the threshold of the Middle Ages. For a time, no doubt, in the weakness of the monarchy at the close of the seventh century, the churches of the Frankish domain were left very much to themselves. But they were at the same time going to ruin. If the monarchy was weak, the churches were weaker. The coercive power which the State had used against heresy had ceased to exist, and heresies abounded. The clergy, who were, on the one hand, well endowed, and, on the other, subject to no effective control, shared in the current decay of morals as well as of faith. Every bishop and almost every presbyter did that which was right in his own eyes; and the results may be read in the letters which a few years later Boniface addressed to the Pope and the Pope to Boniface. The history of that time is a very instructive lesson of what may happen to a Church when left to itself, unless the State has previously consolidated it into a strong unity, and unless also that unity is preserved by some external bond. But the State at length interfered, to prevent a collapse of the whole ecclesiastical system. Its interference was due to the suggestion of a great churchman, Boniface, the "Apostle of the Germans;" it was welcomed by Pope Zachary, and some of its beneficial results remain to the present day. But the measures of reform which were resolved upon were the resolutions of parliaments, in which the laity as well as the spirituality took part, and which not only dealt with discipline, but also enjoined the use of a creed and condemned a heretic. When Charles the Great came to power he took even stronger measures, and dealt even more decidedly with belief as well as with practice. Sometimes he legislated through the machinery of a mixed Parliament of clergy and laity, sometimes he issued edicts on his own authority. He was as supreme in ecclesiastical as he was in secular affairs, and he dealt as freely with the creed as he did with organization, re-stating and re-enacting the one, and re-arranging and re-constituting the other. To make certain that his measures were carried into effect, he repeatedly sent commissioners into various parts of his dominions

with power to inquire into ritual, into doctrine, and into discipline, to amend what needed amendment, and to bring what could not be so amended to the knowledge either of the Emperor or of the "Count." On one point he laid constant and especial stress, that the clergy should know the creed, and that they should use the Catholic and not the Arian formula in baptism. Not only did he repeatedly enjoin this on his commissioners, but towards the end of his life, he wrote to the archbishops of his empire requiring them to satisfy him by letter or in person that they taught the true formula, and baptised after the true rite. Instead of rebelling against this interference of the civil power, the churchmen of the time accepted it as normal. In his letters to Charles, Pope Leo III., thanks God for what the Emperor has done, and expresses the belief that his good works will win for him "the eternal joys which God gives to His saints."

The detailed history of the relation of Charles to the Church would be beyond the limits of these pages. The documents which afford the material for it are numerous and accessible (in the "*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*," as edited by either Pertz or Boretius, and in the "*Monumenta Carolina*" of Jaffé). They show that beneath a series of administrative and legislative measures, which were so vigorous as to have sometimes been called arbitrary, there was a clearly-defined policy. The weakness of the Church in Merovingian times had been its want of cohesion, and the consequent decay of both faith and discipline. The policy of Charles was to strengthen the fabric by insisting on the subordination of presbyters to bishops, of bishops to metropolitans, and of all to the Emperor. Out of that policy arose the whole system of the mediæval church: and it is surprising to find that the system of the mediæval church is so seldom viewed in relation to its immediate origin. The success of the policy depended on the personality of the Emperor, and the story of its failure is not less instructive than the fact of its first adoption. That failure was part of the general failure of the institutions of the Carolingian Empire. Under Charles's successor, Lewis the Pious, the empire fell into grievous disorder. Its size was unwieldy. The strong arm which had formed and controlled it had passed away. Disorder followed upon disorder, and distress was both chronic and general. The old Teutonic feeling that the gods showed their resentment for neglect by the scourges of devastation and famine, began to revive in a Christian form. It was urged upon the pious Emperor that the material amendment of the Empire required as its necessary preliminary a reformation of the relations between it and the Church. The Church must no longer be the servant of the State but its lord. The theory of the supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power was for once in the way of being realized. The Council of Paris in



829 adopted the view which later mediæval writers never ceased to urge, which seems to have been first expressly formulated in a letter, or pretended letter, of Pope Gelasius, and which was afterwards put into the mouth of Constantine, that the power of princes was as inferior to the power of priests as the sphere of human things is to the sphere of the divine. But the remedy was of no avail. A contemporary chronicler who records its failure attributes it to the merely political character of the movement: the Emperor's party were making use of the Church merely to gain their own ends: "*Moliebantur humana, idcirco minus procurata sunt divina*" ("*Vita Walæ*," ii. c. 4). The state of the Empire grew worse rather than better. The pious Emperor was driven for a time from his throne. When he was restored again he summoned fresh councils which re-enacted the abortive laws in favour of the Church. A new failure followed. The death of Lewis and the contentions of his sons brought the Empire to a still lower state. The rebellion of the Bretons, the raids of the Northmen, the general impoverishment of the land, and the consequent degradation of freemen to the status of vassals, made the misery almost universal. But all these misfortunes were regarded as accumulated proofs of the continued wrath of heaven against those who had oppressed, or insufficiently honoured, the Church. The clergy, assembled in synod, begged the Emperor to exert his power that so "the ecclesiastical order might recover its proper force in whatever matters it is necessary for that order to make use of strictness for the salvation of men" (Council of Juditz in A.D. 844, c. 6, in Pertz *M. G. H.* iii. p. 383). Inside the church there was discord and disorder. The power of the metropolitans, which Charles the Great had done his best to strengthen, in the interests no less of faith than of order, was becoming a great engine of oppression against the bishops and clergy. The political dissensions of the time raised up a host of accusers, who from political motives used the machinery of the church courts to procure the ejection of disaffected bishops from their Sees. Appeals to the Emperor in such cases were obviously vain. The great offices of the church throughout the Empire threatened to become the mere spoil of the party in power.

It was at this crisis that a new force appeared in ecclesiastical controversy. It purported to be a collection of conciliar decrees and letters of Roman bishops from apostolic times. A large part of it was genuine, the rest consisted of documents constructed with wonderful skill to bear upon the controversies of the time, and so ingeniously interwoven with the genuine part that the forgery was undetected until the fifteenth century. The aim of the compiler was no doubt beneficent. It was to transfer the pivot upon which the ecclesiastical system turned from the metropolitans and the

Emperor to the Roman See. Probably at the time no better solution of the difficulties of the situation could have been conceived; and it had, at any rate, whatever justification is afforded by success. The Roman See had for some time past been a general arbiter and referee; it now became the recognized head of an organized system of judicature. These pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, as they are generally termed, guard the trial of bishops and clergy with elaborate guarantees, and put into the mouths of more than a dozen Popes the rule that no definitive sentence can be passed on a bishop without the sanction of the Roman See. This was the historical beginning of that enormous change in ecclesiastical judicature which distinguishes the Middle Ages from earlier Christian times. The system which the Decretals advocated of giving the Roman See a direct voice in all "*majores causæ*," and in all accusations against bishops, was incorporated into the collections of Burchard, Ivo, Anselm of Lucca, and finally of Gratian; it thus became part of the body of Canon Law which was accepted by every country of Western Christendom. It was this possession of a common body of law, and of a single living and supreme interpreter of that law, and the recognition by the civil power, though not always without a struggle, of the decisions of that supreme interpreter, which more than anything else linked together the churches of Western Christendom into a great confederation, and which gave to that confederation the semblance of a unity and a universality which at the time almost justified its members in arrogating to themselves the exclusive use of the ancient designation "*The Holy Catholic Church*."

For the Church of England that artificial connection with the continental churches which came of a common law and a common judicial system exists no longer. What was the status of the Church of England when that bond of connection was broken, is a question which deserves more consideration than Anglican divines commonly give to it. It is open to the Roman Church to contend that by breaking that bond the Church of England forfeited its membership of the confederation, and that in the meantime it is not a branch of the "*Catholic*" Church at all. On the supposition that the unity of the Church of Christ is a visible unity of organization, it is difficult to see how such a contention can be met. The assumption of the sacerdotal party within the Church of England appears to be, that, although repudiated by the rest of the confederate churches, although the ecclesiastical status of its officers is not recognized nor its members admitted to communion, it is, for all that, still one of the group of institutions to which the term "*Catholic Church*" is applicable, and that it has an unbroken continuity of historical life with the institution which, under the same name, though under different conditions, existed before the Reformation. This assumption appears



to be adopted by the Royal Commissioners. The whole argument of the elaborate Historical Appendix (i.) is based upon it. The fact of the absence of any discussion of the grounds of the assumption is at least noteworthy; but such a discussion, however necessary from the point of view of the Commissioners, need not be entered upon here. For the historical argument of the present article is not affected by it, but is equally valid whether the present Church of England is or is not in direct continuity with the churches of the early and Middle Ages. The conclusion of that argument is that Lord Coleridge's proposition is true, not merely as a maxim of jurisprudence, but as a fact of the history of all the great Christian communities since the time of Constantine. So far from those communities having had and exercised an inherent right of self-government, self-government has been a rare and disastrous exception. The darkest years of Christian history in Western Europe are the last half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries; they were the years at which, through the weakness of the civil power, its influence upon the churches was at its lowest point. So far from their having been independent of the civil power, that power has been the means by which God has not only given to the Christian communities an external form and unity, but also shaped for them their discipline and their doctrine. The Church of the fourth century was what it was by virtue of the facts that the Emperors summoned the representatives of scattered communities to general assemblies, that they gave to the decisions of those assemblies the force of law, that they crushed minorities by penal enactments, and that they punished schism with death. The Western Church of the earlier Middle Ages was what it was by virtue of the facts that the Carolingian princes rescued it from disintegration, that they enacted its laws and prescribed its doctrines, and that they ruled its bishops with a rod of iron. The Church of England is what it is by virtue of the fact that certain parliaments of the sixteenth century, sometimes with and sometimes without the approbation of the clergy, put an end to appeals to Rome, constituted a new judicature, and imposed on the members of the Church a particular ritual, a particular discipline, and a particular form of doctrine. In doing this, those parliaments did only what had been done before; and a modern English Parliament which should deal no less freely with judicature and discipline, with ritual, and even with doctrine, would therein be acting upon those lines of long historical precedent which ultimately merge into the lines of admitted right.

The truth is that, in spite of their professed appeal to historical precedent and continuity, the real claim of the sacerdotal party is to go back to the condition of things which existed before the State meddled with the Christian communities at all. This is sometimes expressly asserted. But it is difficult to believe that those who would

thus revive that pre-Constantinian Arcadia are alive to the full consequences of their wish. If the Church of England could so roll back the course of history, and, giving up all that it owes to the State, be what a Church was in the third century, it would not be the Church of England of to-day, merely minus its wealth and its Crown nominees and its "lay tribunals;" it would cease to be a single body, and would be only a mass of congregations which might or might not agree to act together; it would have neither parishes, nor provinces, nor metropolitans; it would have no common rules of discipline, or common order of ritual; and, what is far more important, not having any common formula of belief, the officers of its communities would have to meet again in assembly, as the officers of the communities of the fourth century met at Nicaea, to agree upon a creed. All this is of course impossible; but nothing less than this would be involved in giving back to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's in the constitution, the order, and the beliefs of the present Church of England.

From that irrecoverable past it is the part alike of statesmen and of churchmen to turn to the living present. If a church cannot be at once historical and free, neither can it be at once historical and unprogressive. New conditions of both thought and life, and the new problems which they suggest, call upon us in our time, as they called upon men in days gone by, to preserve ancient institutions by adapting them to their new environment. And herein the lessons of the last fifteen centuries are as helpful as they are clear. They are chiefly that the great Christian communities, like all great communities and like the great world itself, are best governed by a system of checks and counterpoises. To abandon the control which the English nation has hitherto exercised over the English Church would be, not to continue history but to cut adrift from it; to readjust the machinery of that control so as to make the greatest of national institutions respond more closely to the pulsations of the national life, would be to render one of the most beneficial services which a statesman could render in our time to religion and to society.

EDWIN HATCH.



## LONDON CENTRALIZED.

UNITY of government is as advantageous to a city as to a nation, and no better proof of the fact can be afforded than the experience of the evils arising from the want of unity in the metropolis. It is hard to tell the price London pays for its disunity, which has retarded improvements, diminished efficiency, and increased cost in every branch of local service.

To begin with its sanitary administration. The sanitary requirements of an urban district are generally—first, arrangements for subsoil drainage to relieve the supersaturated sites of the suburban lands; next, arrangements for the general drainage of the houses; and then special arrangements for their separate sewerage. In the examinations instituted by the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission, of which I was a member, we found that cases of ague and fever always increased among the population with the prevalence of easterly winds blowing over the metropolis from the marshes of Kent and Essex, or of fogs aggravating the effect of the excessive smoke of the city. We found that fevers and diseases of the zymotic class were most frequent on the supersaturated sites of houses on the lower levels, and we found that these houses were generally ill-drained and the sewers generally sewers of deposit. The duty of providing and maintaining the primary works of sewerage for the whole of the metropolis was then divided among eight independent commissions (*i.e.*, counting the extensive jurisdiction of the City corporation as equivalent to one) and the functions of these various commissions chiefly consisted in the repair of old sewers, the extension of new ones to new buildings, and the sanctioning of junctions of drains from houses, with whose internal formation, as a system, they had nothing to do. The commissioners were

usually tradesmen, or other persons of the social rank to which vestrymen commonly belong. They were never men of any position or note in science themselves; and their chief officers were, with one exception, architects engaged in private practice, to which their public service was very subordinate in importance, and whose knowledge of hydraulics may be seen displayed in their examinations, or in their practice of draining houses by means of drains that were as capacious as chimneys, and might each serve for the requirements of several hundred houses.

Under an administrative organization of this sort, which distributed the field of service among separate and independent commissions, it was utterly impossible for that service to be carried on according to any systematic plan, even if the commissions had been composed of the best materials and provided with a staff of officers of special scientific competency. The several commissions had each its own work to engross its attention, and besides, they could not separately do the general work required for the whole metropolis, even if they were so minded. On our recommendation, accordingly, the separate commissions were dissolved and replaced by a single commission for the entire field of service of the metropolis and suburbs. On that commission we obtained the services of Sir Henry de la Beche, the chief of the Ordnance Survey, and several other scientists of distinction. Lord Carlisle, who was at the time President of the General Board of Health and a member of the Cabinet, was our chairman, and bestowed earnest attention on the subject. We secured for our permanent staff of sanitary engineers the best specialists that were to be got, and required them to give their whole time to the work, and to be ready to act at any point where their service was needed. We made a considerable addition to the number of this staff of permanent officials, and in consequence of the unity of organization that had been introduced, we were able to effect that important addition, not only without any increase of expense, but actually with a material reduction from the expense of the comparatively inferior service under the separate organizations.

We directed our earliest attention to the attainment of an Ordnance survey of the whole of the metropolis, on a scale that would enable the lines of drains laid down in future to be registered, so that they might be found when required. The area of the survey was to include also the suburban marsh lands of Kent and Essex, which for the protection of the metropolis needed to be subjected to systematic subsoil drainage. We reversed the common order of procedure with respect to surface drainage of towns; we made the houses the first object of amendment, the street or the sewer the next, and then the main trunk outfalls. I had the first pipe-pot sewer made that I know of in modern times, to ascertain the



rate at which water moved in a smooth channel, as compared with its rate in the rough brick channels of which house-drains and sewers were in those days formed. We instituted trial works, under careful supervision, to determine the size, forms, and inclinations at which tubular drains could be made self-cleansing. In one of these experiments, in a street, it was found that a five-inch pipe would force and carry away the fouled water from 1,200 houses. This was apart from any rainfall, and yet the professors of architecture had declared that a pipe of that size was necessary to carry off the rainfall from a single house; and engineers, in order to carry it off from such a number of houses as we had to do with in that experiment, had provided a flat segmental sewer, three feet wide, and with a sectional area of fifteen feet, which accumulated deposit requiring to be cleansed out by manual labour.

Before applying the new system of self-cleansing house-drains and self-cleansing sewers to the metropolis generally, we made some carefully-prepared and carefully-observed trial applications of them to blocks of houses. One of these was for the purpose of trying the plan of what is known as combined back drainage—that is, the plan of carrying the drains along the backs of houses, instead of through the houses into the front streets; and several of them were made on houses of the lowest class, or what would be called slums. The draining and water-closeting of the slums were successful in reducing the foul smells, but the result would have been more satisfactory if the water arrangements of the front pavement had at the time permitted cleansing in front of the houses with the hose and jet. The inmates declared themselves much satisfied with the mode of cleaning adopted, and the experiment was certainly most successful from an administrative point of view, because it showed that the force gained through unity could be directed, even upon the worst parts of the system, with a power and speed that would have been quite impracticable under disunity. It was in fact proved that with a trained staff the work could be done more economically in one-third of the time than any of the separate commissions could do it, if they had the authority. By means of other trial works which we instituted, we were able to establish the receptivity of the soil near the metropolis for the sewage, and thereby to promote its utilization for purposes of agricultural production.

But important as all these trial works and their results were, when impartially considered—important for the advance of sanitary science generally as well as for the sanitary improvement of the metropolis—they were regarded with much jealousy by the various vestry interests represented in the House of Commons, and this opposition was seconded in the House by certain civil engineers, chiefly railway engineers. Mr. Robert Stephenson, it must be said,

was strongly prejudiced against pipe sewers, and fought vehemently for the continued use of "man-sized sewers," which accumulated stagnant deposit and required men to enter them for its removal by manual labour. He expressed his detestation of pipe sewers. I was greatly taken by surprise at this opposition from Mr. Stephenson, who had previously deferred to me by withdrawing a plan of a hard-water supply which he had proposed to the Health of Towns Commission, in favour of the one I proposed, of a soft spring supply from the Surrey tanks, and had led me to believe in his entire concurrence with me in sanitary principles.

The system of sewerage which we adopted after much examination, was what is called "the separate system," and it is epitomised in the expression, "the rainfall to the river, and the sewage to the soil" (land). On this system all the clear rainfall and all the subsoil water from spaces uncovered by houses were to be conveyed to the river; whilst all the fouled water from the houses was to be treated as sewage. But this separate system was rejected for the trunk line of sewers under the control of that general representative body of the vestries, the Board of Works, and another system was adopted, which was known as "the combined system," because it combined in the same sewer all the ordinary rainfall and all the storm water, and threw both away altogether into the river, or into the sea when the sea could be reached.

The combination of the rainfall with the sewage proper requires the construction of large tunnel sewers of sufficient capacity to receive the rain and storm water. On "dry days" the flow is shallow, and, being spread over wide bottoms, deposit is occasioned, and hence putrid decomposition, and the necessity of periodical flushing operations by manual labour to cleanse the sewers. One hundred and twenty-five men were so employed, at a cost of £14,000 per annum, for work which I declare to be an ignorant and pernicious malfeasance. The cost of the whole of the lines of outfall sewers completed by the Board of Works has been five millions. Sir Robert Rawlinson, in a paper which he read at the meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Social Science held at Liverpool, gives the following estimate of the expense of laying the whole metropolis with self-cleansing sewers:—"Supposing," says he, "a sewer did not exist in the metropolis; then, according to the cost of the public sewers in other places named in the table hereto appended, the money required to sewer the whole of the metropolis, to include outlets, should not exceed £1,396,333 6s. 4d.; that is, for instance, 340,000 houses at £3 18s. 8d. each, that being the average of the nine towns named in the table."

Had our "separate system" been adopted the sum of five millions,



that has actually been expended in outfall sewers alone on the "combined system," would have sufficed for the construction of a complete system of self-cleansing sewers for every court, alley, and street in the metropolis, and for the redraining of all the ill-drained houses, which are stated to be more than two-thirds of those drained on the old system.

The present system fails to purify the Thames from sewage, for constant complaints are made on the subject, and it wastes the sewage itself by dilution, and adds enormously to the expense of its separation by precipitation. But under the separate system as applied to London, with its low levels north and south, the discharge of the sewers as well as of the rainfalls would have been converged, as is done in the flat fen districts of Lincolnshire, into separate "sumps," from whence it would have been lifted by steam power. The experiences of the fen system of working by conveyance into sumps warrant the conclusion, that from every part of even the remotest corners of the metropolis, the sewage of the morning from its half-million of houses would have been on the land by about the middle of the day, not merely in mechanical suspension, but, as at Croydon, in chemical combination. Fresh sewage is more fertilizing by a third than putrid sewage, and a verification would thus have been presented on a grand scale of the maxim of De Candolle, the greatest vegetable physiologist of the last century, that the future of agriculture will be found in giving food and water at the same time.

An idea prevails that a share in the recent reduction of the death-rate of the metropolis must be credited to the Board of Works, but the idea is wholly unfounded; for large tunnel sewers, like those of Westminster, which give off emanations from stagnant and putrid deposit, lead to augmentations of the death-rate, and not to its reduction; and the reduction which has actually taken place has been the result of the extensive suppression of nuisances which has been effected in the same period, and which may be found described in the reports of the newly-appointed officers of health and their surveyors and sanitary inspectors.

To cover all defaults in sanitation in the metropolis, it is put forth that London is the healthiest metropolis in the world. As compared with those capitals and cities where, in mediæval periods, when sanitary science did not exist, and, under the pressure of war, threefold populations have been heaped in what I have often called perpendicular streets, London may be justly called the *least* unhealthy. But, as compared with our own provincial cities, where the death-rates were at one time higher than those of London, but where, even by rudimentary sanitary measures, we were enabled to apply to some extent the principles of sanitary science, London is one of

the most unhealthy, by at least one-third. The excess of deaths in London above those as yet, in important respects, incomplete standards must be, at the least, I estimate, six in a thousand, an annual excess of full twenty-five thousand per annum, chiefly from diseases of the zymotic class; and involving an excess in the expenses of funerals and of sickness alone of at least three-quarters of a million of money.

A strong battle is now being fought for the continuance of this most detrimental disunity, for the separate administration of a drainage area of one square mile out of one hundred and twenty-five; of the sanitation of from nine to ten thousand houses out of half a million; of a population of less than 51,000 out of nearly five millions, and so heavily death-rated in comparison with the great majority, that no mayor or alderman, I believe, now ventures to reside among them as of old, but after visiting his office in the City for a few hours a day, seeks refuge with his family in some district with a lower death-rate. From an estimate it appears that by spending a ninth of their time daily going to and from their places of business, they gain a fourth more of life. In some well-drained suburban districts the death-rate of children is about one-half what it is in the bounds of the Corporation. Health officers or surgeons are aware that if a serious operation is to be performed, it will be performed at some third more risk in the air of the Corporation's jurisdiction unless it be washed by the Lister process, than if it were performed in the purer air of a good suburban quarter. The Corporation has claimed as its subjects all who come into the City from the suburbs to do business at their offices for the smaller part of the day, although they and their families, for the sake of pure air, live and sleep out of the City in quarters where the Corporation cannot and does not render them any service. In the same way Westminster, which has more inhabitants than the City, might claim as its population all who are daily brought in from Brighton and other places where they live with their families. Even by this method of calculation the population under the jurisdiction of the Corporation is only brought up to a sixth part of the whole population of the metropolis. A late Lord Mayor sought my counsel on a sanitary question of water supply, in which he was interested, but could see no possibility of aid in the sanitary force furnished by disunited administration. The change now proposed will be a change from the piecemeal administration of a third-rate metropolitan parish—a mere sham—to the reality of a united organization for a population as large as that of the whole of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth and approaching that of Belgium at the present day.

To return to the work of the first General Board of Health. After consolidating the eight separate Sewers Commissions, our attention



was next directed to an examination of the water supplies. It was found that these supplies were in the hands of eight separate companies, who, under the authority of as many separate Acts, had invited shareholders to advance their money for the introduction of water into separate districts. The supply generally came from river sources, at best from the surface washings of land usually under cultivation, but for the most part from rivers notoriously polluted with sewage; although with proper search pure spring supplies were undoubtedly obtainable in adequate quantities. We found that extensions from these corrupt sources had been sanctioned by Parliamentary Committees after it was proved that at least three-fifths of the existing supplies were injurious, and we found besides that the pollution of the sources was not the worst of the evil, for the house distribution itself was made by means of butts and cisterns, and such other methods as produced stagnation and made good supplies bad, and bad worse and dangerous to drink. In our report we prepared a measure for the introduction of unity into our water supply system, including the payment of compensation to the shareholders of the existing companies, which could then have been accomplished at less than one-third of the cost that must admittedly be incurred now for retrieving the ignorant and mischievous work done under disunited administration and sanctioned by successive Parliamentary Private Bill Committees.

At the Consolidated Commission of Sewers I got trial works made for ascertaining the quantities of water that would be required for the regular cleansing of the streets by water and by the jet. It was proved that the work could be done by that method, as it is now done in clean-streets Paris, in Vienna, and Madrid, much cheaper than it can be done by the scavenger's broom, which indeed at best daubs the surface and leaves much putrescible matter there and between the interstices of the carriage pavement. By the measures proposed every court, alley, and street would have been made as clean as a courtyard, and the population of the metropolis would have been relieved from their grievance of seas of mud in winter and clouds of dust in summer, from a great source of aggravation of diseases of the respiratory organs, and from much injury and loss on clothes and on furniture.

As a rule the smaller the administrative area, the less the administrative force it can have, the lower the quality of the force, and the greater the expense. The old parish with its unpaid overseer was about one-third dearer in its cost of service than the union with its paid officers and its improved quality of service, and the difference would be again augmented by a further extension of the administrative area. The administration of the smaller area can only be kept up to a common level by additional aid *ab extra* from a central authority,

which is troublesome and yet incomplete. The need of such aid is diminished and the expense of self-government reduced by the extension of the administrative area. It has been distinctly proved that the expenses of the provincial police forces are not greater than those of the unpaid parish constables, whilst the service has been largely augmented, and would be further augmented without increased expense by complete unity. In a paper I wrote in 1828, I expounded the principle of unity, and laid bare the evils of disunity, in connection with the parish night watch of the metropolis. This was the first time the principle was expounded, and it was subsequently adopted in Sir Robert Peel's measure for the consolidation into one body of the whole police force of the metropolis, with the exception of that of the City. I had not then the means of ascertaining the expense of the parish constabulary night force, but I expect it was not much less than that of both day and night force together under unity. And yet this force presents, to this day, an example of the increased cost caused by disunity of administration, in the expense and inefficiency accruing from the Corporation having a separate force of its own. That separate force has at present a superior command. Nevertheless the service rendered by it has been proved to be of unavoidably inferior quality, clashing with the general force on ordinary occasions, and inadequate for protection on great occasions, without its aid. By the retrieval of this error in legislation the inhabitants of the City will gain greater protection and at the same time effect a saving of from £35,000 to £40,000 per annum, or nearly £4 per house, large and small. The present cost of the general police force is about eightpence a week per house.

But one of the sources from which the largest gain may be expected from unity of administration is the institution of a proper police fire service for the metropolis. In our report on the water supply we suggested that hydrants ought to be provided for the cleansing of the streets, and that the police force ought to be adapted as a fire service, and provided with keys for the hydrants, which of course would be always ready because always in use. At that time ten separate fire brigade engines could not be brought to the scene of operation in less than twenty minutes, although, according to the evidence of Mr. Braidwood, the Chief of the Brigade, relief ought to be on the spot not later than five minutes after the outbreak, to be of any effect in the protection of life or property. By direct instruction our principle of organization was introduced at Liverpool, and it was afterwards adopted at Manchester and Glasgow, with the result that relief was given on an average in about three minutes, that the brigade engines, which in the metropolis are called out in every case



of fire, are there called out only in some three per cent. of the cases, and that the risk to life and property is one-third less than in the metropolis. The fire brigade, as administered by the vestral authority of the Board of Works, can be shown to cost upwards of £40,000 per annum more than the police fire service which we proposed would have done. Mr. Tozer, head of the fire service at Manchester, states that in London a considerable sum is spent in supporting a salvage corps, whereas in Manchester, he says, "we do the work with the fire brigade. In fact, in Manchester we hardly know what it is to have a fire requiring the work of salvage: 97 per cent. of our fires are confined to the room in which they occur." From first to last the annual sacrifice of some 300 lives, a still greater number of bodily injuries, and more than 3,000 serious fires, must be ascribed to the inferior quality of the police service arising from a departure from sound administrative principles.

In the face of these experiences (which I brought before a select committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine the subject) the Board of Works contended that the fire service should be continued with them. The committee decided in effect that they were an unfit body for the purpose, and that it should be charged as an additional and special function on the police service. The Board of Works also claimed to have charge of the water service of the metropolis, and brought forward a plan for the purpose. But the committee, whilst deciding that the water service should be placed on a public footing, rejected the claims of the Board of Works. The case presented an instance of the common conceptions of an administrative organization entertained by a select body of vestrymen. They could not see the advantage of the service of a force of four thousand men on patrol during the night; nor of an organized force of ten thousand men for occasions of extraordinary conflagrations from design or accident; nor the economy of doubling the fire-service stations by employing the police stations for the purpose. It will be evident that the Government would have been at fault, if they had not refused to continue the expenditure of the duties on coal and wine in such hands, and under such conditions of disunity. A late very able officer of our combined commission, who continued with the Board of Works, told me that the members were mostly of a class accustomed only to small ways of business, who made a great ado about the expenditure of small sums of a pound or two, while it was frightful to see the lax way in which they were led to expend thousands.

It marks the appreciation of the quality of their service, that, for fear of disfigurements, they are not allowed by Parliament to adopt any architectural elevation in new streets without the approval of the Institute of Architects. One characteristic of these vestries was

their disposition to enter into party political questions, such as the wrongs of the Poles and of the Hungarians. We were obliged to remind them that their duties were limited by statute, and that they had no legal authority to enter into such questions. We might, indeed, have called their attention to the more crying conditions of cruelty and oppression, that existed through their own neglect of duty, among the population of their own slums.

One of the highest services a local board can render is the provision of means of recreation, such as attractive and well-arranged exercise grounds, for sedentary adults as well as for children. Except in the greater parks, the provision of such playgrounds in the metropolis is the most wretched possible. When I was attending as a juror at the Sanitary Section of the International Exhibition at Paris in 1865, I was requested by the Society of Arts to observe and report upon anything that might be suggested for adoption in the British metropolis. Two things that struck me particularly were the high and brilliant state of horticulture displayed not only in the public thoroughfares from one end of Paris to the other, but in the gardens and open spaces in the most obscure quarters, and the liberal supply of seats and playgrounds for infants and children and adults. But all this would be quite impracticable in London under its disunited vestral authorities, for it is only under unity that the highest horticultural and decorative science would be employed to put its principles into practice everywhere. It would be a great advantage of unity that it would secure attention to this subject.

On the question of efficient lighting, I showed in my sanitary report, from the example of Manchester, the advantages that would accrue from placing lighting on a public footing. In the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission we had begun to enter upon this subject, with much promise of sanitary advantages, but further progress was prevented by the obstructive opposition that was raised and by preoccupation with other topics. In various towns the example of Manchester has been followed, with gain to the population, but not so much gain either in money or sanitation as might have been obtained, if superior scientific aid and supervision had at the same time been engaged. Taking, however, the standards of supplies by a public body—taking for example Birmingham—the cost of gas under unity in the metropolis might be, and would have been, reduced from 3*s.* to 2*s.* 4*d.* per 1,000 cubic feet, with a clear profit of £500,000 per annum for carrying on improvement works, as has been done at Manchester; or the price might be reduced below 2*s.* per 1,000 cubic feet, leaving a gain of £250,000 per annum in aid of district rates. And such a reduction would largely turn the scale of economy in favour of gas for cooking and heating as against coal, and aid the diminution of the great smoke nuisance of the metropolis. To this must



be added, the production of a cheap smokeless coke for open fires; and, for manufacturers, the extended use of gas instead of steam for power. In Paris, by bringing eight separate companies under unity, the cost of private lighting was reduced 30 per cent., and of public lighting 40 per cent., with improved receipts to the shareholders; but the general supply was left in their hands as contractors, and the public did not derive the further advantage obtainable by a responsible scientific administration. A recent voluntary amalgamation of the companies in London has been accomplished by themselves, but I cannot judge how far their position as respects the public may be affected by it.

On the subject of road administration, we entered into some investigations, which, except as to the drainage of rural roads, as a means of facilitating land drainage, we were prevented from completing. I subsequently continued them, chiefly in relation to the metropolitan roads, in my position as chairman of a committee of the Society of Arts, with the aid of Captain Douglas Galton and some scientists. The results, which will be found stated at length in our Transactions, may be presented as an example of waste and injury inflicted by disunity; parts of a mile of a main line of street were under three different parochial administrations, and half of one line of street was divided longitudinally, one half being paved by one parish in one way, and cleaned at one time, and the other part paved by another parish in another way, and scavenged at another time.

The modes of cleansing frequently made the surface "greasy" and slippery and dangerous to cross, and the consequence was an increase of the street accidents by which between two and three hundred people are killed every year, and upwards of three thousand so seriously injured as to be taken charge of by the police. In the north-western suburban district there was an example of a road district administered under unity by a scientist, Mr. Macadam. The condition of the roads under unity of administration was said to be so much better than the condition of those under disunity that you could tell at night when you got on the parish roads by the jolting you received.

The administration of the roads under unity was formerly supported by turnpike tolls. Then there arose a movement against turnpikes, and they were abolished, but along with them was also abolished the unity of administration, and the roads formerly under the united trust were restored to the separate charge of some twenty parishes and their parish surveyors, with the result of increased cost to the ratepayers and general detriment to the traffic from inferior service. After trials with the dynamometer at the Society of Arts, the general conclusion arrived at was that by unity of administration in a road-

trust a saving might be effected of one horse out of three, besides a reduction of the sanitary evils of bad cleaning and foul surfaces, which are so much complained of for making seas of mud in winter and clouds of dust in summer.

In poor-law administration, the gain from unity would be very large, and unity was, I know, originally intended by the reformers of the poor law, but it was frustrated by metropolitan members in the interests of the vestries of the districts they represented. I cannot specify all the improvements in the relief of suffering which may be effected in the metropolis by unity under the guidance of science; and I will only advert to some points of detail to show the disadvantages of disunity under the vestral administration. In the supply of provisions, for example, there would under unity be great gain in quality as well as in price through superior responsible superintendence. The cost of maintenance under the several vestries has been examined, and it displays wide variations. Bread is in one place 9*s.* 4*d.*, in another 16*s.* 4*d.*, per cwt.; beef in one place 6*s.* 5*d.* per stone, in another 10*s.* 2½*d.*; leg of beef in one place 2*s.* 11*d.* per stone of 14 lbs., in another as high as 8*s.* 2*d.*; bacon in one place 56*s.* 3*d.* per cwt., in another as much as 102*s.* 8*d.*; butter in one place 72*s.* per cwt., in another 172*s.* 8*d.*; tea in one place 1*s.* 2½*d.* per lb., in another 2*s.* 4*d.*; coffee in one place 105*s.* per cwt., in another 168*s.* In the mind of the examiners these variations denoted variations in jobbery. By unity a saving of the retail charges would be effected, and the supplies brought up to the conditions as to quality as well as economy to which those of the army and navy are stated to have been brought through due superintendence. As regards the administration of relief, while in several of the East-end Unions creditable progress has been made in the adoption of correct principles and practices, there have been in others relapses to grants in aid of wages and outdoor relief in money, which, it was well known, would have to be spent in payment of the rents of bad tenements owned by many of the guardians, and in expenditure at their shops. Under unity abuses of that kind would be difficult to practise, and the whole system of relief would be improved, especially the relief of the sick, the operation of corrupt influences in large expenditures would be reduced, and the general cost would be brought down to the level of that of the best administered unions, with the effect of reducing the burdens of the ratepayers by one-third.

There is a further topic to which I beg to advert, because it bears on the present burning question of the overcrowding of the poorest of the population—namely, the measures proposed for the discontinuance of the practice of intramural interment. I was charged by the Government to examine the subject, and after making a large collection of experiences, presented a report upon it in a



supplement to my report in 1842 on the sanitary condition of the labouring classes. Under our first General Board of Health we renewed inquiries into the subject, and presented a second report on it in 1850. The most horrible evil requiring to be dealt with was the prolonged retention of the dead amidst the living in the family's single room—a retention for days, and even for weeks, until money could be obtained to defray the expenses of the funeral. Besides the physical evils resulting from this practice in the spread of infectious diseases, there were also the moral evils arising from the disrespect for life which it produced, and still produces, for it continues to this day unnoticed. I prepared a plan of an executive machinery, such as has been applied beneficially in some of the Continental cities, for ensuring the presence of an officer of health immediately on the spot, charged to examine the cause as well as the fact of death, and empowered to give orders for the immediate removal of the body to a suitable mortuary, to be duly provided; and when the exciting cause was removable, to take measures for the protection of the survivors. When the cause was the unsanitary condition of the house, the inquiry would have frequently led to its condemnation as unfit for human habitation. This procedure would necessarily have occasioned an examination into the conditions of between twenty and thirty thousand deaths which happen annually in the metropolis from preventible causes, and ought to have led to some efficient action for relief. It required provision for mortuaries and cemeteries, and for services under unity of a character befitting an elevated community, and created impressions of moral influences which now are frittered away in the establishments under the vestral disunity.

The proper removal of between one and two thousand dead weekly from the midst of the living, their removal with individual care, and their interment with propriety, appeared to be a task which could only be accomplished by a superior executive service under unity of administration, of which there was then no immediate prospect. I submitted my views in the following terms:—"I would, in conclusion, beg leave to repeat and represent urgently that Her Majesty's Government should only set hands to this great work when invested with full powers to effect it completely; for at present there appears to be no alternative between doing it well or ill; between simply shifting the evil from the centre of the populous districts to the suburbs, and deteriorating them; fixing the sites of interments at inconvenient distances, forming numerous, separate, and weak, and yet enormously expensive, establishments; aggravating the expense, and the physical and moral evils of the delay of interment; diminishing the solemnities of sepulture; scattering away the elements of moral and religious

improvement, and increasing the duration and sum of the existing evils. There appears to be no distinct or practicable alternative between these results and effecting such a change as, if zealously carried out, will soothe and elevate the feelings of the great bulk of the population, abate the apprehensions of the dying, influence the voluntary adoption of beneficial changes in the practice of obsequies, occasion an earlier removal of the dead from amidst the living to await interment and ensure the impressiveness of the funeral service, give additional securities against attempts on life, and trustworthy evidence of the fact of death, with the means of advancing the protection of the living against the attacks of disease; and, at a reduced expense, provide in well-arranged national cemeteries places for public monuments, becoming the position of the empire amongst civilised nations."—(*Report on "The Practice of Interment in Towns."* Supplement to the Sanitary Report, 1843.) A second report was, however, called for from our General Board of Health, and with a view to a commencement, one of the trading companies' cemeteries was purchased, but the practical difficulties were found to be so great under the existing conditions of disunity, that further proceedings in that line of amendment were abandoned. Deep-seated evils thus remain as they were, especially the prolonged retention of the dead amidst single-chambered families, who, in many districts, comprise sixty per cent. of the population. The attainment of complete unity in the metropolitan administration would open up prospects of grievously-needed relief.

Schools are the centres of the children's epidemics. We proposed that they should be regularly visited and examined by a health officer, charged with the duty of removing any child on whom he detected premonitory symptoms of infectious disease, of going with it to its home, of providing for its treatment there; and, when he found the conditions of the place such as to produce the disease, to take steps for having it treated elsewhere. This would often have led to the condemnation of places as unfit for habitation, and it must have carried relief far and wide. In Brussels preventive action against disease from school is carried out with encouraging success.

Under the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission the subject of private or intramural slaughter-houses was examined, and their nuisances, their cruelties, the evils of cattle being driven through the streets, the fact that about one-third of every carcase had to be carried from the place of slaughter, mostly in the slums, out of the metropolis, the butcher's two-thirds being all that was usable as food—all these things testified to the superiority of extramural abattoirs as at Paris. But though the whole question, together with that of the



distribution of diseased meat, was partly gone into, under the special lead of our colleague, Professor (now Sir Richard) Owen, no result followed except the removal of Smithfield Market, the conclusion in favour of the manifestly and directly beneficial abattoir system being overruled in the interests of Newgate Market. This left a conviction that any prospect of efficient relief was obtainable only under writs of authorities guided by science. The present Lord Mayor is reported to have asked, the other day, in relation to the proposed measure for the unity of the metropolis, "What could a man living at Hampstead know about the drainage of Greenwich?" This he appeared to think was decisive against unity, as if it must be a "unity of ignorance;" and so it might be if the man in question were supposed to be, as the Lord Mayor evidently supposes him to be, a layman acting under the confused impressions prevalent under disunity at Hampstead. Such a man would usually know as little about the drainage of his own house as he would know about that of a house at Greenwich. But under systematized unity both houses would be examined and tested by an expert, who would detect the dangers to which they are exposed from within as well as those from without, arising from the malaria brought by easterly winds from over the Plumstead or the Essex marshes, influences from which they would be relieved by the superior drainage works that would be possible and certain under administrative unity. When it is proposed to extend to the wage classes the benefits now derived from occasional indoor examination by a sanitary inspector, the landlords of inferior tenements may be expected to raise against such indoor inspection the cry that "every Englishman's house is his castle." It may be so, but it is a castle without defences against raids and slaughter, greater than those of any wars, by invisible enemies, the foul air diseases, against which the palace, in spite of all its safeguards, is no better protected than the cottages, where from twenty to thirty thousand are now annually slain in the metropolis. The effective defence of "the castle" must now be conducted by sanitation, mainly from within, by qualified sanitary inspection, which the well-to-do may provide for themselves, but which the poor must have provided for them by a united local administration. So far from repelling this inspection, the poor have been proved to welcome it when they got it, and to complain when they did not. It is fair to mention that the health officers of the corporation have been enabled to contribute to these defences by continuing the practice, which we introduced at the cholera period, of washing with hose and jet the pavements and walls of a number of the courts and alleys.

All the principles of administration I have here laid down for the improvement of the metropolis have been based on varied and carefully examined experience, and have been expounded in reports pre-

sented to Parliament. They will all, it may be confidently affirmed, have to be adopted in principle, with, I hope, improvements in detail, for the removal of the vast evils and waste that have been caused by disunity. But they failed to gain attention. By the vote obtained under the combination of interests I have described, the first General Board of Health was dissolved. Instead of rallying against that surprise vote, as might probably have been successfully done; instead of a challenge being given for a statement of the grounds of the vote, and a hearing being claimed for the Board in answer to the allegations made against it, the preparation of a new measure for the local administration of the metropolis was left to the metropolitan member who had led the opposition on behalf of his vestry. By his Bill, which was passed, the previous disunity, which had been arrested, so far as drainage was concerned, by the consolidation of the eight separate commissions into one, was aggravated by the distribution of the superintendence of the branch drainage among thirty-five vestries, and by the entrusting of the work of main drainage to a body of representatives from other vestries.

The faults of the metropolitan local administration may be conveniently grouped under the three old legal categories into which transgressions of official responsibility were divided—nonfeasance, misfeasance, and malfeasance.

The loss from misfeasance in the expenditure on outfall sewers alone, in consequence of adopting an erroneous system of combined works which generates foul gases, and will have to be replaced by other works on a more correct method, amounts to five millions sterling—a sum that would have sufficed to redrain the whole of the metropolis with self-cleansing sewers, and to relieve besides most, if not the whole, of the ill-drained houses occupied by the poorest part of the population; houses which there is an imperative necessity for redraining now, and putting into the improved condition of the common lodging-house.

A loss from nonfeasance arises from neglecting to repair the evils of disunited organization by placing the eight separate water companies under a single system and on a public footing, as was recommended by one commission after another. The money loss from this neglect is estimated by Mr. Quick, jun., C.E., at £372,596 per annum. This is exclusive of the assignable loss accruing from malfeasance in adopting a system of delivering water to houses by means of butts and cisterns that induce stagnation, make good water bad, and bad worse, and provoke to habitual intemperance in spirituous liquors.

There is another loss from nonfeasance in not putting the gas supply under a public trust for the whole metropolis as has been done in provincial cities. This would have reduced the price of gas below 2s. per 1,000 cubic feet, and at the same time produced a



profit of £200,000 per annum, which might be applied to public improvements, as for example to the erection of improved dwellings for the wage-earning classes.

Among losses from nonfeasance and misfeasance together, are to be included upwards of 25,000 deaths, and more than twenty times that number of cases of sickness; and the money loss from funeral and sick expenses must be more than three-quarters of a million per annum.

Then there are the losses from malfeasance caused by the obstruction and prevention of measures which were prepared and tried under unity for the effacement of all the slums, and which would have effected that object some fifteen years ago.

The losses from malfeasance in neglecting to place the organization of the fire service, as is done in Liverpool and Glasgow, in the hands of the police, include the results of three thousand serious fires and three hundred persons burned alive.

The loss by malfeasance in legislation, through allowing the disunity of the general police force to continue, comes to some £4 per house per annum which the ratepayers have moreover to pay for an inferior service, detrimental to the general police requirements of the metropolis.

The losses from misfeasance and malfeasance in the matter of poor relief, are estimated at one-third of the total amount of the poor-rates.

The losses from misfeasance, and often from malfeasance, by reason of the extreme disunity of the road administration, is estimated, on inquiry, at a loss of force of at least one horse out of three, besides the loss of goods and furniture from seas of mud in winter and clouds of dust in summer.

All these losses in the past from ill-regulated local administration show the gain that may be derived in the future from skilfully-devised local unity with executive responsibility.

It may be noted that when the measure of disunity was passed, agitation ceased; all for a time appeared in Parliament to be working satisfactorily, and the author of the measure, entailing all the evil recited, and more, claimed a peerage for what he did, and obtained it. I really believe that neither he nor the parties by whom he was supported could have been aware of the consequences of their action. If the Reports presented at that time be examined, it will be seen that an amount of work had been done, and was proposed to be done, of a character to have required the most earnest support. Independent and competent sanitarians have declared that the effect of that vote in the frustration of work that was laboriously prepared to be done—all of which must yet be done in the metropolis—has been to throw back sanitary progress for a quarter of a century at least.

EDWIN CHADWICK.

## THE POOR MAN'S GOSPEL.

### I.

ORDINARY histories concern themselves so little with the mass of the people, that prior to the French Revolution one might suppose the labouring classes of Europe resembled Issachar, who is described as a strong ass crouching down between two burdens—a strong ass who when it fell had only, as a truculent German ruler observed, to be whipped, and it slowly got up again, and went on dragging its load.

The reverse is the fact, for from the moment the Gospel of the kingdom of Heaven was proclaimed, a divine discontent set in; those who believed the message could no longer rest satisfied with things as they were, but by passive or active opposition did what in them lay to establish the reign of Justice on earth. "This man," said the Scribes and Pharisees, "stirreth up the people;" and verily the charge was true.

St. Chrysostom has in a few vigorous touches depicted the storm which the apostolic preaching aroused in the Roman world. What greater incentive to revolution than to proclaim a kingdom of righteousness among people so crushed by injustice as the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Restrained for a time by a very decided apostolic injunction, and a firm belief in the immediate coming of the King to deliver His saints and establish His kingdom upon earth, the first believers refrained from social and political action; but when the hope of His second advent became more vague and a sense of their ever-increasing numbers took possession of the Church, an agitation seems to have set in which, like some great ground-swell, made the Roman Empire heave from one end to the other. Trembling and doubtful in what direction to turn the helm of State, the authorities at one moment caress the new influence and at another try



to terrorize it. Marvellous edicts in favour of the weak, the mean, the miserable, alternate with a series of relentless persecutions against Christians; both lines of policy, alien to the haughty but tolerant spirit of ancient Rome, abundantly prove the truth of what I have advanced; but those who have penetrated further into the subject affirm that there was at least one insurrection in Gaul that was distinctly Christian.

It is a horrible thing to reflect on the history of Christ's poor since His religion has been patronized by the ruling classes. Consider the way the Normans, those "born rulers," treated the peasantry. Their tyranny was so impossible to endure, that the labourers began to confederate with a view to a common protection. Raoul, uncle of the young Duke of Normandy, sent out spies in every direction, and in one day arrested all the leaders. "Without any trial, without the slightest inquiry, he inflicted upon them mutilations or atrocious tortures; of some he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands or feet; some had their legs burned, others were impaled alive or had melted lead poured over them." And, according to a well-known passage in the "Saxon Chronicle" under the year 1137, atrocities such as could only be equalled, supposing the darkest crimes ever imagined concerning the Inquisition to be true, these horrors the English poor suffered in "the castles filled with devils and evil men."

An ancient drawing exists illustrating a legend called "The Vision of Henry I." Labouring men surround the king's bed, armed with scythes, spades, and pitchforks. The sleeper points with his bare finger upwards, as if he would indicate the only direction in which such clamourers are ever heard; but the peasants look determined. Their leader, a little man, holds up a charter; another, with a woebegone face, dilates on the miseries they suffer; while a stolid young churl waits in the background, pitchfork in hand. A "coward conscience" has been the real cause of the long series of "reigns of terror" by which Christ's suffering poor have been kept, like trembling sheep, the perpetual prey of generation after generation of wolves.

But the oppressors, instead of repenting, thought to buy off the justice of Heaven as they could that of earth. The Christian clergy were admitted to the best half of the plunder, and became and have continued for ages fanatical supporters of power and property. The laity, however, alarmed at the rapidity with which the land was falling into the hands of the Church, and at the papal assumption of Universal Dominion, gave their support to a principle of which they did not see the meaning. Wiclif's doctrine of "Dominion" proved the axe laid to the root of the tree, not only of clerical but also of lay assumption. "Dominion," said Wiclif,

"can in its highest and purest sense belong to God alone. He deals it out to men in their several stations and offices on condition of obedience to His commandments; mortal sin, therefore, breaks the link and deprives man of his authority. . . . Thus no one in a state of mortal sin has, in strict right, either priesthood or lordship, a principle which applies of course to every human being." Wiclif students tell us that there was nothing on which he wrote more fully than this same doctrine of Dominion, and it is clear that no part of his system had greater influence on the subsequent history of Europe.

To assert that Dominion was founded on Grace and depended on its preservation, was to cut at the root of hereditary right in political sovereignty, and of all these acquired and permanent rights upon which the hierarchies in Church and State are founded.

That this is no exaggeration may be seen by an inquiry into the causes of the great Hussite war in Bohemia. Nothing is more certain than that John Huss was the champion of Wiclif's doctrine in Bohemia, and especially of that on Dominion. "If," he said before the Council of Constance, "a bishop or a prelate is in mortal sin, he is no longer pope, bishop, or prelate; still more, if a king is in mortal sin, he is not truly a king before God." The phrase was hardly out of his mouth than the prelates rose, crying: "Call the king, this concerns him." Huss was made to repeat his words. Sigismund listened and stolidly remarked that no one was without sin; the Cardinal of Cambrai, whose wits were sharper, cried: "What, is it not enough for you to overthrow the Church? do you wish to attack kings?" All saw that the doctrine was revolutionary. "Away with such a fellow; it is not fit that he should live." The Bohemian people, who had also understood its import, uttered a cry of indignation, and their great general, John Zizka, resolved to avenge their martyr.

The enthusiasm of the Bohemian peasants who flocked to his banner was so intense, that the learned of the time could find no better explanation for the phenomenon than a conjunction of the stars. It soon appeared, however, to be no question of astrology, but the piled-up force of the Christian conscience, suddenly delivered by Wiclif's doctrine, seeking to sweep out of Bohemia the falsehoods of feudalism. In a little time, therefore, the war became a civil one, and, under the names of Utraquists and Taborites, was opened up the old strife between the oppressors and the oppressed.

To the wonderful camp on Mount Tabor the peasants came in thousands, bringing with them in great waggons their aged parents, their wives and children, and all their household goods. They believed a new era was about to open, in which there would be no more crimes nor abominations, no more lies nor perfidies, where there



would no longer be different ranks or dignities among men ; where property would be abolished, and the human race delivered for ever from work, misery and hunger ; where the difference between the learned and the ignorant would cease, for all would equally be disciples of the Saviour, and the Eternal Truth would shine upon all ; where the wicked would repent of their wickedness, so that the Bible and the Atonement would no longer be necessary, since all mankind would be saved.

It would be difficult to exceed the thoroughness of the doctrine of equality as held by the Taborites. It far exceeded that of the later French revolutionists, for it taught that a woman was equal to a man. Grace elevated all to the same level.

The movement was so universal that the wealthy classes were in dismay. In 1421 the Commune of Prague, under their leader John of Zelew, obtained a majority in the city council. "Noble city of Prague," wrote a chronicler, "it was not the lower classes who formerly governed thee. Now the citizens, the best known by their birth, their riches and their virtues, are put to death or exiled, while tailors, shoemakers, working men of all kinds, fill the council ; strangers even are found there ; peasants, who have come from no one knows where." However, the wealthy and virtuous class knew how to deal with such adversaries. Allying themselves with a portion of the radicals, they obtained the majority at the next elections. John of Zelew was then invited to a conference with the council ; he went, and found himself caught in a trap ; he and his ten companions being executed there and then.

The civil war went on until the decisive battle of Lepau, when the people were thoroughly defeated ; their great captain, Procopius Magnus, a former monk, fell surrounded by his officers, and nearly the whole of his army. A few hundred fugitives, made prisoners during the next few days, were traitorously burnt.

Thus the lords of Bohemia came out victorious from this great struggle, and the fetters were bound tighter than ever on the necks of the people. In place of the equality of all human beings, and the emancipation of women proclaimed by the Taborites, the Catholic and Utraquist oligarchy based their parliament on the suffrages of a few hundred families ; even the ancient customs of the old Bohemian nobility were gradually set aside in favour of the idea of an "eldest son," of "the captivity" of a married woman to her husband, and of the right of a brother to dispose of his sisters either in marriage or in a convent.

The people, politically ruined, turned for consolation to the source which had inspired all their efforts, and He in whom they had trusted did not leave them comfortless. A poor man, Peter of Chlcičky, received a view of Christian truth than which few ever approached

nearer the spirit and teaching of the discourses by the Lake of Gennesaret.

Chilcicky was opposed to all dogma, all power, all war. "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself," was the essence of his teaching. He objected to every attempt to defend the Truth by the sword. The Gospel, he said, could only conquer by Love. The Church must disembarass itself from all power, all wealth, from every tie which binds it to the earth. Power both in Church and State was of pagan origin, and therefore no Christian man could accept any public charge or power. Equality ought so to prevail among Christians in the presence of good, of faith, of charity, that they do not recognise royalty, nor public functions, nor any titles, nor distinctions. In religious matters the laws emanating from Pope or Emperor were not obligatory. "I have already said," he wrote in the "Sit'viry" (the Net of the Faith), "that class distinctions are the body of Antichrist, as well as these municipalities and these coats-of-arms where one feels the inspiration of Satan."

The people, he taught, ought not to pay either taxes, tribute, dues, interest, nor to perform the forced labour. The true Christian, however, cannot demand justice from the Royal Courts, or seek their protection. To do so is to put one's confidence and hope in a man, and to seek to be avenged by force. To support outrages with resignation, to suffer persecution, and to forget them, such is the duty of every religious man. In his view, war was murder, and its continuance had the effect of turning a whole people into a nation of assassins. He wished that criminals should not be punished but converted, and the severest penalty he would admit was banishment from the country.

His writings drew around him a crowd of disciples at Chelcice, and afterwards at Kunvald (1457). They called themselves Brethren of the Law of Christ, or the United Brethren. Soon they spread into Moravia, into Silesia, into Brandenburg, and into Poland. Without any apparent means their agents travelled everywhere; their poverty, obscurity, democratic sympathies, assisting their object to an extent money and organizing energy can never attain.

## II.

In Sebastian Brandt's once popular book, "The Ship of Fools," the first edition of which appeared in 1494, the author complains "of the arrogance and pride of the rude men of the country." Nothing can more forcibly set forth the rise of the people in the fifteenth century than the tirade of this excellent imperial councillor. The Crusades, the renaissance of pagan learning, the rise of commerce,



and the discovery of new worlds, the invention of printing and of gunpowder, and even the Black Death, all fought like the stars in their courses against feudalism. If in the midst of the revolution caused by these important events the serf not only dragged his head out of the collar, but sometimes became grasping and usurious, who was to blame but the society that set him the example.

Side by side with Brandt's satire on "the rude men of the country," one ought to study what the legists say of the condition of these rude men while these changes were going on, a condition which continued in some countries for centuries later. In his "*Histoire des Paysans*," M. Eugène Bonnemère quotes Renaudon as naming no less than ninety-seven seignorial rights which the lords in various places claimed as due from the enfranchised serfs. These exactions varied from pettifogging claims on the honey that the villein's bees extracted from the lord's flowers, on the rain-water that ran down the ruts of the roads, or for the dust the herds made in going from one pasture to another, until they reached what was nothing but organized pillage in the right called *De prise de gîte et de pouvoirie*. What the lords left, the clergy took; there was hardly a circumstance in life out of which the latter did not extract a fee.

Under such a load of exactions it is not surprising that the French peasants thought freedom no boon, and that their king, Louis X. (1315), had to goad them by insults and taxes to accept his generous offers to permit them to purchase their enfranchisement by "paying a sufficient recompense for the emoluments which their continuance in servitude was able to bring him or his successors." This system of exaction, instead of lessening grew heavier with each generation. The discovery of gunpowder so altered mediæval warfare that a different mode of fortification had to be adopted, the expense of which was extracted from the villein. A sense of the terrible debt owing to the peasants, the ages of wrong during which they had been treasuring up their wrath, rendered the lord afraid to put arms into their hands; he was therefore obliged to employ mercenaries, a class of professional fighters who were the scourge of Europe. "Better," said the German proverb, "the Turk and the pestilence united than the Lansquenets."

If we want to realize the condition of the labouring classes in these last days of feudalism, we ought to read the complaint of the poor commons and labourers of France given by Monstrelet, in his *Chronicles*, commencing with a doleful *Hélas! hélas! hélas! hélas!* and in which they cry to all the classes above them to regard their visages *si pitieux et si palles*, and their limbs which are no longer able to sustain them. As they go from house to house every one tells them God will provide. "Alas!" they cry, "we are not dogs but Christians, and in God we are all brothers!"

Little chance had the labourer in making his appeal on such grounds. For if the agonies of feudalism had rendered its "rude men of the countrey" "insolent," and changed some of the trembling "gaspers" into greedy "graspers," it had produced in the wealthier classes a kind of delirium. A glance at the fashions of the age is sufficient. A *bal masqué* in a lunatic asylum, a congregation of fiends; such is the effect of its civil and military costume. Brandt says:

"Some theyr neckes charged with colers and chaynes,  
As golden withythes: theyr fingers full of ringes,  
Theyr neckes naked: almost to the raynes,  
Theyr sleeves blasinge lyke a cranys winges."

Add to this, tight-fitting hose coming up over the haunches, the two halves of the body being of different and incongruous colours, Absolom-like curls, surmounted by a jaunty hat with a peacock's feather, shoes snouted with a metal pike, a finger long, looking upwards, and ugliness inconceivable, wearing over them a clog also snouted and piked, these courtiers of the fifteenth century looked more like great winged insects than men. Every one, says Brant, dressed above their station, and many mortgaged their land or sold it outright to keep up these outrageous fashions.

The military costume seemed expressly devised to terrorize. The helmets were in some cases arranged so as to give their wearers the appearance of a grimacing monster, in others a horrifying effect was produced by surmounting them with all kinds of outrageous forms, coloured brilliantly, and rendered dazzling by long mantlets streaming and curling. There is a battle by Uccello in the Louvre in which the head-dresses of the combatants dance about on the black background like great Chinese lanterns. The whole harness was in keeping; if the feet did not look like a ponderous wedge, they took the form of a vulture's claw.

These "hollow devils" did not express the character of every one who shut himself up in them, but they were typical of a ruling class, who wished to make the world believe that at a push they were all capable of atrocities such as those committed by the bastard of Vauru, who, commanding for the Dauphin at Meaux, had an elm near the moat of that city on which were always swinging from eighty to a hundred corpses, mostly insurgent peasants.

### III.

At the very time that Savonarola began to withstand Lorenzo de' Medici, telling him that the Lord spares no one, and has no fear of the princes of the earth, the first drops of the coming storm fell in Germany. The opening act of the great rising of the German peasants occurred in 1491, at Kempten, in Suabia. Two years later their famous league of the Bundschuh was formed. The adoption of a peasant's shoe as their cognisance was a stroke of genius, full of



humour and the most touching truth. The confederate peasants held nocturnal meetings on the summit of the Hungersberg, one of the highest mountains in the Vosges. In 1502, the Bundschuh appeared in the See of Spire, where seven thousand peasants rose, declaring that they wished to be as free as the Swiss. Both these risings failed through treachery, and their leaders were executed.

In a short time the insurrection broke out again at Lehn, not far from Freiburg in Bavaria. Its leader selected emissaries among the wandering mendicants, who induced the peasants of Elsass, of the Mark of Baden, of the Black Forest, and of a great part of Suabia, to declare for the Bundschuh. They held their meetings in the valley of the Kinzig, an affluent of the Rhine in Würtemberg, and issued a manifesto in which their complaints and their demands touching the woods, pasture-lands, hunting-grounds and fisheries, were clearly stated. However, they too were put down, and their leaders, with the exception of the chief, who escaped, suffered death.

It was in the realm of the dissolute Duke Ulrich, of Würtemberg, that the next revolutionary society was formed. The confederates admitted into their society only working men, day labourers, and small proprietors, as they feared the middle classes more than the great nobles. All of a sudden six thousand peasants appeared in arms in the valley of Rems. Duke Ulrich, finding his threat to whip them home had no effect, obtained the support of the middle classes by certain concessions and then fell on the peasants. He gave up entire communes to be pillaged by the lansquenets, who burnt the cottages, violated the women, and compelled the men to choose between kneeling abjectly, or having their legs cut off with a scythe. Any one who knew of a member of the Society of Poor Conrad and did not denounce him, be he father or brother, was to be put to death.

This happened in 1510; before ten years had passed away Luther, like another Prospero, had said the word that unchained the storm. It was one of those propitious moments when the powerful seem to have the making of a new world in their own hands. Ulrich von Hutten and his friend Franz von Sickingen, vainly attempting to seize the opportunity, were defeated; both died soon after, Sickingen of his wounds, Hutten apparently of chagrin.

The cause of justice which these great men had tried to make that of Germany fell once more into the hands of the poor and ignorant. A few months after Hutten's death the peasants formed the confederation called the Evangelical Brotherhood.

Not far from the borders of Bohemia is the little town of Zwickau. Here, during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg, arose the sect of the Anabaptists. This movement, which puzzled and infuriated Luther, and through his treatment of which he finally lost greater

part of his influence, is not difficult to understand. Luther had hailed the Bible as a charter of deliverance from the tyranny of Roman superstition; the Anabaptists hailed the doctrine of the inward teaching of the Holy Spirit as a deliverance from the oppression of Lutheran teaching. Both were steps in the assertion of individual liberty, both were fraught with danger, but especially that of the Anabaptists, because it was the profounder, the more universal truth. Luther by his roughness hardened the hearts of these seekers after truth, and turned mysticism into fanaticism, and a desire for justice into a cry for vengeance. He had delivered the people from the priests, but now he wanted to hand them over to the custody of the theologians. They cried out by the voice of the Anabaptists that they would have neither the one nor the other, but that they would be guided by the Spirit of God, for in that alone would there be liberty.

The founders of Anabaptism were, Nicholas Storch and Max Thomas, variously described, but who probably were cloth-makers; Max Stubner, at one time a student lodging with Melancthon, and Thomas Münzer.

Born exactly three centuries before the terrible year of Vengeance, Münzer is the prophet of Revolution. As his birthplace, the Hartz Mountains, it is only when seen in the gathering storm, or when the damp mists of fanaticism ascending, the great spectre of insurrection surged above a nature supposed to be the peculiar abode of diabolic influence, that Münzer appears grand. Yet this thorny, irritable, restless man, had, as his native hills, a head of granite and a heart full of precious ore. He loved truth, justice, and the Cause of the Poor with a passionate vindictiveness which rendered him guilty of the very errors he most detested. His father had been hanged by the Graf von Stolberg, for what reason does not appear. Nor are we told how he came to be a priest and a reformer. He was at first a follower of the Wittenberg school, but finding Luther's doctrine of inspiration too narrow, he set up the standard of revolt. The idea of a permanent inspiration led him to study the works of Joachim of Calabria, who in the Middle Age had been regarded as a prophet. They taught a doctrine which was afterwards mysteriously described as "the Eternal Gospel." It spoke of the reign of the Holy Spirit when the letter of human erudition would pass away and the Spirit would himself write His words on men's hearts, so that a true society of brothers and sisters would arise, the godly among men becoming the organ of the Spirit; such words as priests and clergy would no longer be heard. This doctrine worked on Münzer like the interior fires in a volcanic land. The mingled ore and dross soon burst forth in destructive lava. Münzer preached a social revolution.

And he was but a type of Germany itself, for the whole land was



soaked with this same doctrine and believed implicitly in it. The various sects in the Catholic Church reproached each other with it, their guilt being exactly in proportion to the light and heat of their faith. The Franciscans were probably the most inclined to believe with Joachim of Calabria, and although the old and the new sects were often bitter foes, there was at bottom a profound unity in the work of the Franciscans, the Lollards, the Beghards and the Hussites. It was through their common influence that Germany was so saturated by a doctrine which was no other than that of the Eternal Gospel, and which after all is no misnomer.

For in reality this Eternal Gospel is but the quintessence of the Bible. And at this very moment, 1522-3, Luther's translations of the New Testament and of the Pentateuch had appeared and were being widely made known to a people who, up till then, had only seen the "*Biblia Pauperum*," a sort of picture-book of Christian doctrine.

When the seething heart of Germany heard, as something almost new, of the constitution and laws of the free Commonwealth which Moses founded, it must have responded to the cry of the Psalmist: "I rejoice at thy word as one that findeth great spoil." For it was great spoil indeed to find that God's word gave them the right to a far happier and nobler society than that in which they groaned. The Pentateuch told them of a state of which the Author was no other than the Eternal Himself, where every man was free, and where each family had its inalienable right in the land.

In the New Testament they learnt that those among whom this divine commonwealth had been founded had proved unworthy, and another people had been chosen, taken from among all nations. No words could exceed in strength those of the New Testament when it spoke of the honour and privilege of this elect race. Foreknown, predestinated, regenerated, justified, a chosen generation, an holy nation, a peculiar people, kings and priests unto God, it was they who were finally to reign on the earth.

The writings of Luther and other of the reformers, disseminated far and wide in the form of little tracts or booklets, illustrated with cuts by Cranach, had taught thousands of poor men that this high honour was assured to those who exercised repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. We must be dull indeed if we cannot imagine the elevation of spirit such a faith would produce in any man. The children of generations of down-trodden serfs needed a strong tonic to enable them to struggle with the descendants of those who had been their masters for ages, and who still possessed all the wealth, power, and culture of this world.

As in every movement, there were two sections—the one moderate, averse to the sword, wishing to conquer by endurance; the other, extreme and eager to proclaim the war. In its original and final



phases Anabaptism, with the exception of its maintenance of the ordinances, very closely resembled the views of the Society of Friends. But at this crisis the moderate party was gradually drawn into the vortex, and supported the insurrection.

Certain Anabaptist confessions of faith give us an idea of the beliefs of the two sections of the popular party; that of the most peaceable may be gathered from the principles taught by Gabriel, who was a disciple of Jacob Hutter, founder of the Herrnhutter, who was a disciple of Nicholas Storch, the first of the mystics of Zwickau. The points of the Gabrielist confession of faith were:—an elect people ordained to reign over the earth that they may extirpate evil; community of goods; no alliance with the unregenerate, either in worship or marriage; adult baptism; the Lord's Supper, a fraternal communion and memorial of Christ's death; faith, a gift of God; no compulsion in matters of faith; prayer worthless unless inspired; capital punishment, pleadings in courts of law, oaths, all absolute power incompatible with the Christian faith.

Of the views of the more extreme party we have a summary by Melancthon, their enemy. He describes them as teaching that sin is not in infants; that they do not need any baptism; that innate weakness is not sin, sin only existing when a reasonable man tolerates and favours his weaknesses; that every infant, no matter whether it be Turk or Pagan, enters heaven without baptism, for all that God has made is good; that a Christian who rules by the sword can neither be prince nor regent, nor exert any authority whatever; that Christians recognise as their superiors only those who are servants of the Word of God; that a Christian ought to possess no property, but live in fraternity and community, as did the apostolic society; that there can be no marriage between one who has faith and one who has not, such a marriage being prostitution.

These two summaries of the Anabaptist faith, as held in the sixteenth century, give a very good idea of its spirit. But they are undoubtedly imperfect, and are rather to be regarded as accentuating the points of their witness than as giving a full account of their creed. What they held in common with other Christians was not the least important part of their faith. For Anabaptism was simply the outcome in the sixteenth century of that undercurrent of Christian faith and Christian tradition which had probably never ceased among the oppressed and suffering classes since it first flowed from the heart and the lips of the Divine Man who appeared in the form of a poor and unlettered Carpenter of Nazareth.

In this very doctrine of a permanent inspiration, the Anabaptists were manifestly of the same faith as Thomas à Kempis, Francis of Assisi, and Joachim of Calabria, while they appear in nearly all particulars the direct descendants of the Brethren of the Unity, the Taborites and the Lollards.



This faith, which had been filtering into the hearts of the poor and suffering European people for fifteen centuries, and which had burst forth time after time to renovate the established and visible Church, was now working with such power that the people felt courage enough to demand justice. A manifesto appeared in the form of Twelve Articles, setting forth the popular griefs. The first Article claimed the right to elect their own pastors; the second an arrangement of the tithes in the spirit of their institution in the Old Testament; the third is a good specimen of the scope and spirit of the whole:—

“In the third place, it has been the custom until now to oblige us to be bondsmen, which is a miserable state of things, seeing that Christ, by His oblivion-making blood, has released and ransomed the lowest shepherd as well as the mightiest potentate, none being excepted. Therefore, it is written in the Scriptures that we are free, and we will be free. Not that we will have no magistrates; that is not what God has taught us. We are bound to live according to the law, and not in wantonness; to love the Lord our God, and in our neighbours to recognise Him; to do to them all we would have done to ourselves, as our God in the Supper has commanded us in a parting word.”

By the fourth it is affirmed to be contrary to justice and charity that the poor should have no right to take game or catch birds or fish in the streams. They add, that in conformity with the Gospel, those who have bought such rights ought to receive an indemnity. The fifth claims the woods and forests as the property of the commune; the sixth complains of the aggravation of the services demanded—the peasants would serve as their fathers according to the Word of God; the seventh requires strict maintenance of the agreements having reference to rent and taxes; the eighth suggests a tribunal of arbitration to settle differences between the lords and the peasants; the ninth demands impartiality in justice and the maintenance of old customs; the tenth, that fields and pasture-lands taken unjustly from the commune be restored; that the tax on the goods of deceased persons should cease, as weighing heavily on widows and orphans; and, finally, the twelfth declares that they will give up any of the Articles proved not to accord with the Gospel and the Word of God.

This manifesto appealed so directly to the Christian conscience of the land, which Luther had done more than any before him to awaken, that all Germany—kings, nobles, peasants, friends, and enemies—looked to him to take the position of arbiter.

He cannot be accused of wanting courage at this supreme moment, or of being untrue to his calling. He rebuked the tyranny of the lords, affirming that they had no one to thank for the terrible eruption which threatened Germany but their own luxury and pride. “You are,” he said, “as secular authorities, butchers and blood-suckers of the poor people. You sacrifice everything to your out-



rageous pride, until the people cannot and will not endure you any longer." To the people he spoke more tenderly, admitting the justice of many of their claims, but assuring them that they would be terribly in the wrong if in the name of the Gospel and as Christian men they thought of revolt. "The Christian," he said, "is a martyr; it is his business to endure all wrongs; cease, then, to talk about Christian right, and say rather that it is natural right you vindicate; for the Christian religion commands you to suffer in all things and to complain only to God."

So far Luther was right; both among Catholics and Heretics, among peasants as well as among princes, all kinds of evil had come from confusing the laws of the visible world with those of the kingdom of Heaven. But he himself shows how deeply this error is implanted in Christendom, since throughout his remonstrance he falls into the same mingling of the two spheres. To introduce into this great social and political struggle one of the laws of the kingdom of Heaven the most opposed to the laws of Nature; "Resist not evil, but if a man strike thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also:" to quote texts enforcing Christian patience on men enduring a load of injustice, which had crushed the life out of them and their ancestors for ages; to cry, "To suffer, to suffer, the cross, the cross, behold what the law of Christ teacheth," was to show that the great Doctor of the Bible had not himself understood its teaching, but was still enthralled in mediæval confusions.

The doctrine of Grace, which he as well as all great Christian teachers in every age have proclaimed, ought to have made it clear to him that these admonitions of the New Testament were only intended for those who have received grace to understand and obey them; and that to represent them as binding on other men is the surest way of destroying all their influence in the world. His remonstrance, therefore, instinct as it is with a fervent desire for the glory of God, the peace of Germany, and the welfare of its oppressed people, really proposed that the sword of justice should be sheathed, and that the greatest criminals should be left unpunished simply because they were the masters. It was endorsing, at a supreme crisis in European history, Wiclif's frightful paradox, "God must serve the Devil." Anabaptism of the fiercer type was the reply to this monstrous proposition, and is another instance of the truth of the words, "By thine own sins will I correct thee."

What drove the Christian conscience into still more inextricable confusion was that Luther owed his extraordinary position to the fact that he had taught with unusual force the doctrine called "Evangelical," and had therefore intensified the idea that all who were not justified by faith were the thralls of Satan, more or less his instruments, and certainly doomed to perdition. Were Christians to obey such men—were they to allow their rulers to snatch the very



Bread of Life out of their mouths, and so force them and their children into the kingdom of darkness? It was no want of charity to call rulers like Ulrich of Würtemberg, and Pope Alexander II., limbs of the devil. Could St. Paul's admonitions not to resist the power refer to such? "The Eternal Gospel" offered a deliverance from this dilemma. It was not the letter of a former inspiration, but a present, ever-living, ever-teaching Spirit that was to be their guide. Besides, the last age of the world had come, the long-expected Vindicator of Divine Justice was at hand, and that time the Bible prophecies should be ushered in by a great war in which the saints should take the kingdom and possess it for ever and ever.

This idea of the "Reign of the Saints," this thought that the time was at hand when Christ would take unto Himself His great power and reign, and that His saints were to prepare the way by taking a two-edged sword in their hand and executing vengeance on the rulers of a doomed world, was the secret source of the strength of the great revolt which now ensued. Leaders arose, generally preachers or old soldiers; but every class in society was represented, the wealthy middle-class by the desperado, James Rohrbach, familiarly called Jacquet, the perpetrator of "the Terror at Weinsberg;" the higher class by the Chancellor Wendel Hipler, who was the statesman of the movement; and by the young noble, Florian Geyer van Geyersberg, its Bayard.

Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? The very spirit of Justice itself cannot work through human nature without the Spirit of Love having to weep over much outrageous injustice and many acts of desperate cruelty. No movement of this kind has ever taken place without the friends of Justice finding themselves allied with brigands and double-dyed traitors. If the commander-in-chief, Guts, the Knight of the Iron-hand, cannot be thus stigmatized, he at least had no real sympathy with his army, and was only drawn into the movement by the hatred he shared in common with the German nobility against the clergy and the burgher class. Under the influence of leaders like Jacquet, the war became sanguinary; all the villagers were forced to join, and the peasant hordes ranged over Germany like a new invasion of Huns and Goths. From the French frontier to the Danube all Germany was up; there were at least a hundred thousand peasants in arms.

A moment of possible victory came when the peasant armies surrounded Seneschal Georg, the general of the troops of the Swabian Confederation; but it was lost, and quickly after the peasants were defeated in the battle of Boeblingen. The lords took signal vengeance, and in expiation of the "Terror," Weinsberg was set on fire. During four days and four nights a sea of flames rose towards heaven. Two thousand people saved themselves; but all else—women,

children, cattle, and houses—fell a prey to the devastating elements. As a foreground, Jacquet and the Black Hofman, the Hecate of the war, underwent the agony of being slowly roasted.

Münzer was in despair, and his letters and his manifestoes are the wild curses of a man who knows that both he and his cause are lost. He met the German princes with eight thousand followers at Frankenhausen. At the end of an hour the battle was lost, and five thousand peasants lay dead or wounded on the field. Münzer was taken, and after being tortured was put to death. On the scaffold he exhorted the princes who were present to be good, just and equitable to the poor and feeble, often to read the Bible, and especially the Book of Kings. "Do not think," he said, "this will last for ever. One day, unless you are enlightened, I shall be avenged. A man like me does not die."

But they took no heed of the prophet. The peasants were slaughtered by hecatombs. The Seneschal Georg travelled over the country accompanied by twelve executioners. From Ulm, where the citizens had foreseen the demand and had apprenticed persons to the executioner's art, the leader of its mercenaries ran through Suabia and Franconia, putting all to death who fell into his power. All who uttered the word "Gospel" were hanged; this man, Berthold Archelin by name, boasted that he had hung twenty peasants a day. No doubt the 'prentice hands made the most of the practice. The Margrave of Baireuth and Anspach travelled from village to village with moving gibbets. In order not to lose time, he generally seized the first hundred peasants and decapitated or blinded about twenty, cutting off the wrists of the others. But nothing, perhaps, gives a more terrible idea of the horrible brutality of the soldiery the German nobles employed to maintain their power than the fate of Münzer's wife, a poor young woman of humble birth. On the eve of becoming a mother, she was dragged into the camp of the Princes, to whom she had been surrendered by the inhabitants of Mulhouse. Exposed to every outrage, she asked for a weapon to kill herself. She was violated in the presence of the army and died on the spot.

The slaughter of the sheep did not end with the first few months of vengeance. Four years after the battle of Frankenhausen, Charles V. issued a decree, ordaining that every Anabaptist, no matter of what sex or age, must be put to death either by the sword or by fire, or by any other means, and without any previous judicial inquiry. After this, Anabaptist martyrdoms are continually occurring. In more than one case the victims were undoubtedly Christians of the highest order. George Wagner, who suffered at Munich, was a man of such irreproachable conduct that even "the prince was dolorously affected at having to send him to the stake." His wife, holding her children in her arms, threw herself on her



knees, and begged him with sobs to let them save his life. But he, "turning his eyes toward Heaven, said, 'My Father, many things here below are dear to me. I love my wife, I love my children, my friends, my life; but Thou art still more dear than wife, children, friends, or life. Nothing shall separate me from Thy love. I am Thine, body and soul. I am ready to die for Thee and the truth: Thou alone art the life.' Another was Balthasar Hübmeier, who was burned at Vienna, in 1528; his wife, who encouraged him at the stake, being drowned three days afterwards in the Danube. Hübmeier, a pupil of Dr. Eck, and one time professor of Catholic theology at Ingolstadt, is believed to have been the first who taught the principle of universal religious liberty. In this he was centuries before his age, and of course far in advance of all "the Reformers," who, to quote the words of Dr. Schaff, in his "History of the Creeds," "felt the extermination of the Anabaptists necessary for the salvation of the churchly Reformation and of social order." Luther, who showed more heart than Melancthon, writes to his brother-in-law:—"It is a lamentable thing that they should finish up in this way with these poor people. But what is to be done? God intends that it may spread a terror in the people. Otherwise, Satan would do worse than the princes do now."

## IV.

*God intends that it may spread a terror in the people.* Here is the secret of the long and doleful history of Christendom, ending after nineteen centuries in its people being almost entirely alienated from that which the Churches teach as the Gospel.

Poor people, it is sometimes said with surprise, believe they will go to heaven simply because they have suffered so much on earth. What is this but faith in the Justice of God?

This obstinate belief in a final reign of Justice, the last consolation of the poor and the oppressed, was the secret of the great uprising we have been considering, and this was why they hailed with such joy the first proclamation of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven.

When the outcasts of Jerusalem found that the chief object that Jesus Christ had was to proclaim a reign of Justice and to establish it on earth; when they saw that with Him the advantage of individuals was only regarded as it helped to establish or illustrate the kingdom of Heaven; when they found that in pursuit of this object he was not afraid to rebuke offenders—however pious, respectable, or highly placed—faith in God and man once more rose in their hearts, and in their unwonted joy they made the streets of Jerusalem resound with the cry: "Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest!"

Such a view of the Gospel will not, I am conscious, appeal to a

society like ours, based on the idea that every individual necessarily seeks his own advantage. What consoles the oppressed masses is not the promise of personal profit, even when it takes the form of eternal felicity, but the certainty that Justice will be vindicated.

And because this Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven is not preached in England, Christians have not recognised that the primary object of their calling is that they should at all cost devote themselves to bringing about the reign of Justice on earth.

To do so would doubtless involve the same results it has always done. For injustice is to so great a degree the basis of our society, and the progress of injustice is so rapid, that to make any real stand against it will certainly lead to the charge of stirring up the people, and possibly to a fate similar to His against whom this accusation was first brought.

In the fourteenth century there was no book more popular than "The Vision of Piers Plowman." The Individual Christian, the Poor hard-working Man, Human Nature, the Church, are all represented in the character of Piers Plowman, and by a profoundly Christian thought, Jesus Christ in His suffering and humiliation is so identified with Piers Plowman that the poet cannot distinguish who it is he beholds. In the nineteenth passus he falls into a dream during Mass :

" And sodeynly me mette  
That Piers the Plowman  
Was peynted al bloody,  
And com in with a cros  
Before the comune people,  
And right lik in all thynges  
To oure lord Jhesus.

" And thanne called I Conscience,  
To kenne me the sothe;  
Is this Jhesus the justere quod I,  
That Jews did to dethe?  
Or is it Piers the Plowman  
Who peynted Hym so rede?

" Quod Conscience and kneeled tho,  
This arn Piers armes  
Hise colours and his cote armure  
Ac he that cometh so bloody  
Is Christ with his cross,  
Conquerour of Christene."

This is the faith that has ever lain dormant in the heart of the people, the faith that found voice and action in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and again in our own times. If that faith is mute to-day, it is because there is no heart in the suffering poor. The rich have taken from them their one little ewe lamb—the Gospel of the kingdom of Heaven, and have offered them in its place a change-ling they do not care to accept.

RICHARD HEATH.



**W**HAT is this power maleficent,  
Wherefrom the Knights of St. Stephen's are bent  
To deliver the souls of the innocent ?

They had done with the Highlander's feather bonnet,  
Having spoken weightily upon it ;  
A fever, due to our luckless trade  
With Madagascar, had been allayed ;  
But not at the call of the purse or the feather  
The Knights, all one-minded, were banded together,  
Oblivious of party ; not even the Bill

For giving their own, with a flourish, to wives,  
Had sufficed with such generous ardour to fill  
Their speeches, or knit them in word and in will,  
As this question which clearly cut into their lives

This is no frivolous matter,—a topic  
Which touches them nearer than the Tropic,—  
Nearer than houses, dearer than lands ;  
Here are their little ones thrown on their hands,

That would suddenly open its reptile jaws,  
 That would stealthily seize in its cat-like claws;  
 Some lurking devil, some hooded snake,  
 That watches the time and the season to slake  
 Its wrath on the man and his motherless brood,  
 Having no part in either.

I stood,  
 I waited, I watched, as they took up the word,  
 And I deemed it some tale of romance that I heard,  
     Some olden story  
     Of dragon hoary,  
 Of fabulous dragon, that over-bold  
 Had come from despoiling the lambs in the fold  
     To threaten the lambs with the tender blue eyes,  
 The tender blue eyes and the fleeces of gold;  
     But I saw that the speakers believed in their cries,  
 Believed in some enemy lying in wait  
 For the children of men, and were keen to abate  
 Of this power perverse the inordinate claim,—  
 To hush and to crush and expose it to shame,  
 Or to bone it and render invertebrate.

What is this terror, this name of fear  
 That they shun to pronounce, that I tremble to hear?  
 The name of this vampyre that fastens and thrives  
 On the tender young lives  
 Of the children,—this foe, whose mere shadow appals,—  
 The name of this Spoiler for justice that calls,  
     And that justice, as such has no choice but to smother,  
 To stamp out the life of, or build up in walls,—  
     God comfort the children—this fiend is their MOTHER

Yes, they give up its name, but they publish no deed  
 Of the malice supernal wherefor it must bleed.

What are the sins that have cost so dear?  
 You have shown much panic, but little proof,  
 There are voices that speak on the woman's behoof,  
     Knights of St. Stephen's, is it clear  
     That your foe is more than a shadowy fear?

If so dim and dateless the woman's crime,  
 Let us find her track on the path of time.



THE NEED OF THE MOTHER FOR A MOTHER,  
The woman who bore it, and no other,  
Is more than all niceties of creed,  
This fair pretender has been a squaw,  
Known little of mercy, and less of law,  
Has served in the ruder times as a beast  
Of burthen, and now, in the blind old East  
Is kept in a cage, and accounted of yet  
No more than a bird, or a marmozet;  
She has come on her way through much dishonour,  
Hers the pity, not hers the blame,  
Hers the sorrow, but whose the shame  
If she bears some marks of the slave upon her?

As pilgrim of progress, the woman is late;  
But her tardy arrival is due to the weight  
She has borne, which though lightened, the cost of en  
The part most endearing, must double for ever.

What share is this claimant's in those whom the state  
Would guard from a love it holds direr than hate?  
Is she here but to fashion and bring to the birth  
The seed of man's sowing—to bear, like the earth,  
That needs not the pity we give to the brute,  
Being dead and insensate—her perilous fruit?

Not so, for she suffers; dear God, she can feel!  
And the bone of her bone you may take, and appeal  
As of right to the law, is her own in a sense

A sacrifice of perennial birth,  
 A bondage binding her soul to earth,  
     Keeping it down with a chain of flowers;  
 A swift life-current that sets to her breast,  
 And leaves her happy and dispossessed,  
     With fading beauty and 'minished powers;  
 A tender torment, a priceless pain,  
     A very passion of fond unrest:  
 Such is the loss and such the gain,  
     Of the woman whom love has crowned and blest.

This her portion; and what is assigned  
 To the abler body, the master-mind?

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What unto hers his share in the plan  
 Which Nature, the mother  
 (Like many another)  
 Who favours her sons, has required of the man!

We ask, what evil beneath the sun  
 Has your life's co-partner, the woman done,  
 That you seize possession  
 By brute aggression,  
 Or yield but a figment of her own  
 As who should fling to a dog a bone?  
 Why for her must there be no right,  
 But the man's gloved hand in its feudal might?  
 Why on this shore where breath so free  
 Is drawn 'neath the cincture of the sea,  
 Must the mother's tender heart and hands  
 Alone be riven by cruel bands?  
 Why with a human right at stake,  
 Must an old-world code still claim to break  
 The word of life, with its holy trust  
 In woman, and by an act unjust  
 Wrest from the victim thus reviled,  
 Her more than equal share in the child?  
 Why in this land of even measure  
 Must only the mother hold her treasure—  
     Hers by a right that goes beyond  
     All other right, a nature-bond—  
 Compared with which the titled wealth  
 Of men is commonly mere stealth—  
     Hold it but at a tyrant's pleasure,  
     Still subject to unrighteous seizure?



Ye fervent advocates of light,  
Retained to vindicate the right,  
Why take the law yourselves, and place  
Your needier partners under grace ?  
With nothing proven but your fears,  
No witnesses but woman's tears,  
How have you seized upon and hurled  
This woman's charter in the dust,  
How dared from out the pale to thrust,  
And so to outlaw half the world !

Knights of St. Stephen's, are you met  
Your bond upon the sea to set ?  
Think you with overmastering pride  
To turn the ever-rising tide  
Of justice and of liberty ?  
You will not turn it, valiant Knights,  
Whose fathers wrung their chartered rights  
From wrongful hands on Runnymede ;  
Our rights to us are ten-fold dear,  
And love for them will cast out fear ;  
Not profitless our hearts will bleed  
For ever, love shall make us free !  
Your faith is ours, and yours our Creed,  
Your mothers, sisters, mates are we !

Think of it well, ye men of might,  
Who sit and watch by day and night  
The signs of coming change, and see  
In that which is what is to be.  
You note the part, and not the whole,  
You scorn our impact overmuch,  
And do not feel the finer touch  
That helps the future to control.

Nor are you wise to circumvent  
The friends of custom and of rule,  
While coldly leaving to their bent  
The lawless, the incontinent,  
The soft and too-confiding fool.

Behold the wife constrained to part  
Her life in twain, in legal bands  
Idly eating her busy heart,  
Vainly wringing her empty hands,

Wearing out in prayer the knees  
That should have been her children's lap,  
Spoiled of all but her silken ease—  
A moaning creature in a trap,  
Wishing that hers had been the state  
Of the mother who never knew married mate ;  
So free to cherish, and eke, provide  
For the infant by whom her hands are tied ;  
Free if the milk should fail in her breast,  
And she and the child be too hard prest,  
To hurry it into the grave to rest.

O ye who loose, O ye who bind,  
Your tender mercies are not kind !

Who breaks must pay ; the law is just,  
And she who breaks the double trust  
Of man and nature, needs must feel  
The double pang which both can deal ;  
The Christ could write her sin in dust  
And make her judges share her shame,  
But not the Christ himself could heal  
The wounds with which the woman slays  
The faith of men that she betrays ;  
Annulled for her the common claim ;  
Unless that pity make appeal,  
Her heart must break upon the wheel.

But, think you, that the love, whose root  
In woman's heart has borne for fruit  
All that we strive for, know, or feel  
Of good, will bear the bruising heel  
For ever, or that, deep and pure,  
Knowing itself, it will endure  
To hold no part in love secure  
But just the portion of the brute ?

There stands a cloud, a little cloud,  
Upon the brink of coming time,  
Its morning presence scarce avowed,  
But gathering to the noon-day prime ;  
No bigger than a man's closed hand,  
It darkens still, and still it grows,  
And it will open on our land  
As time its fulness shall disclose,—



Will haply seek some safer place,  
What, while the altars, bright of old  
With purest flame, will languish cold;  
The waves of passion turn and roll,  
A silent current to the pole;  
The baffled mother-instinct use  
Its means to wider ends, diffuse  
Its benedictions in a sphere  
Where larger love, and not so near,  
Will cost the human heart less dear.

This woman's love released, unbound,  
Turned thankless out from home and hearth,  
May reach of earth the farthest round,  
May lighten many an unknown path;  
But not unfelt will be the cost  
Of that hard-dealing which has lost  
From homely use, but for a day  
The best of love, and sent away,  
To sublimate itself in space,  
The power which should sublime the race.

Knights of St. Stephen's, mark the cloud,  
The little cloud that shows on high,—  
No thunder pealing, long and loud,  
No flash electric cleaves the sky;  
But still the cloud which means the storm,  
The little cloud that takes the form  
Of man's closed hand grows dark and dense,

You do not well to make the gate  
Of entrance to your halls so strait,  
That access to the heaven within  
The highest hearts no more may win ;  
You do not well to rest your hope  
On natures of a narrower scope,  
And leave the souls which, like your own,  
Aspire, to find their way alone,—  
To go down childless to their graves  
The while you get your sons of slaves.

EMILY PFEIFFER.



## AN IDEAL UNIVERSITY.\*

THE discussions of recent years have made us all familiar with the process by which institutions are developed from small beginnings and simple forms into highly finished and complex organisms, rich in the possession of a variety of means by which to attain their end or subserve its attainment. But it is no less true, if less frequently observed, that in the course of their development institutions sometimes seem to lose sight of their original aim, or are at least led aside from the pursuit of it. For the sake of finding powerful means to their end, or of securing other objects at the same time, men construct a number of instruments and undertake a number of enterprises which are indeed connected with the main end, but which often grow to such dimensions as to make them forget or misconceive the end itself. The means obscure the end, the organization becomes so vast and complex a thing that it stands by its own strength, and exists for its own sake. There is in fact a perverting and corrupting influence at work in all the growths of time which is no less natural than is the process by which each organism develops what it needs for its life, and lives by such development. Thus twice in its history has the Christian Church become so much entangled with institutions and notions which had little or nothing to do with its original purpose, that violent efforts and struggles were needed to set it free, first from the association of its ministers with places of temporal power and wealth; secondly, from a vast growth of usages and fancies which were placing encumbrances and hindrances to its efficiency and its essential character. It became necessary to lop off much that had been naturally evolved, because in the process of evolution influences had come in which turned the growth into false

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directions. To give the original purpose free scope for working itself rightly out, a fresh start had to be made. Another illustration may be found in our jurisprudence. Most, I will not say all, of the law reforms of recent years have been efforts to prune away redundancies and excrescences which were all the results of the evolutionary process, but had become mainly noxious. Simplicity had to be secured by recurring to first principles, by asking what the main object was, by rejecting whatever led towards it by too circuitous a path.

Universities have experienced the same tendencies. In them also complexity and a rich variety of instruments and appliances, growing naturally out of the search for useful means, have thrown into the background the original purpose of the institution. The means have obscured the end. You may train a climbing plant against the wall of a house to adorn it and shelter the masonry from beating rain, but if it be suffered to grow unchecked, its shoots will rise and spread till they darken the windows and loosen the stones, and make the chambers unwholesome with infiltrating moisture. So the expedients and devices whereby men have sought to enrich and adorn and strengthen Universities, and fit them for their work, have often been the parents of evil, sometimes because they have transgressed economic laws, sometimes because they have attracted so much activity and zeal as to deaden the interest that ought to have been given to the main functions and duties of the University itself. That is why it may be worth while from time to time to consider even at this late day, when Universities have lasted so long and done so much, what is their true nature and mission; what are their essential attributes and their simplest form. The inquiry is practical, not only because we are often reforming our existing Universities, but because we are founding new ones. Three years ago one for which a great future may be predicted came into being at Manchester, nor is it unlikely that we shall see other great towns following this example.

Setting aside all questions of etymology or ancient usage, we may for practical purposes define a University as a body of men engaged in teaching the highest knowledge. It is not necessary that they should be teaching every branch of knowledge, though some have tried to fix this meaning on the word; for there have been some institutions which every one takes to be Universities from whose action certain branches of the highest knowledge are omitted. But we shall agree that a University ought to teach a variety of branches, and among these the highest, else how are we to distinguish it from a school or a place of purely technical instruction? Let us see then what is essential to an institution founded to give such teaching.

Here, however, we are met by an objection on the threshold.



Are Universities needed at all in an age when books are abundant and cheap, and when from books every kind of knowledge is obtainable? They grew up in days when printing was unknown. Might not those who teach in them just as well print what they have to say, since thereby the expense of bringing learners together to listen would be avoided, and time be also saved, not to add that many men can express themselves better on paper?

Though none of you will think such an objection serious, it affects so many people, half unconsciously, as to deserve an answer. The answer is twofold. Universities where learners are gathered to listen to oral teaching are useful, almost as useful as in the days before printing, because the learners listen in common and associate together, not only in the lecture-room but out of it. The sympathy of numbers, that mysterious sympathy which heightens every emotion, and makes ordinary men capable of heroisms or of crimes, stimulates their interest in their studies. They discuss with one another what they read and hear; they search for truth in company, and the love of truth and of their studies entwines itself with friendships made to last for life. The second ground is the influence of the teacher's personality, if he have a real gift for teaching, upon his hearers. This same sympathy of one human being with another, which is so potent in many forms, operates through look and voice and manner, and gives life to facts or reasonings which set forth in the pages of a book would seem hard and cold. And the teacher himself, if of a sympathetic turn, is inspired by his pupils. You know the story of the ancient philosopher who called his disciples his wings, on whom he soared into the upper air. In oral teaching, ideas present themselves in a more emotional atmosphere, and often shape themselves in more vivid language than when a man writes alone. The imagination is stimulated and illustrations rise to the lips. He who is brought face to face with a hearer feels more keenly the primary duty of making his own meaning perfectly clear, and of so developing his theme in the natural succession of ideas as to carry the listening mind along with him, step by step. Hence it is that so many of the best books, and especially of those books which make abstract or technical subjects comprehensible to the lay public, have grown out of oral lectures. This old fact in human nature—mind telling on mind as eye meets eye—is true now as it was in the days of Plato or of Abelard. Famous teachers producing effects by their teaching have been less frequent of late years in England, because our Universities did not teach in the last century, and have bestowed in this century more pains on examining than on teaching. Yet among us they are not unknown, though it is more often through conversation than through public lecturing that the teacher influences the pupil; while in other countries,

especially in Germany, there have been brilliant instances, none more remarkable than that of Hegel. Our conclusion must therefore be that, although he who is debarred from access to a University is far better off now than he would have been five centuries ago, because he has printed books, cheap and plentiful, to teach him, he is still at so great a disadvantage compared with those to whom that access is open that the importance of public oral teaching can scarcely be held to have diminished.

I return to our definition of a University. It is a body of persons teaching the highest knowledge, that knowledge which is of most worth to men, either because it deals with their highest interests, appeals to their noblest feelings, evokes their finest powers, or because it is at the root of their practical achievements, forms the basis of their control of Nature, supplies the explanations of the phenomena of their own life, guides them in the path of moral and social advancement. We shall not quarrel over what is to be included in the term; in fact, we shall agree that the more it includes the better, that every branch of knowledge which can be treated in a scientific manner, reduced to order and expounded as a body of correlated principles, is proper for a University; although it is not necessary that each and every University should undertake it. As investigation and study carry us further onward, and subjects, which were formerly only practical arts, are brought within the domain of science, so does the sphere of a University constantly widen. Therefore we may say that our ideal University must in these days provide instruction not only in the subjects consecrated by old tradition, such as theology, metaphysics, logic, grammar; but in history, archæology, philology, and all such groups of languages as are sufficiently known; in the social sciences, such as politics, comparative and constructive jurisprudence, the laws of various countries, economics in all its branches; in mathematics, in the sciences of observation and experiment, even in the applied sciences, such as mining and metallurgy, agricultural chemistry, practical mechanics. This width, this universality, this catholic acceptance of all knowledge as worthy to be dealt with scientifically, will be the first note of our true and perfect University.

The second will be its freedom. By this I mean that it will not only be accessible to all comers, free from any distinction of birth-place, class or creed; but that it will allow any one who comes to study any subject he pleases, whether or no he studies any other subject or enters for a regular course. Experience proves that as soon as one begins to prescribe fixed courses, one repels many who ought to be attracted. They may not care for the other topics included in the course, or may not have the capacity for mastering them. They may want the time, or the money, needed for following



right through a course of three or four, or even five years, such as our Universities have hitherto prescribed. Yet they may be just the men who by zeal, industry, or ability are fitted to profit by and adorn a place of learning, and to turn what they there receive to the service of the commonwealth.

"Do you then," some one may say, "reject the traditional and still established view that a University ought to prescribe regular courses of instruction to its students? Do you deny that a corporation of learned men, with all the experience of the past behind them, and all their special knowledge within them, are better fitted to tell a young man what subjects he ought to study, and in what order he ought to take them, than he is to discover this for himself?"

By no means. Let the University prescribe her course or courses, specifying what each shall contain, and what degrees or prizes shall reward proficiency in each. Let her induce as many students as possible to follow these courses and thereby obtain a complete and thorough training. The degrees and prizes will help to secure that. But let her not therefore reject the rest who have not the time or means, the needs or opportunities, to follow these regular courses, but who nevertheless come thirsting for knowledge, and anxious to quaff it at the purest source. Place guards if you like at the doors of your examination halls, but let your lecture-rooms stand always open, like the churches of Catholic Europe, so that thereby even the passing wayfarer may hear the voice and be drawn in.

Our third note is that the University must teach. You may think it superfluous to say this. Is it so when we have two bodies in the United Kingdom, out of the eleven which the law calls Universities, and yet which do not teach and have nothing to do with teaching? They are the outcome of our miserable religious feuds, and one of them, the new Royal University in Ireland, has risen on the ruins of a true University, which consisted of a group of teaching bodies; nevertheless, even these two, they have done, or may do, some useful work, and I mention them not for the sake of disparaging them, but only to point out that they are not Universities in the proper and historical sense of the word. They are examining boards. The true University is a teaching body. She is nothing less and nothing more, because that is enough. Her business is to give the facts which make up knowledge, to give the method which connects and harmonizes those facts; to give the impulse which disposes us to turn our knowledge of these facts and methods to good account. This last is the highest duty which the University has to discharge, and which her conditions specially fit her to discharge. The most powerful teacher is he who can vivify knowledge, who can surround it with an atmosphere of imagination and emotion, who can give a sort of concrete reality to abstract propositions. All knowledge is desired as a pre-

condition to emotion and action, and though some subjects, such as pure mathematics, for instance, may seem far removed from the sphere of action, yet even in them the imagination is not idle. It is the potent agent in discovery, and the sense of intellectual beauty, which the relations of number and form disclosed in the higher mathematics awaken, is itself an emotion, one which it is among the rarest gifts of genius to use and cultivate. To give stimulative teaching—teaching which, while it insists upon the most exact accuracy in observing and criticizing and remembering, always appeals to the discursive reason and the creative imagination—this is the main function of a University. If it does this, it does everything; if it fails to do this, it does nothing.

In presenting these as the three distinguishing functions of a complete and perfect University, that it shall teach, that it shall teach everything deserving scientific treatment, that it shall admit every one freely to its teaching, I have omitted three things at least which some of you may have been accustomed to think essential—the conferring of degrees, the prosecution of research, and the possession of endowments. Are we justified in omitting them?

A degree was originally merely a license to teach, and was bestowed as a sign that the student had learnt enough to be qualified to instruct others. It means nothing more than a step, and the lower degrees indicated the steps by which a man mounted to the doctorate where he was a fully prepared, trained and authorized teacher. In the very first days there were of course no such titles, and when they began to be used, they were not so much titles as descriptions; but in the progress of time, the degree being the natural conclusion and crown of a course of study, it came to be regarded as the legitimate fruit of University years, and not only those who meant to teach but all others sought to obtain it as a title. Since only Universities gave the degree, men got to think that the peculiar attribute of a University was to give it, and the popular notion of a University in most minds both here and in America, is that it is a degree-conferring no less than a teaching body.

When our two great English schools began to shake off the sluggishness of last century, their efforts at reform took the direction of reviving their degree examinations and awarding honours in them. Little was done directly for the teaching, though it improved as the reforming spirit strengthened. This, together with the fact that many men, in last century most men, came away from Oxford and Cambridge untaught, but with degrees, has made us in England think of the degree-giving power as the chief characteristic of the University, and suppose that he who has got the degree, has got, not merely what he went to seek, but all he needed to seek.

Now neither examining nor the conferring of degrees is essential to a



University, and as the latter, if divorced from the former, becomes delusive and demoralizing, so even the former may become dangerous to both students and teachers. Examinations moderately applied to test the thoroughness of a teacher's method, the accuracy and industry of a learner, are so useful as to be almost indispensable. Applied for the purpose of awarding honours and prizes they are still useful, being powerful stimulants, but are liable to serious abuse. When they grow to be the controlling influence in a place of study, prescribing to the seniors what and how they shall teach, to the juniors what and how they shall learn, they are mischievous, and do more harm in one way than good in another. They destroy the teacher's freedom. They pervert the learner's mind. They encourage, I will not say cramming, because a skilful examiner detects and defeats mere cramming, but over-teaching, a teaching which attempts to give more in a given time than the mind can digest and assimilate. They force the student to aim not at knowing a subject, but at knowing what to say about it at short notice. They weaken the love of knowledge and substitute for it the passion for success and distinction, perhaps for pecuniary rewards. Without for a moment therefore denying the immense power of the instrument when wisely employed, we may conclude that examining is not a University's chief business, seeing that first-rate teaching may go on, and often has gone on, without it. As for degrees, they are nowise indispensable. They stimulate some, they attract many who might not otherwise come; but they also dispose many to acquiesce in an inferior grade of knowledge, and not seldom they become a means whereby a University and its students deceive the world, putting upon base metal the stamp to which more honest mints have given currency.

The prosecution of research, that is to say, the discovery of new truths by means of systematic inquiry into facts hitherto imperfectly examined, is plainly among the functions and services one may expect from a University. As the teachers are by hypothesis men of the first eminence in their respective departments, they will not be content to confine themselves to repeating other men's conclusions, but will be always investigating for the sake both of testing those conclusions and of reaching further conclusions for themselves. In the sphere of the natural sciences, they will be occupied in observing phenomena, collecting and classifying the records of observations, drawing inferences from these records, interrogating Nature by experiments. In such subjects as history or philology, they will hunt up new data, apply an improved critical method to the data already existing, search for new principles which may more adequately explain the facts. Every teacher finds in the course of his teaching that there are lacunæ in our knowledge which he would like, for the sake of his students, to be able to fill up. He is naturally led to concen-

trate his efforts on these, and the very process of teaching sometimes helps him to discovery; for in the effort to explain things to a class, to put principles more clearly to his own mind that thus they may better enter the minds of the students, they reveal themselves to him in new relations, and paths are opened which lead on to discovery. Independent study is therefore the consort and helpmate of first-rate teaching, and though there are teachers whose merit lies much more in exposition than in discovery, still if we look back at the array of the greatest names in science, or in the humane studies, we shall find that a large proportion of the most eminent teachers have been and are now discoverers. Since therefore we may expect research from a University, we need not make special provisions for it, or set apart and endow a class of men to prosecute it. The world being what it is, such a plan is as likely to produce abuses as discoveries. Where there is zeal and energy, where the teaching is quickening, because it springs from a love of the subject, there we may count on finding the pursuit of truth by inquiry and experiment in full development.

And now, what of endowments? Must our University, to be complete, possess and rely upon them as no doubt many of the great schools of the world have done, the University of Athens, in its later days under the Roman Empire, as well as the Universities of our own country? You all know what Turgot and Adam Smith have said about endowments, and how the most eminent—and almost the last—of our strict economists of the good old school, answered the question put to him by the Schools Enquiry Commissioners as to how the grammar school endowments of England might be best employed by saying: "Throw them away—anywhere—into the sea." Those who have studied the question never so little are aware what mischiefs they have done wherever they have existed, in matters of charitable relief, and in ecclesiastical organizations, not less than in education. On the other hand, we see that the leading Universities possess them, and declare they could not thrive without them; that all the new Universities cry out for them; that there are branches of knowledge for whose teaching it seems impossible to provide, except by allotting fixed stipends. I will not attempt to discuss the question further than to make three remarks.

Firstly. Endowments are not essential to a University, because bodies have existed, giving admirable instruction, in which the teachers were paid by the pupils alone, and because one may conclude that the better teaching is, and the more highly men are educated to recognize its value, the more willing must they become to pay a fair market price for it.

Secondly. Their utility depends on their flexibility, that is, on the existence of an authority which can quickly and easily transfer



them from one form of application to another. Many of the past evils have arisen from the fact that our law has considered the directions given by the founder of an endowment as final and unchangeable, and has permitted no deviation from them so long as they could be fulfilled at all, even though it were plain that they were doing no substantial good, perhaps positive mischief. In some extreme cases, such as those of restrictions on scholarships and fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, and last year in the case of the parochial charities of this City of London, the Legislature has set aside these legal rules, either giving a wider scope to the old purposes or directing the application of old funds to purposes altogether new. It is much to be desired that the principle should be once for all laid down that charitable endowments belong not to the dead but to the living, and that each generation shall be free to use them for such objects as it finds most presently beneficial. The State is entitled, as the consideration for its permitting property to be permanently devoted to charitable purposes, to reserve to itself the right of revising those purposes. Nor will a wise founder consider that he loses by such a doctrine, since it is surely better that his bounty should be made really useful to posterity than that it should be applied in the exact way which to him, perhaps hundreds of years ago, seemed, and probably then was, though it is not now, the most judicious.

Thirdly: Endowments ought not to be so used as to interfere with the ordinary laws of demand and supply, but reserved for those cases in which demand and supply fail to give what is needful. They do no harm when applied to the provision of libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories. They do good when employed in supporting professorial chairs in subjects which can attract but few students, such as some branches of pure mathematics, or the Oriental or Scandinavian languages, or archaeology, or such departments of the sciences of observation as mineralogy or comparative anatomy. These are subjects which in the interests of the nation ought to be studied and taught, yet the teacher of them can scarcely hope to live by the fees of his students. I do not deny that the foundation of scholarships and prizes may also be a proper object. But experience proves that in such applications much caution is needed, lest these money rewards be appropriated, as too often happens, by those who do not really need them, and lest they warp study and produce overpressure on the young.

On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that although our University can dispense with endowments, she will be the stronger and more efficient if she does possess them, subject always to the condition that she, or the State as her protector, has full power to change their appropriation in such way as may make them most useful.

If these things then be not absolutely needful, what are the appli-



ances and conditions which the perfect place of teaching needs, and how is it to be organized? To this question no answer can be given, because there is no such thing as an absolutely best form of University. People used to debate fifty years ago what was the best form of government. No one raises that inquiry now, because everybody knows that the excellence of a form of government resides in its suitability to the character and circumstances of each people and each country. So Universities may take many shapes and yet all be right. One may give its teaching in large classes, another in small ones; one may lay more, another less, weight upon examinations; one may confer degrees more freely than another; one may gather its students into colleges, another let them live where they like in a town; one may admit men and women alike to its halls, another devote itself to one sex only; one may prescribe only a single course for graduation, another several or even a large variety of courses. In all these matters it is best to let things find their level, to go on trying experiments, and trusting to spontaneous development to work out what is best. Time is wiser than the wisest men of any one generation: the fault lies in the fact that either from interest or from prejudice and excessive deference to tradition we refuse to accept time's teachings and try to prolong an artificial life in usages and institutions which are practically dead. Such matters then are of minor consequence. The main thing is to give first-rate teaching. Let nothing interfere with this. Sacrifice everything else to it; do not suffer the means to obscure the end. Let the teaching be cheap enough to be within everybody's reach. Let it cover all subjects, not only all that belongs to a liberal education, but the professional and technical subjects also, since these also ought to be and may be studied in a truly scientific spirit. Let the teachers have every motive to do their utmost. One must not rely too much, with any class of men, on conscientiousness only, but provide that emolument and promotion shall follow conspicuous merit and that negligence shall be subject to reproof. As respects endowments, let them be as little as possible tied up to any particular purpose, but be capable of application now to one, now to some other object, as the needs of the time suggest, and let them be chiefly applied to such subjects as the operation of demand and supply does not provide for.

To what practical conclusion, I may be asked, are these remarks tending, or why are they made at all? Well, in the first place, we are likely to see a further development of Universities in our great cities, following that example of Manchester to which I have already referred. Believing that this will be a boon to the country, and not in the least fearing any degradation of teaching or any injury to the two great ancient seats of learning from the upgrowth of young competitors, I desire to urge that a University is a simpler and less



elaborate thing than people mostly imagine, and needs nothing more than men to speak, and enough men to listen to secure that the speakers shall be first-rate. There is ground for regret in the continual drain we see of literary and scientific talent from other parts of the three kingdoms to London, and one may well believe that the country would gain by having independent and dignified homes of thought and study in most of its great centres of population. Manchester has gained immensely during the last thirty years from its Owens College, which has now ripened into a University, and you all know what the cities in which they stand, as well as the whole country, owe to the Universities of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. Time would fail me to speak of the great men who have adorned those schools, and many of whom might never have written, had they not been placed there to teach. Four Universities have not been too many for a small country like Scotland, which has even now only three and a half millions of people. In the United States the multiplication of Universities has been one of the most potent and beneficent agencies in developing the intellectual life of the nation, in making it by far the most generally cultivated and active-minded community of the modern world, in enabling it to bear and work, on the whole successfully, a very democratic system of local institutions. Most of these Universities, and they are very numerous, are indeed much below the level of their English or Scotch or German sisters; many in the West or South are no better than an average grammar school. Yet they are always growing, expanding, improving. The little taper becomes a candle, and the candle a lamp, and the flame burns higher and higher, and lights up all the town and the country round it. More is done for the place by its existence there than if a few of the sons of richer parents went to pursue their studies at some distant seat of learning like those of Europe or the Eastern States. After seeing what an influence even these humble academies exert upon the crude communities where they spring up, how they foster the finer spirits and turn them to other than material aims, one grows confirmed in the view that we shall gain by having more Universities in the great towns of England.

But I pass on to speak of an object which more directly concerns us as inhabitants of London. We stand here in the vastest aggregation of human beings that the world has seen. Because it is so vast it has outgrown all organization, and ceased to think of itself as a city at all. The municipal system of the Middle Ages was only once extended to include a new area, at the time when the region between Ludgate Hill and Temple Bar was brought within the walls. The last century was not fertile in creative expedients, and when people wakened up fifty years ago to see how huge London even then was compared with that square mile which we call the City, and which

carries on the ancient municipal government, they shrank back from the problem of giving it a corporate existence and re-modelling the old institutions to suit these new conditions. Thus we find no collective action in London for common objects; no appliances intended to serve the whole of its inhabitants. The greatest things, like the British Museum Library and the picture galleries and art collections, have been created or gathered not by Londoners but by the nation. Such educational agencies as exist have grown up accidentally, sporadically, unconnectedly. None of them is strong enough to grapple with the needs of all London, nor is there combined action between them. Indeed, few Londoners know what London contains; the names not only of institutions but even of large districts are strange to those who dwell in other parts. Herodotus relates that when Babylon was taken by Cyrus the inhabitants of the centre continued to feast and make merry long after the conquerors had begun to sack the outer parts, and I need not tell you how little May Fair and Belgravia have known of the foes that are always ravaging the quarters of the poor.

Among these four millions of people, a population larger than that of Scotland, how many must there be who desire to obtain the best instruction in all sorts of subjects. Some are unable to afford the expense of an Oxford or Cambridge course. Others may have passed the age at which they can go there. Others may be occupied during part of the day with their business or home duties, and so prevented from seeking what they want at any of the existing Universities. Others again, and many among ourselves here present will come within this category, desire to be taught some one or two subjects which have an attraction or a practical importance for them, and which cannot be learnt adequately from books alone. Over and above all these there are many women who have not been able to go to Girton or Newnham Colleges at Cambridge, or the newly founded halls for women at Oxford, but desire to receive teaching of the highest available quality, and at present know not where to find it.

For all these persons there does not now exist in this vast London of ours any one institution to which they may bend their steps in the confidence of finding there first-rate instruction in any subject which men or women may seek to study. There are, indeed, countless institutions scattered here and there, some of greater and others of less account, which do give instruction in a large variety of topics. There are University College and King's College, each of which is adorned by some eminent professors and gives a tolerably complete course. There are establishments where occasional lectures are provided, like the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, and this Institution where we now stand. There are professional schools, such as the hospitals and the law schools at the Inns of Court. There are



technical and art schools, such as the School of Mines in Jermyn Street and the scientific establishment at South Kensington. There are institutions intended chiefly for the working classes as, for example, the Working Men's and Men and Women's colleges. There are the lectures of the University Extension Society. And there is the University of London at Burlington House. It is not a University at all, in our sense of the word; its function, however useful, is quite different. The observations on it which follow are from a high authority who knows much more about its history and present relations to other London bodies than I do. Sir George Young, who has been for some time chairman of the Senate of University College, and is now one of the Charity Commissioners charged with the Endowed Schools department of that office, writes to me as follows:—

"We Londoners have no University, but the *disjecta membra* only of one. We have the 'University of London,' with the charter entitling it to give degrees, with a Government grant sufficient to supplement deficiencies in its fee fund, and with the name of a University; but with no teachers, no scholars, no University society, no buildings (except a room in Burlington House), no libraries, no laboratories, an uninteresting record of achievement, and (as experience shows) small power of attracting endowment from benefactors. We have two institutions for University teaching, both with fair record and fair present performance; such as might fairly claim rank with average Universities, abroad and at home; but almost unknown to the London public, and incapable (as experience shows) of attracting general interest. Both are starved for want of endowment. Both are stunted through lack of popular sunshine.

"The fault lies in the false direction given fifty years ago to the University movement of that day. That movement began with the Benthamites, in alliance with Nonconformists, then excluded from Oxford and Cambridge. They started 'The London University' (now University College). Before they had gone far, the Tory party rose in arms against an undenominational movement, and founded King's College, as a Church of England institution, by way of rivalry. King's College was not so much intended by its founders to be a University, as to prevent University College from being 'the London University,' and further, to afford to Londoners a qualification for Holy Orders. It suffered from the first by the constant draining of its brilliant students to Oxford and Cambridge; and its most important development has lain, in recent times, in its evening classes, a 'University extension' rather than a 'University' work, and in its female annex at Kensington. It is cramped for space, and cannot expand. It received a site from Government, and has accumulated a small body of endowments by way of prizes. I am not aware if any of its Chairs are endowed. It is barely upheld by the exertions of a brilliant staff of Professors, especially on the scientific and medical side.

"University College was fortunate in its site, a large portion of which still remains unoccupied. Too much was spent on architecture, but a very noble building, though in a style since unfashionable, was the result. It started with great *eclat*, and speedily attained a fair measure of success. The result of the great battle of the charter, wherein its founders were defeated in their attempt to obtain the power of giving degrees, was a compromise, by which it was thought all ends were secured, while in fact the principal end, the establishment of University education in London on a sufficient basis, was lost sight of. It was commonly believed at that time that Oxford and Cambridge, as they then were, were the proper models of a University, if not the only



models; *i.e.*, that a University ought to contain colleges, in which there should be lecturers and students, and to provide an examining authority to give degrees. Accordingly the University of London was founded, to which University College and King's College were 'affiliated;' and as the Roman Catholic colleges and others, in various parts of the country, needed degrees for their students, it was arranged that the benefit of affiliation should be extended beyond the limits of London, so as to include colleges that might be founded anywhere else in England. No provision was made for the representation of the colleges, as such, on the governing body of the University; but it was supposed that University and King's Colleges, at all events, would always be so represented, and as a matter of fact this has always been the case; the principal of King's and members of the council of University having always had places on the Senate. The Senate was at first constituted entirely of nominees; it now consists of two elements, the nominees of Government and the representatives of Convocation—*i.e.*, of the graduates. A Member of Parliament has been assigned to the latter body. It is noticeable that in giving the ultimate authority over the University to the body of graduates, another bad feature of the Oxford and Cambridge system was most gratuitously introduced.

"Very soon after its foundation this University found itself in difficulties as to the qualification of the institutions that were to be affiliated. Colleges of more promise than performance were admitted; the presence of a brilliant student or two was allowed as a reason for enlarging the door to bodies of no promise whatever; and at last, when some grammar schools had come to be affiliated, the bar was broken down, and the private students rushed in. Why not? The University knew nothing, and cared little, about methods of teaching; its one care was, to see that nobody got a degree who did not deserve it; and, to do it justice, the standard was made high, and kept so. The paucity of teachers on the Senate, and their entire absence in any representative capacity, made the revolution easy. The staff of teachers in University College and King's College could only stand by and see what was done. If any of them doubted of the wisdom of the change, they were powerless. Mr. Grote, who was the leading spirit of the Council of University College at the time, himself a 'private student,' was the principal author of it.

"The effects have been deleterious upon the teaching of the Colleges. Eminent teachers have found themselves fettered by the examinations as conducted by men of no greater eminence than themselves. The most energetic men now engaged in University teaching in London have actually been forced to give duplicate courses, one to teach, in the best way they knew, the student who wanted, above all things, to learn; the other, to coach examinees in the books set by the examiners of an alien body. No remedy for this state of things appears possible. The teachers cannot meet and arrange a curriculum and demand that the University shall consider it; for they are scattered over the whole empire. The examiners cannot frame their examinations with reference to any particular teaching, however catholic; for an outcry would immediately arise from those who were left out. The examinations have tended always towards covering an enormous extent of ground. The traditional high standard, of which the managers are justly proud, has had to be lowered in point of thoroughness as the area of examination was widened, until it has come to be maintained by good judges that in some branches, at all events, it is now unduly low. The staple subjects of current education, in which thoroughness is most attainable, have most suffered by this. In outlying subjects the degree of the University of London still demands a standard beyond the ordinary reach of human attainment. The number of plucks is in consequence enormous, and the number of graduates is small indeed, when one considers the facility of access to the examinations.



Moreover, it shows no signs of increase adequate to the necessity of the times.

"To judge by results upon education, the system of the University of London stands condemned. Sir L. Playfair has ably shown that in theory it is a copy of the Napoleonic University of France, with the principle of the organization of teaching left out. Great things have been done, in various departments of education, in London, in the course of last fifty years, but not by the University of London. Medical education was revolutionized by the system of clinical teaching introduced at University College Hospital. The lectures at the Royal Institution popularized science, and the laboratories at University College, at King's College, and more recently at the School of Mines and South Kensington, have laid the foundations of education in chemistry and physiology, upon which Oxford and Cambridge have been content to build. The admission of women to University teaching was effected simultaneously at Cambridge and in Gower Street, and the Slade School of Fine Art has made an epoch in the teaching of painting in England. The great day school in Gower Street set the first example in England of a first-grade school in which classics were not treated as necessarily predominant. Meanwhile medical education, with its eleven hospital schools, all independent, all teaching every one, or professing to do so, of the dozen subjects required by a modern practitioner, has been landed in a serious difficulty. The medical degrees of the University, though hard to get, are not more thought of than those of Edinburgh. In the recent movements towards a satisfactory institution of legal education, the influence of the University has been *nil*. It remained for Oxford and Cambridge, not for London, to institute the local examinations. The University of London has kept a uniform silence, while Oxford and Cambridge came to London to 'extend' University teaching."

It will be asked, after the enumeration of so many institutions, whether these are not enough even for London. I answer, No; and for the following reasons:—

Firstly: No one of them fills the public eye, commands the public confidence, is looked to as a centre of educational influence, rises to the mind of a Londoner who desires to have teaching. Their merits, for most of them have merits, and some of them great merits, are little recognized, because little known.

Secondly: No one of them provides in one spot all that Londoners require. One institution takes one subject or group of subjects, another another. To none can you go in the confidence of finding whatever you need.

Thirdly: All of them taken together do not provide all the teaching we have a right to expect. There are many subjects, and subjects of great consequence, for first-rate instruction in which you may search through this vast multitude of men and dwellings and public institutions in vain. But there is not a subject which we have not first-rate men ready and willing to teach, if only they had some place prepared for them and some inducement provided.

The students exist, not merely among the young, but among older people also; not merely among men, but among women also. The teachers exist, some in existing institutions not conspicuous enough or wide enough in their plan to be generally serviceable; others,

lost in the general population, but capable, if called out, of instructing and stimulating their fellow-citizens. All that is wanted is to bring these two sets of persons together in some dignified, permanent, comprehensive home of learning and science, a place which every one may know of and resort to. It would have those characteristics of the complete University which I have endeavoured to sketch. It would embrace all subjects. It would have the best attainable men for teachers. It might prescribe courses of study, but it would open its lectures freely to those who did not wish to pursue any regular course. It would have, besides its regular professors whose duty was to teach constantly, a large staff of occasional lecturers who would discourse from time to time on topics which had exceptional temporary interest, or which the eminence of the lecturer and his special knowledge would make attractive. It would possess a library accessible on easy conditions, and a staff of permanent officials one of whose duties would be to help learners by referring them to books and authorities, and so prevent the waste of time and industry which undirected study so often involves.

To inquire how it should be related to existing institutions would lead me into details unsuitable to our present consideration. Some of them it might supersede or absorb, but the greater number would continue to have their special vocation, and instead of being injured by it, would be strengthened by being brought into connection with or affiliated to it. To unite it with the present University of London would be desirable, for the latter would gain in reality and value by thereby becoming a teaching body, while the power of conferring degrees would be far better exercised by such a teaching body than by the present Senate with its staff of examiners, whose individual eminence does not compensate for the unfavourable conditions under which they have to act. Whether in that case the present practice of admitting to degree examinations persons who come from anywhere in the world without being required to show that they have been students in a satisfactory place of instruction, should be preserved, is a further question, and I will not complicate this proposal by expressing my own opinion on it.

It is hardly necessary to add that such a true University for London would not interfere with the functions of our two ancient and famous Universities. Oxford and Cambridge have attractions which no competition can affect. They will remain the chosen resort of those young men, not only (as hitherto) of the wealthier, but also of the middle classes, who can afford to reside four years in the midst of the most enjoyable and cultivative society which any modern place of education has ever gathered. Some of their teachers might probably be made available as occasional lecturers at a reformed London University, and some of the more promising students of the London



University would doubtless go to prosecute their special studies in the learned stillness of the cities of colleges. So long as Universities do not lower their degree standards, and do not multiply themselves beyond the power of the country to find eminent teachers, the addition of new Universities is a gain to the old ones, and increases the weight and influence of science and learning in England.

There remains the question of ways and means. A large sum of money would no doubt be needed. But besides the subscriptions which might be expected, besides the income derivable from the fees of students, and the grant which the present University of London receives from the State, there exist in London vast funds of various kinds, of which the revenues of the City Guilds form one group, and those of such institutions as Gresham College another, which might properly be drawn on for a purpose of such public utility.

The present moment is a favourable one for entertaining the project, not only because we are daily expecting the report of the Commission which has been investigating these City Guilds, and shall have then to consider how any available surplus ought to be expended, but also because the whole question of the reorganization of London under some system of municipal government, whether centralized or federal, is before the country. Its settlement may be delayed by those party struggles whose sterility the country sees with so much impatience; but that settlement must come within a few years. When our four millions of people have obtained the means of collective action for the common good, they will not be content to leave untouched an object so eminently important to a great community, and one which so worthily expresses and cements its unity.

I return from this attempt to give a practical bearing to our consideration of the subject, to inquire, in conclusion, what is the inner nature and true spirit of a University, in the attaining and putting forth of which its virtue lies; or, in other words, what is the function it has to fulfil towards the thought and life of a nation.

That it should train the citizens in all the knowledge that serves the progress of the world, as well as their own success in their several occupations, will be generally agreed. This is much, and becomes the more important in proportion as knowledge grows more powerful than physical strength in controlling both Nature and other men.

But the University, that is to say, that education which a man receives at the time when his mind is mature enough to grapple boldly with high problems and large masses of facts, yet still unburdened by the cares of practical life, and with nothing but the winning of knowledge to occupy him, has far more than this to do. It has to train and develop and polish and inform its students, not merely as lawyers, physicians, clergymen, engineers, bankers, mer-

chants, statesmen, but as men. And the best thing it can do for them is to form in them what we will call the philosophic mind.

By philosophy I do not mean metaphysics. That is a special study which, like other special studies, requires special aptitudes. Such aptitudes are wanting to most men, nor do they necessarily make men philosophers in the true sense. I mean a certain habit or temper of mind which is attainable through the pursuit of no one study exclusively or even chiefly, but in a measure through every study, and in its highest form only through many. To Socrates and his successors philosophy meant the love and pursuit of wisdom—wisdom as the guide and interpreter both of the moral and the intellectual world. It is in this sense that our own great poet says—

How charming is divine philosophy !  
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute,  
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets  
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

Philosophy is therefore not any particular kind of knowledge, but that combination of principles, that habit and capacity of mind which correlates various branches of knowledge, which gives to each its place and sees how they play into and support one another. It is that which disposes us to look for the reason and ground of phenomena, to trace a principle running through them, to search out causes, and reduce the number of causes by discerning that seemingly diverse facts may be due to the same cause, which teaches us to discriminate the permanent from the temporary, the accidental from the essential. It sets us on the peak of a mountain and points out fields and forests and the cities of men lying beneath, and the courses of silver rivers winding to the sea. It looks on human nature and the human race as one whole, explaining the course of the world's affairs in the past by the action of large and permanent forces, and teaching us where to look for those forces in the stir and stress of life and change which goes on around us in the present. And therefore, in so far as it is concerned with and draws its materials from any one study, it draws them more from history than from either ontology or psychology.

In so speaking one may appear to present a highly coloured picture, and to be describing a state of intellectual elevation and perfection such as is only attainable, like Nirvana, by a few choice spirits after a protracted training. To have gained so much knowledge and reached such a mastery of it, is of course beyond the scope of the generality of mankind, who have only limited time and abilities to bestow. But not only is it true that a few men so disciplined may greatly affect their contemporaries—do we not see single men and groups of men affect the whole course of thought and turn the whole current of



events?—it is also to be remembered that the point of view, the philosophic habit of mind, by no means implies either a very deep or a very wide knowledge. It implies only thoroughness and culture, the kind of culture which apprehends beauties and grasps realities. It is critical without being destructive, and systematic without pedantry. It may lose a certain amount of force and verve, but it gains in justness and in the insight which depends on serenity. This is the kind of temper which a proper University training ought to produce, or at least—for it needs some experience of life to ripen it—ought to qualify a man for acquiring. And why a University training more than any other? Because it is in the University that various studies are pursued side by side, with equal honour paid to all, and all alike illustrated by men of eminence. There the student learns to correct the methods of one science by those of another; or if he has not time to follow out each, he is at least led to respect whatever has become a science. He escapes that exclusiveness and intolerance which the classical scholars and theologians and mathematicians of the old Universities used to vent upon the followers of the sciences of Nature, an intolerance which some of the votaries of natural science are now disposed to imitate, with just as ignorant a depreciation of the merits of ancient literature. In a University, moreover, the young man beholds Learning in her most dignified aspect. He sees a host of men, eminent by genius or industry, devoted to her service. He is surrounded by the associations of an illustrious past. He is a member of a great corporation, which counts upon a long life in the future, and has intertwined its roots among the ancient institutions of the country. All these influences enlarge his horizon, and largeness of horizon is what marks the philosophic mind. Poor is the life of him whom, as he journeys onward, imagination never attends with that vision splendid of which Wordsworth speaks. Now imagination, even when it deals with the present, gathers its materials from the past. Practical education does not trouble itself about the past, being concerned with what now is, and it is the glory of a University that she is strong enough to be content to seem unpractical, that so she may build up a higher excellence, not only by bearing her torch into the abstruser paths of science, but also by teaching how vital to all true knowledge of human nature and the social sciences the study of the past is, by directing her children to the masterpieces of thought and feeling bequeathed to us from bygone ages, from Greece and Rome, from mediæval Italy, and our own England in times more creative than the present, and by showing them how such masterpieces may be made most fruitful to their minds and the conduct of their lives. Let us say then that as respects spirit and tendency, the ideal University will be that whose own comprehensiveness is best reflected in the catholicity of its students' views,

its elevation in their enthusiasm, its freedom in the variety of their conditions and pursuits.

To try to show in how many ways a plan of teaching may help a nation by forming the minds of its choicest youth, would turn me out to sea again, now when I am almost in port. I will mention but two. The most remarkable feature of our age, here and in America, is the extraordinary growth of wealth, and its diffusion among a large number of persons, as well as the accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of some few. Wealth has never had so many means either of gratifying men's tastes and fancies, or of giving them power over other men. Now with the growth of wealth there has come an increased and increasing passion for luxury and amusement, so that our richer class seems mainly absorbed in this pursuit, and in danger of ignoring everything else. This is therefore eminently a time in which those truer pleasures which Nature and the Muses offer should be commended and made accessible to minds whose susceptibility has not yet been dulled. Our traditional systems of education have much to answer for in ignoring some studies which have springs of delight as well as instruction that will last through life, and in so handling other studies as to make them bare or repulsive when they might have had power to fill the soul and mould the character. The neglect in schools of the sciences of observation, the omission to teach boys and girls to love Nature, to gather and classify plants, to observe rocks and the shapes of mountains, to watch clouds and enjoy, with some knowledge of its causes, that scenery of the air from which even in the midst of this mass of houses we are not quite shut out, is only equalled by the perversity which has made young men read the poets and philosophers of Greece to no better end than mastering the use of moods and tenses, and has never mentioned to them the literature or history of the Middle Ages. Of all failures in education, the greatest and most frequent is the failure to make literature and science attractive and pleasurable. Human nature will and must have pleasure. People have begun to see that to make war upon the public house you must bring in the competition of concerts and reading-rooms and popular science lectures. The principle applies to the uncivilized rich as well as the uncivilized poor. Of those who take to gambling or become absorbed in so-called "sport," or of those whose lives are wasted in mere frivolity or self-indulgence, there are many who may justly complain that their education has been barren and unlovely, feeding the mind with husks, leaving the chambers vacant for evil spirits to enter in and dwell.

The influence of wealth is also likely to become more formidable in our politics. Gradually but surely the constitution of these kingdoms grows more democratic. The choice of rulers, and therefore with the decision of the gravest questions, now resides (and I do



not mean that it wrongly resides) in the votes of a vast number of poor people, many of them still but scantily supplied with political knowledge. There are only two powers that will in the long-run sway and direct these voters, the power of wealth and the power of reason, or in other words, an enlightened public opinion, formed by a small number of the most thoughtful, filtering downwards and spreading out through the body of the nation. Government by such a public opinion is the only successful solution of the democratic problem; and for it we need not only that elementary education of our masters for which Mr. Lowe called, and called not in vain, but also a more thorough, more refining, more inspiring education for those classes by whom public opinion is formed and whose leadership the working people are still fortunately disposed to accept. That spirit of philosophy which purifies and dignifies the individual life, guiding it to the best aims and the highest pleasures, is also needed to preside over the national life. It softens the asperities of class feeling: it recognizes the worth of moral principles in policy: it warns us against attempting crude and violent legislative remedies for evils ingrained in human nature and society; and while it bows to the power of economic laws, it indicates how their working needs to be supplemented and corrected by the application of sympathetic voluntary effort. That Universities, or education in any form, however perfectly developed, can alone form such a philosophic spirit in the cultivated classes, I do not venture to claim, for other forces must concur, the most powerful of which I am not entitled to deal with on a neutral platform like this. But if Universities may as the organs of the highest education do much towards this end, how great is their value to the nation, and how earnestly must we desire their progress to a wider and more potent influence.

JAMES BRYCE.

## THE PRINCESS ALICE'S LETTERS.

" Knowledge by suffering entereth,  
And life is perfected by death."

IN these letters from Princess Alice to the Queen, which by the gracious consent of Her Majesty have been laid before the public, we are admitted into the innermost life of the Royal Family; and we may surely count it a privilege that we should be allowed to breathe an atmosphere so healthy, so pure, and so elevated. We are apt to forget that princes and princesses are men and women like ourselves, and there is something of the pleasure of discovery in realizing that their joys and griefs are the same as ours, in recognizing as our own the same little natural human traits and instincts that draw us so closely together, and make us feel that we are after all brothers and sisters in whatever condition or country we are born. These pages overflow with touches that appeal to our most human sympathies, and if in Princess Alice we find a higher courage, a deeper love, and a brighter intelligence than are commonly to be met with, the details which to some might otherwise appear trivial and uninteresting are invested with a peculiar charm and interest, because of what lies beneath them. Few could read this book without being the better for it: to many it will bring the best kind of help. Some will undoubtedly wonder at its publication, and they will find what is probably meant to be the answer to this question in the Queen's own words to her daughter respecting the publication of the *Memoirs of the Prince Consort*: "Endless false and untrue things have been written and said about us, public and private, and in these days people will write and will know; therefore the only way to counteract this is to let the real full truth be known, and as much be told as can be told with prudence and discretion, and then no harm, but good will be done. Nothing will help me more than that my people should know what I have lost." Much light is thrown on the life and thoughts of the Queen and the Prince Consort by these letters, for in



them we find the outcome of their teaching and influence on their children, the reflection of the parents in the daughter. It may certainly be thought a mistake that where so much is withheld relating to politics, public men and public affairs generally, there should appear here and there an expression of opinion of startling crudeness on subjects of large and wide-spreading interest. Either, it will be said, there should have been more or nothing at all. When there is no indication to show by what process of reasoning certain conclusions were reached, is it altogether fair to the Princess to publish these fragmentary expressions of her opinion? This, however, I will leave to the judgment of the public at large, contenting myself with dwelling on those aspects of the letters about which there can be no difference of opinion.

Under the Prince Consort's influence "there grew up in the midst of the most brilliant Court in Europe a domestic family life, so perfect in its purity and charm that it might well serve for a bright example to every home in the land." We gather from the slight memoir given in these pages by Dr. Sell, as well as from other sources already before the public, that the childhood and girlhood of Princess Alice were passed in this home much as the lives of other children and girls are passed in England, sheltered, careless, blissful years, looked back upon in after-life with wistful eyes, as being marked by no responsibilities or cares, no forebodings of anything that is not good or happy. "I ever look back to my childhood and girlhood as the happiest time of my life," writes Princess Alice to the Queen in the summer of 1869. Her engagement to Prince Louis of Hesse was one that gave entire satisfaction to the Queen and Prince Consort, founded as it was on that full love and trust which alone can blend two natures into perfect union. We have only to glance at these letters to understand how the promise of happiness was richly fulfilled in her married life. During Princess Alice's engagement, the first great sorrow came upon the Queen in the death of the Duchess of Kent. This seems to have been a landmark in the Princess's life:—

"I thought of you so much on the 16th," she writes some years afterwards; "from that day dated the commencement of so much grief and sorrow; yet in those days you had one, darling Mama, whose first and deepest thought was to comfort and help you, and I saw and understood only then how he watched over you. I see his dear face—so pale, so full of tears—when he led me to you early that morning after all was over, and said, 'Comfort Mama;' as if those words were a presage of what was to come. In those days, I think he knew how deep my love was for you, and that, as long as I was left in my home, my first and only thought should be you and you alone! This I held as my holiest and dearest duty until I had to leave you, my beloved Mother. But that bond of love, though I can no more be near you, is as strong as ever."

Only a few months after, on the 14th of December—that day so

strangely consecrated in after years by sorrow and by joy—fell the unexpected and crushing blow which for so long shrouded the throne of England in gloom and sadness. "In those first dark days Princess Alice took into her own hands everything that was necessary," to save the Queen. All communications between the Government and the Household and the Queen had to pass through her hands. "Princess Alice is an angel in the house," it was said in a private letter from Windsor to Lady Lyttelton. Young and inexperienced as she was, it must indeed have been to her a severe school, and it seemed to transform her from a light-hearted girl into a mature woman. Her marriage, which took place in the shadow of this grief, must have brought with it a strange mixture of conflicting feelings, her adoration for her lost Father, intense sympathy and love for the desolate Mother she was leaving, devotion to her husband, and all the thousand new emotions to which her marriage and untried life gave birth. It is one of the strongest proofs of her unselfish nature that in the letters that follow her arrival at her husband's home, there is little about her own feelings of joy, and through them breathes constantly the yearning to do something to assuage her Mother's grief. "If I could relinquish part of my present happiness to restore to you some of yours, with a full heart would I do it." This longing, often reiterated, what an echo it finds within us! how it appeals to all that lies deepest in human nature—that most passionate desire of our hearts when we stand helpless and almost hopeless by those whom we love, and feel that between us and them there is a great gulf fixed, and that in the hour of their bitterest anguish we cannot help them or reach them, and we wonder, in the impotence of our misery, why it is not in our power in literal truth to bear one another's burdens. How much easier, we think, would life become, if sometimes we were permitted to bear the Cross for our brothers and sisters, if in faint and humble imitation of the Supreme Self-sacrifice, we might die for the sins or sorrows of our fellow-creatures.

In that full and fervent outpouring of her love, by her never-failing prayers, we may believe that Princess Alice did much to soothe and strengthen her Mother.

In the meantime she neglected no home duty which could give happiness to her husband, and in her life with him she experienced the truest joy. "You tell me to speak of my happiness—our happiness," she writes to the Queen. "If I say I love my dear husband, that is scarcely enough: it is a love and esteem which increases daily, hourly. What was life before to what it has become now? There is such blessed peace being at his side, being his wife; there is such a feeling of security, and we two have a world of our own when we are together, which *nothing* can touch or intrude upon. My lot



is indeed a blessed one, and yet what have I warm, ardent love which my darling Louis ev again, in 1869: "To possess a heart like his, I am ever prouder of and more grateful for. Once more, close to the end: "Our home-life never dull, however quiet."

During the next few years, she threw her with the brightest and keenest ardour and int possessed a singular power of self-discipline a ment of her time, for the days as they fly pas variety of occupation. Reading, music, and pa there were no such disturbing elements as t thought of, children to be looked after, and a political duties to do. "We always continue r have read 'Hypatia'—a most beautiful, mos learned and clever book." Macaulay, Lanfrey, Paoli's "History of England," &c., are casual mented upon. Italian she learned in 1873 thoroughly to enjoy and profit by her visits t Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, Men were her special favourites in music, and o no mean performer. Many subjects which a to engross public attention occupied and things as the higher education and emplo improvement of the dwellings of the poo generally, hospitals, refuges, and penitentiari easily forget who are the pioneers of great s have once got accustomed to them. She held which ten years ago must have been consider believed that women should be brought up to b men—i.e., to have independent interests and to make marriage as such the aim and end of it is of parents to bring up their daughters w marrying them," she says. "I want to the girls without *seeking* this as the sole obje feel they can fill up their lives so well otherwis for the *sake* of marriage is surely the greatest make." These ideas are now filling the air we b is born into them. Princess Alice found much vivid interest and practical co-operation gave various movements. She herself translate Octavia Hill's Essays on the Homes of the that the principles which had so admirably an "that warm-hearted friend of the poor," as sh successfully applied in Germany. She spared

personally visiting the worst slums in Mayence, and making plans for improved sanitary arrangements. Having discovered in 1866, during the Prusso-Austrian war, how incomplete was the hospital system, she set to work, the moment peace was restored, to remedy its shortcomings; and the benefits of this reorganization were reaped during the great Franco-German war of 1870. The object of the "Women's Union," which she founded, was to assist in the nursing and supporting of the troops in times of war; and in times of peace, to train nurses, assist in hospitals, or nurse the poor or the rich as might be required. It spread over the whole country, and in 1869 the members associated with it reached the number of 2,500. Many and excellent were the institutions established through her exertions and energy; besides asylums for idiots and orphans, and hospitals, she established the Alice Society for the education and employment of women, out of which grew the Alice Lyceum, intended for the culture of women of the higher classes. In October, 1872, she says to the Queen:—

"The Committees of the fifteen Associations met on Wednesday, and in the evening thirteen of the members came to us to supper. The meeting went off well, the subjects discussed to the purpose and important. . . . Schools for girls were the principal theme; the employment of women for post and telegraph offices . . . questions of nurses and nursing institutes, &c."

Not only was Princess Alice in the forefront during the two wars of 1866 and 1870, nursing the sick and wounded, organizing, inspiring, and working with all her might and main, but in times of peace she frequently visited the poor in their own homes as well as in the hospitals.

"All cases are reported to me. The other day I went to one *incog.* in the old part of the town—and the trouble we had to find the house! At length through a dirty courtyard, up a dark ladder, into one little room, where lay the poor woman and her baby. I sent Christa down with the children, then with the husband cooked something for the woman; arranged her bed a little, took her baby for her, bathed its eyes . . . and did odds and ends. . . . If one never sees any poverty, and always lives in that cold circle of Court people, one's good feelings dry up."

The bringing up of her own children aroused in her many questions relating to their physical, moral, mental and spiritual training. "I always think that in the end children educate the parents," she says; and in November, 1876, on her return from England: "My heart was full of joy and gratitude at being with them once more, and I prayed God to make me fit to be their real friend and stay as long as they require me, and to have the insight into their different characters to guide them aright, and to understand their different wants and feelings."

Surely here the Princess touches a great truth: the duty, and therein the blessedness of earnest endeavour to read the mind of the generation that succeeds us; the duty, that we may gain such true



sympathy with the latest born aspirations and enthusiasms of our children, as will give us the power of guiding and influencing them; the blessedness, that love and trust may be reposed in us by those who shall be strong in the day of our weakness.

Physiology she studied with delight: "I have read and studied a great deal about the human body. . . . instead of finding it disgusting, it only fills me with admiration to see how wonderfully we are made." The events of her daily life are recorded with much freshness and naïveté. She adapted herself with great readiness to the sterner necessities and simple surroundings and arrangements of her German home, a great contrast in every way to what she had been accustomed to in England. "I have made all the summer out-walking dresses, seven in number, with paletôts for the girls—not embroidered, but entirely made from beginning to end: likewise the new necessary flannel shawls for the expected. I manage all the nursery accounts and everything myself, which gives me plenty to do." Many women occupying far less distinguished positions in life, and with much more time at their disposal, would do well to learn a lesson of industry from Princess Alice. She must have brought the most charming new element into the grand ducal family of Hesse, for she took her husband's relations to her heart and entered into their interests, their joys and sorrows, as if she had always belonged to them.

The Prusso-Austrian war of 1866 must have been especially distressing to her, not only because it took a beloved husband into great danger at a moment when she most required his tenderness and care, but on account of the sad complications it entailed:—Hesse joining with Austria against Prussia, and thus ranging Prince Louis in hostility to his brother in the Prussian army, and to Princess Alice's own sister's husband, the Crown Prince of Prussia. But a United Germany had always been the Prince Consort's dream, and Princess Alice well knew what fruitless bloodshed and misery must be caused by the ineffectual struggles of the smaller German States against the influences which were tending to place Prussia in supreme power over them.

It was in 1866 that Princess Alice at her own desire became acquainted with the famous David Frederick Strauss. He lived at Darmstadt for four years, during which period he had frequent intercourse with the Princess, and read to her his lectures on Voltaire.

Much as it may be regretted that the influence of Strauss should have been brought to bear upon her, no one can help admiring the courage with which she faced the difficulties to which his teaching gave rise, especially when one considers with what reluctance and even distress she must have allowed his opinions to influence her mind. In sharp

conflict as they were with the most sacred traditions of her youth, she yet did not shrink from accepting the dedication of his work on Voltaire. No doubt there is a non-believing attitude which is easier to take up in every-day life than the believing one. It is far less trouble, it is more flattering to one's power of discernment, not to believe a thing than to believe it. When Stephenson first prophesied before a Committee of the House of Commons the rate at which steam should conquer time and space, the men who laughed him to scorn probably felt much cleverer than those who in their hearts believed him. It was in no such spirit that Princess Alice listened to Strauss—"she had to wrestle heart and soul with theoretical doubts;" and it was not till the spring of 1873 that light came back to her through darkness.

She had just returned from her Italian trip, into which she had thrown herself with true enjoyment, and was still resting after the fatigue of the long journey. The two little Princes had been playing by her sofa; Prince Ernest ran into the next room followed by the Princess, and in her brief absence, Prince Fritz fell out of the window upon the stone pavement below. One moment in the most vivid radiant life and health, the next he lay senseless and crushed. He died a few hours later in his mother's arms. In her agony she sounded, as it were for the first time, the depths of scepticism. She searched in vain through the various systems of philosophy, but found no foothold.

She did not speak of the transformation that was going on within; but slowly, silently, and surely faith returned to her, never again to falter. "The whole edifice of philosophical conclusions which I had built up for myself, I find to have no foundation whatever—nothing of it is left—it has crumbled away like dust. What should we be, what would become of us, if we had no faith—if we did not believe that there is a God who rules the world and each single one of us?"

We will not dwell upon the harrowing tale of her last days on earth. No one can yet have forgotten how day by day, in spirit, we watched with her by the sickbeds of those nearest and dearest to her in the alternations of hope and fear. But in this supreme hour of suffering, her character reached its climax; and when, wearied out with nursing, anxiety and grief, she laid down her head to die, we feel that her life on earth received its crown.

I have thought it best not to go methodically through these letters, but rather to dwell upon their more marked characteristics. In judging of these I feel the greater confidence owing to the advantages afforded me by a visit to Darmstadt a few months before the death of the Princess, when it was my privilege to see something of her home life, and to realize the charm of its bright simplicity.



Above all things let us learn this lesson from the example of Princess Alice—the quickening, purifying, bracing power of pain. In every trial that she had to undergo—and perhaps these trials were more than ordinarily severe and frequent—we see how her character developed and strengthened. To her each trial was as an April storm to a young plant or tree, lending new vigour to the roots, new power to its growth, so that when the sun shines the buds are seen to expand and blossom—those same buds which with-out the rain-cloud would have shrivelled and died. Every time she was called upon to give up what she most deeply cherished, she counted with faith and gratitude the blessings that remained to her. “Thus do we learn humility,” she said, with quivering lip. “God has called for one life, and has given me back four. How then should we mourn?” These words she pronounced when she lost her darling little “Sunshine” as she called her, her sweet “May-blossom,” little guessing that in a few short weeks she would be called upon to enter the same Valley of the Shadow of Death.

“I always wonder how there can be dissatisfied and grumbling people in this beautiful world, so far too good for our deserts, and when, after our duty is done, we hope to be everlastingly with those we love, when the joy will be so great and lasting that present sorrow and trouble must melt away.” How rarely do we see this! Every hour of our lives do not we add to our sorrows by perpetually dwelling on the daily little rubs and difficulties of life? How seldom do we allow this wonder and gratitude to fill our hearts for the endless beauties and marvels that surround us! “I don’t like what I don’t like, so much more than I like what I like,” a child once said to its mother. Most typical saying! We hug our difficulties and persistently ignore our blessings.

But she knew that the brightest light makes the darkest shadow—that if she was to be blessed with the fulness of joy, she must also realize the depths of sorrow—that in exact proportion to our joy is our capacity for grief, and that there is a Love that lives through both. For

“where will God be absent? In His Face  
Is Light, but in His Shadow healing too.”

It has been well pointed out that life generally includes for us three kinds of love—the ascending, as seen in filial affection; the equal love, as seen in marriage; and the descending love, as seen in the parent’s relation with the child. For most of us it is a gradual lesson, an ascending scale, “steps along which to mount upward;” reverential trustfulness, the chief element of the first; reciprocity, a mutual giving and receiving, of the second; and the perfection of disinterested love the characteristic of the third. “Then, and not till then, love enters upon its highest stage, and puts on the crown

of sacrifice." In Princess Alice's life we see the three kinds—the love of the daughter, of the wife, and of the mother; the three elements which make up perfect love—reverence, equivalence, and sacrifice, in full bloom at once: "the trinity in unity of love."

It is well for us that at the hour of death the mistakes and shortcomings which necessarily belong to our human frailty are lost in a mist of tears; that our graces and virtues, our highest aspirations, should live on after us, softening sorrow, kindling hope, strengthening faith, inspiring those who are left behind, stimulating them on to ever nobler efforts and higher aims.

"Through such souls alone  
God stooping shows sufficient of His light  
For us i' the dark to rise by."

MARY GLADSTONE.



## THE POSITION OF GENERAL GORDON.

### A CONVERSATION.\*

*Q.* WHAT do you think of General Gordon's present position?

*A.* To answer that properly I must refer you to the history of the General's movements. In 1879 the King of the Belgians wanted him to go to the Congo. And while he was in communication with the King Lord Ripon asked him to go to India—that was in 1880. He went to India and immediately resigned. Then he went to China, to try and arrange matters between Russia and China. Then he came home, and in 1881 went to the Mauritius as commanding engineer. Next he went to the Cape; and returned home in 1882. In 1883 he went to Syria. While there he devoted himself entirely to looking after the sites of Jerusalem, and did not bother himself about anything else. No doubt he wrote occasionally about the Soudan question. He says, in a letter:

\* "I have written a MS. bringing affairs down from Cave's mission to the taking office of Cherif. It is called 'Israel in Egypt,' and I shall follow it with a sequel, 'The Exodus.' I do not know whether I shall print it, for it is not right to rejoice over our enemies,—I mean, official enemies. What a fearful mess — and — have made. . . . No more control, no more employes drawing £377,000 a year, no more influence of Consuls-General; a nation hating us—what a finale!—no more interest; a bombarded European town, Alexandria: these are the results of this grand secret diplomacy. All this because Controllers and Consuls-General would not let the notables see the budget when Cherif was in office. As for Arabi, whatever may become of him individually, he will live for centuries in the people. They will never be your 'obedient servants' again."

He had then no idea of serving in the Soudan. The King of the Belgians said, "What about your promise to go to the Congo? You are now disengaged. I now claim your services." He started

\* The views expressed in this paper are those of a personal friend of General Gordon, and may be relied upon as unusually well-informed.

at once and arrived at Brussels on New Year's Day this year, and immediately went to see the King. It was all arranged. He came home and made arrangements, and he was to leave on the 5th of February for the Congo. Then he went to Brussels again, returning about the 8th or 9th of January. On arrival he found such a number of newspaper correspondents wanting to interview him, that he started off for Exeter to his friend, Mr. Barnes. There he met Sir S. Baker. On the 12th he got a telegram from Lord Wolseley, asking him to come up. On the 14th he arrived in London, and was three hours with Lord Wolseley. He then said "Good-by" to everybody, called upon the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, and left for Brussels on the morning of the 15th, as going to the Congo. What happened at the interview on the 14th has not transpired; but Ministers were consulted. It was Lord Wolseley who caused them to send him out. He said, "He is the only man that can serve you." On the 17th General Gordon received at Brussels a telegram telling him to come over at once. He then thought for the first time that it was probable they might ask him to go to the Soudan. Certainly not before. The King of the Belgians was much put out; he was in negotiation with General Gordon about the compensation to be paid him for the value of his commission which he was to resign, because the British Government would not allow him to go to the Congo. General Gordon arrived in London on the 18th, and at three o'clock in the afternoon he saw the Cabinet. They asked him, "Are you prepared to go to the Soudan?" He at once said, "Yes." He said he was quite willing to carry out their instructions, though he did not then even know what they were. The abandonment of Khartoum he said he was prepared to carry out. He started the same evening in the highest spirits.

Q. Did not Sir C. Dilke in his speech in the House of Commons say that the despatch of General Gordon had been discussed months before?

A. No doubt; but it had not been proposed to him. It was suggested to the Egyptian Government, but they would not listen to it. That was in October. The very day the proposal was made to General Gordon he went. If he had gone three months before it would have been ten times better. On the 18th he received his instructions to go and report on the military situation of the Soudan. On the 22nd, he reviewed, in an official memorandum, those instructions on the passage between Brindisi and Port Said. He said:

"The most difficult question is how and to whom to hand over the arsenals of Khartoum, Dongola, and Kassala, which towns have, so to say, no old standing families, Khartoum and Kassala having sprung up since Mehemet Ali's conquest. Probably it would be advisable to postpone any decision as



to these towns till such time as the inhabitants have made known their opinions." Paragraph 1 fixes irrevocably the decision of the Government—viz., to evacuate the territory, and, of course, as far as possible involves the avoidance of any fighting. I can therefore only say that, having in view and seeing the difficulty of asking Her Majesty's Government to give a decision or direction as to what should be done in certain cases, I will carry out the evacuation as far as possible according to their wish and the best of my ability, and with avoidance, as far as possible, of all fighting. I would, however, hope that Her Majesty's Government will give me their support and consideration should I be unable to fulfil all their expectations."

You see what stress he lays on the necessity of making some arrangement for the Government of the provinces about Khartoum. Do not imagine, however, that the country which is now to be evacuated is a poor country. It includes Sennar, Berber, and Suakim, which returned a large surplus revenue. General Gordon used to slave at his finances, and draw up tables of results. Khartoum certainly showed a deficiency, but the province of Berber had a surplus of £35,000 after paying all expenses; Dongola a surplus of £53,000; Sennar a surplus of £22,000; Suakim a surplus of £7,000; Kassala a surplus of £15,000.

Here is a table of the receipts and expenses of the different mudirats of the Soudan, drawn up by General Gordon with his own hand in 1879.\*

Here then is a magnificent province which has no old families who can be put in as rulers. What are you to do with it? It is of the highest importance to have the question fully considered. Here is a paying province and you are going to surrender it.

We come to the time when General Gordon arrived in Egypt. It had been his intention to go to Suakim and not to go to Cairo at all, because he did not wish to meet the Khedive. He had had some unpleasant business on a former occasion with him. The Khedive did not treat him with proper confidence when he was at Massowah. Neither did he want to meet Nubar Pacha, with whom he had had a dispute. When he got to Port Said Sir Evelyn Baring said, "You had far better come to Cairo and see the Khedive and Nubar Pacha, and have a talk over the whole matter." So he went

\* The following is condensed from the table referred to above:—

Mudirat.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Surplus.	Deficiency.
Khartoum . . .	119,005	127,145	—	8,140
Berber . . . .	51,809	16,569	35,240	—
Dongola . . . .	63,830	10,451	53,379	—
Sennar . . . .	39,258	17,172	22,086	—
Fazolie . . . .	14,114	3,315	10,799	—
Massowah . . .	18,495	17,059	1,436	—
Suakim . . . .	20,198	12,834	7,364	—
Kassala . . . .	63,981	48,871	15,110	—
	390,690	253,416	145,414	8,140

to Cairo—of his own will—and at Cairo he met the Khedive and Nubar, and they made friends. He then received from the Khedive the appointment of Governor-General of the Soudan without pay. It was a very good thing he did not go by Suakim and thence to Khartoum. If he had he would have had no power in the Soudan. Without having power from Egypt as Governor-General he would not have had any power and could have done nothing. He would also have had no command of money. The Khedive placed £100,000 at his command.

*Q.* Then this is an answer to what Sir Michael Hicks Beach said the other night when he complained that General Gordon had been appointed an Egyptian official?

*A.* Quite so. It is true that when he left England he wanted to go out as an independent person.

*Q.* Then he modified that intention?

*A.* He did not modify it, but circumstances modified it for him. Probably he saw the position himself. The fact, however, is that Gordon could not have done anything in the Soudan unless he had gone to Cairo. If he had gone direct to Khartoum and attempted to depose the Governor-General or ordered the troops about, what power would he have had? Well, he went on to Berber. On his arrival at Berber, he assembled the chiefs there and organized a government. He then proceeded on to Khartoum by the Nile. He interviewed the tribes along the route and they were quite content. Before this, as it observed, communication between Berber and Khartoum had been cut off. On his arrival at Khartoum, you recollect the joy with which he was received. Then he sent to the Mahdi and made him Governor of Kordofan. Everything was going on most prosperously at this time. Sennar and Kassala were quieted. His lieutenant at Bahr Gazelle, Lupton Bey, was safe, and Emin Bey at the Equator was equally so: neither was in any danger. Nothing was heard about Darfour. General Gordon's first step was to despatch the females and children from Khartoum to Berber, to be sent down into Lower Egypt. Up to this time the mission had been successful in every way. It had fully equalled General Gordon's expectations. But what took place then? When the tribes between Khartoum and Berber saw these women and children come down they could not make it out. It seemed to them that Khartoum was to be abandoned. "General Gordon," they thought, "is going to desert the place and we must look to the strongest master." Therefore they rebelled, not because it was their own wish to do so, but because they saw they had nobody to look to. The Mahdi at the same time sent back the robes of State. This was all caused from the fact that there was no notice or information that there was to be any govern-



ment whatever formed. It cannot be better described than in the *Times* of the 10th of March.\* It is quite evident that General Gordon was expecting and had been expecting orders from the Government as to what was to be done with Khartoum and the rich provinces before alluded to, which orders he reasonably expected to receive in consequence of the memorandum which he wrote between Brindisi and Port Said. He was and still is unable to proclaim any government at Khartoum.

Q. Why did he not foresee that difficulty at the time the Government gave him his instructions?

A. He did foresee it. He referred to it in the memorandum, but has never received any definite instructions. He told the people of Khartoum, "I will remain with you and protect you." What do the people see? He is preparing to go away and leave them with no government at all.

Q. Did not Mr. Gladstone say he was free to establish a government or to go away?

A. Do you think when he is told to *evacuate the Soudan*, that he will do it? He is told to retire. I believe Mr. Gladstone would only be too glad if he were to establish a government of any kind. But he does not want to give the order. Indeed, how could he? It would make the Government answerable for the government of the Soudan. General Gordon is an English officer, employed by the English Government. He has to follow his instructions. If he said, "I will take the Soudan and govern it," under what authority could he act?

Q. You say, then, that that is the secret of the whole difficulty. He says, "I want some instructions from the English Government to establish a government?"

A. I say it is the whole question. It is everything. The matter comes to this, whether is General Gordon to act on his own responsibility, or by orders from England—in which case the English Government will have to take the responsibility of establishing a government. I put it in three ways. The English Government have had it before them for months and done nothing. The first way is to order General Gordon to assume the government. What would

\* Extract from a telegram from the *Times'* correspondent at Khartoum, dated March 7, containing a report of General Gordon's views :—"There is nothing further to be hoped for in the way of quieting the people than has already been accomplished, and there is a certainty that as time advances the emissaries of the Mahdi will succeed in raising the tribes between this and Berber. This is not owing to disaffection but to fear caused by the pronounced policy of the abandonment of the Soudan, which policy has been carried out by sending down the widows and orphans and the Cairo employes from Khartoum. We cannot blame them for rising, when no definite sign is shown of establishing a permanent government here. Except by means of emissaries the Mahdi has no chance of El Obeid, where he distrusts the people and also the Bedouins around. He is content as to any advance on Khartoum, but all-powerful through his emissaries backed by the pronounced policy of abandonment without establishing a government at Khartoum."

that involve? That the Soudan is taken under English protection. You know that might involve complications, and you cannot tell what would happen.

The second way is for General Gordon to volunteer. How could he volunteer with his instructions? "Why," they might say, "you are exceeding your duty." I do not know what might happen. Then another thing is that the King of the Belgians might say, "I always thought General Gordon preferred the Soudan to the Congo."

Lastly, the Government might say to him, without ordering him, "Could you not manage to form a government until we can arrange with the European Powers what is to be done?" I cannot too strongly advocate this course. As to sending troops—General Gordon does not want troops. As to money,—do you suppose he has no sense in the matter? Of course he negotiates bills at Khartoum. No doubt he draws cheques on the bank at Cairo. My idea is that he knows how the exchange of money goes on. People say, "Oh! he did not take up money." Why, he can do it all by exchange. You saw it stated that a person advanced him a thousand guineas. The man was very glad indeed to get a cheque on the bank. In some way money would travel. General Gordon says, "I am buying grain." He cannot do it without money. I only hope his cheques are not dishonoured. A dishonoured cheque would do a great deal more harm than anything else that could happen. I believe he is all right as far as money is concerned. As to sending up troops, it is absurd. What are troops to go for? Some people say, "We are going to send an army." Now, what are you going to send an army for? There is the question. What would you send an army for? To do what? To relieve General Gordon! Gordon could go away to-morrow.

Q. Either way?

A. He could go up to the Equator when the Nile rises a little more. Of course he cannot go to Berber with a low Nile. The effect of withdrawing the garrison from Berber is that you cannot hear anything from Khartoum unless some one gets past it. But I should not be surprised, with a high Nile, if we were to hear of him going down to the Korosko desert, and tapping the wire to say he is all right. To relieve General Gordon! He could get away to-morrow. He could get to Lupton Bey. He is no distance from the Congo. He has no difficulty in getting away. He has six steamers. All the country is well known. But he says, "I won't desert the people." There are 15,000 people at Khartoum. He has got the garrisons at Sennar and Kassala also on his hands. What are you going to do with them? Are you to bring the people down? The people say, "You will destroy our trade; we shall be paupers if you bring



us down; our business will be gone. We c  
trade. Look at the surplus revenue you are c  
magnificent tobacco country, a corn country  
Sennar; plenty of water everywhere. And we  
If they are got down to Egypt who is to feed t  
to undergo such a load of expense. Why not

If you must send an expedition, what is the  
Nile to Khartoum? Why go 2,000 miles o  
proper route, if you want to go to Khartoum,  
Nile, but by Massowah. It is a splendid  
well-watered district. What is the good of thi  
across the Korosko desert?

I believe the Government, however, are th  
army from Abyssinia, that would set the whole  
arms. What is the use of sending Abyssinians  
be Christians, among the Mussulmans? The  
against every Abyssinian.

Q. Then you do not think the movement o  
Halfa is of any good at all?

A. There is no harm in it. They cannot  
only shows as if they were going to assist—s  
going to do something. As to going up  
out of the question.

Q. You say that the establishing a tempora  
Soudan would be the right policy. To what e

A. To hand it over to somebody else.

Q. There has been a proposal to, what is c  
Soudan.

A. I do not mean that. General Gordon v

Q. Then you think that those who have  
been all wrong? It has been insisted on s  
to the impression that General Gordon had i  
ness to undertake it.

A. It is quite wrong as regards him perso  
induce him to do it. He is not ambitious  
understand that I complain of the British G  
said what is to be done with the government  
at the same time not letting him form a go  
be possible, would it even be humane, to le  
state of anarchy without any government wha

What was he to do in the circumstances  
Zebehr." He knows Zebehr is the greatest sc  
the earth. But still he could govern them.  
than no government. He would not go on  
If he could squeeze a couple of hundred thous

people—and he would be able to do that—he would not require to resort to the slave-trade. It would not be worth his while. He would not bother himself with the slave-trade if he were king of that magnificent province. You know seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are slaves. If you want to stop the slave-trade you must stop it at Cairo, and bring it home to the parties who buy slaves.

*Q.* How do you reconcile General Gordon's proposal to send for Zebehr with the blood feud and the quarrel he had with him the night before he left Cairo?

*A.* There was a quarrel, and it came to very hot words. Zebehr challenged General Gordon to produce anything against him. General Gordon did not attack him, not wishing to go on quarrelling. But there is no doubt about Zebehr's guilt—the documents which prove it are all in existence. He was sentenced to be hung and his son was shot, not for slave-hunting, but for complicity in massacring the Khedive's troops. General Gordon is so willing to forgive everybody that he thinks everybody will forgive him. He is mistaken in Zebehr, who has threatened to hang him. I have no doubt that if we had sent Zebehr up to Khartoum, the first thing he would have done would have been to hang General Gordon. I believe Zebehr is at the bottom of this whole revolt between Berber and Khartoum. Zebehr ought to be put into confinement at once.

*Q.* Then that was the reason why our Government would not consent to send Zebehr?

*A.* They were quite right. The only complaint against them, is that they won't arrange for a Government.

*Q.* You do not think General Gordon is in any personal danger or apprehension?

*A.* Certainly not, unless possibly from internal dissensions. He writes on March 15—that is not so very long ago :—"We are all in capital spirits here. The enemy are entrenched nine miles off—six thousand strong, and we hear the drums from the palace. Supplies come in better than ever, and we have food for months. When the Nile rises in two months' time—in the middle of May—we shall with the steamers be even more powerful than we are now." What does that show? "You must not expect many more letters, since it is not likely that the rebels will allow my posts to go down." He does not show any alarm at all.

*Q.* What do you say about the alarming telegrams?

*A.* I cannot think they are his. On April 9 what did General Gordon say? "All going on well." When did he ask for soldiers? He ask for soldiers! He wanted two squadrons of cavalry—because he thought it could be done—merely for a diversion. The only



thing General Gordon says is, "You must list you all the news." He alluded to Power conflict when the two Pachas were traitors.

Q. Your point is that General Gordon as to his personal safety?

A. He under apprehension! Not the slightest. Look at the story in Hill's work about Kolökäl into the camp of slave-dealers at Shakka. The

Q. What he is anxious for there is to prove the people?

A. That is the only question, and has been along. If he could issue a proclamation and say you and I will form a Government," all would not be the least surprised to see the veil lifted and Berber by a telegram coming from Gordon. "I have formed a Government, and have put Khartoum." He does not care if he saves leaves a Government. He considers he has lived you won't tell him what to do. He wants lives. How is he to do it?

Q. You say he does not want soldiers. In one of the latest despatches (April 3) he reports of slaves at Khartoum, and says that if Her Majesty so far it would be desirable for them to take registration of slaves? Does not that imply that British troops are on the way?

A. Do you think that General Gordon, who would not, if he had asked British troops to be a description of forces he wanted sent, their number I cannot imagine it. I can't understand must be some mistake in it. What has the with troops coming up?

Q. You do not think that a despatch might

A. I do not believe he ever asked for a soldier to be sent. But as to the registration of slaves—1877, a convention was signed between the Egyptian and British Governments, by which the traffic in slaves was prohibited in Egypt on August 4, 1884, and in 1889 in the Sudan to that, after the 4th of August this year, the slaves, you cannot sell one of them to anybody but you cannot sell them. Do you mean to interfere with property? What right has England? What right has England to interfere in Egyptian affairs? What right has England to interfere? What right would take place. Without any proclamation think that on the 4th of August next you can





it be fair to do it? Do you think that Egypt would not rise up from end to end? The Government do not dare to say that the convention shall be a dead letter, because they think of General Gordon's proclamation. But if they cancel that convention they will have the Anti-Slavery Society and the whole of England down on them. It is a most illegal thing. Do you think they ever will carry it out? General Gordon says in a letter of the 27th of April, 1879: "I have lately pointed out to Vivian that he must take it into calculation that the liberation of the slaves will diminish the revenue by one-fifth in Cairo and by seven-eighths in the Soudan."

Q. What do you say as to the abandonment of Khartoum?

A. It can't be. Khartoum is essential to Egypt—essential to a degree. The way the Nile is coming down is telegraphed day by day. It is absolutely necessary that you should have that communication. Then there is another thing. The Nile is confined up in the Bahr Gazelle. It is inclined to percolate through the marsh. The Sudd collects there, and several hundred men are employed to keep it clear. There is an idea that the Nile may take a different line altogether if this is not kept open, because, of course, the great volume of water comes down by the White Nile, not by the Blue Nile. The White Nile might take another line. No one knows where it might go to. Then again, a magnificent district like Khartoum reverting to barbarism is another point. How can you do it? What right have you to do that? What right have you to take it from Egypt at all? It is all very well to take Kordofan and Darfour. These provinces do not pay. General Gordon had the idea that if he went to the Congo he would come back and reconquer the Soudan from the Congo. I told you he wanted the King of the Belgians to have the Bahr Gazelle.

Q. It has been suggested, has it not, that the French might get to the Soudan?

A. Yes; that idea was started. You know there is regular communication between Algeria and the Soudan. Caravans go in about three months from Morocco to Suakim. Here is a map of General Gordon's, on which he has marked the distribution of the Arab races in Northern and Central Africa.\* The Soudan is separately marked. When Arabia became over-populated, after the Crusades, the Arabs swarmed over into Africa. One set made their way along the northern coast—Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco; another set swarmed southwards. When they got down to about the tenth parallel they found their camels would not live further south, and so turned westwards. Thus they are spread all across the continent, at about that level. They have large numbers of old suits of chain-armour and helmets and swords of the Crusaders—

\* See Map on the preceding page.

swords with cross hilts. There are regular trade routes, as shown on the map, between the northern and southern Arabs. A friend wanted to send a copy of his work about General Gordon in Palestine to Khartoum through Algeria, and I dare say it could be done. The French could reach the Soudan from Algeria, and would be very pleased to have it.

*Q.* Do you think General Gordon has the same confidence in Ismail he had before?

*A.* Certainly he has. He has often expressed it. Ismail is the only man who can govern Egypt, and he would manage the Soudan too.

*Q.* You do not think that the present difficulty is in any way caused by a loss of General Gordon's prestige or influence in the Soudan, consequent on the Mahdi's rising?

*A.* I do not think so at all. Look at the way they received him. The Mahdi was then in rebellion.

*Q.* Do you think he ought to be allowed to go to the Mahdi?

*A.* You refer to what took place after leaving Korosko. I do not think he really intended at that time to go to the Mahdi. I should not be surprised, however, if he did so. He may have gone to see him ere now.

*Q.* Supposing the Mahdi be put in possession of Khartoum?

*A.* I do not think it would do any harm. But I do not think the Mahdi has power enough.

*Q.* Have you any idea why the Government are not willing to send instructions to General Gordon?

*A.* I never heard why. It has never been explained. I cannot understand it. I put three points. They may order General Gordon to govern. I think they cannot do so. It would put them under the necessity of taking the Soudan. General Gordon will not permanently govern it. The third and only way is to say to him: "Can you manage to form a Government to act until we see means of relieving you?"

*Q.* What do you think Admiral Hewett has gone to Abyssinia for?

*A.* I believe the Government think they will get troops, and that they can do something with Abyssinia. That would make matters ten times worse. The Mussulmans are fierce against the Abyssinians. The reason why Massowah would be of no use to Abyssinia is that the coast along there is inhabited by one of the very fiercest of the Mussulman tribes, who won't let an Abyssinian go past. You see then, I say, that General Gordon's mission was a success up to a certain point. Then, in consequence of receiving no orders as to what the future of the Soudan is to be—which have not been given even yet—the mission has failed, or is supposed to



have failed. But I quite think that it is the greatest blessing that General Gordon is cut off from the Government, and left to his own resources. I believe he will come out of this thing well.

*Q.* He will act for himself?

*A.* No question about it. He will act for himself now. With regard to communicating with him—there is no use sending up the Nile. You have got lots of agents at Massowah, who might be employed. He would not withdraw, though you were to order him to withdraw. You may do what you like with him, he would not withdraw. It is not at all a matter of rescuing General Gordon. He was in far more danger at the siege of Sebastopol—far more danger when he rode into a camp of 3,000 slave-dealers and told them to lay down their arms. He could leave to-morrow if he were minded, but he will not desert those who have been faithful to him.

## CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN SWITZERLAND.

IT is not easy to deal in a short paper with the actual conditions of life and thought in Switzerland. Two difficulties meet us at the outset. The first lies in the fact that Switzerland has no moral centre—that there is, in fact, not one Switzerland, but a group of Switzerlands distinct from, and almost unknown to each other; so that the picture consists of a series of independent sketches, hard to be drawn by a single pencil. The second is, that the present is only intelligible through the medium of the past, and that our past is complex and little known. It is therefore necessary, however narrow our limits, to begin with a glance back.

Switzerland, the mother of the great rivers of Europe, occupies both slopes of the Central Alps, from Mont Blanc and the Diablerets to the Bernina, together with the plains which lie in front of the mountains as far as the upper course of the Rhine, and the long lines of the Jura, between which it possesses several valleys. The thirteen cantons of ancient Switzerland, with their subjects and allies, covered pretty nearly the same extent of territory as the Switzerland of to-day.\* Nominally united for purposes of mutual defence, they were really independent States, living under very different institutions. The Reformation tended to loosen even this slight connection; and when the armies of the French Republic invaded the country in 1798 such of the States as offered any resistance at all acted each on its account. The attempt of the Directory to establish a united republic was supported only by a feeble minority in the country, and fell to pieces immediately on the withdrawal of the French troops. The Act of Mediation of 1803, while investing the Diet with

\* The political frontier does not altogether correspond with the natural boundary. Some valleys of the Grisons, and the whole canton of Ticino, belong geographically to Italy; the parts of Berne and Soleure west of Jura are properly in France; the canton of Bâle is in Alsace, and that of Schaffhausen in Germany. On the other hand, the North of Savoy, Gex, and the old town of Constance, should naturally belong to Switzerland; and the same may be said of the Austrian Vorarlberg, and the southern slopes of the Black Forest. Such a delimitation as this would include Schaffhausen—which, as it is, runs up into the Duchy of Baden, within the natural outline of Helvetia.



now civic rights are acquired, not by place of birth nor by domicile, but by which is generally obtained by a money payment, and can always be refused in urban or rural, are hereditary corporations, groups of families enjoying proprietorship of considerable wealth. In German Switzerland the hereditary still exists as a sort of private association (*Bürger-Gemeinde*), charged with maintenance of the poor, while the commune (*Einwohner-Gemeinde*) provides

to be made dominant throughout Europe. Forced by the nature of the case to build on a democratic foundation and extract a government from the ranks of the people, the authors of the new constitutions attempted to prepare the way for the formation of an oligarchy. They created a legislative body (the Grand Council), which was generally charged with the nomination of the executive (the lesser Council, or Council of State) and the superior tribunal. The sovereignty of the people was tempered, to begin with, by an electoral qualification, which, however, it was impossible to place very high; and the elections were for the most part indirect, the electoral assembly nominating several candidates, one of whom was to be selected by a commission appointed for the purpose, or by the Grand Council itself; while in other cases the Grand Council was recruited directly by co-optation, like the French Senate of to-day. It was elected for a considerable number of years, and the members of the Council of State, together with the other magistrates, for a still longer term—sometimes as much as twelve years.

These ingenious arrangements did not last long enough to be tested by their fruits. The first choice of the new constituencies by no means always fell upon the recognized social leaders; in some cantons the electors, rendered distrustful by their memories of the past, sedulously avoided those who, they feared, might become new masters; and thus it came about that it was the cultivated, intelligent, and wealthy classes who offered the first opposition to the new system, which had subjected them to the cumbrous and unskilful administration of a rural oligarchy formed by a coalition of the influential peasants of the villages, and destined to survive, under very curious disguises, for a considerable time.

This aristocratic reconstruction of Switzerland naturally exposed the country to the contagion of the revolutionary ferment which was working in every part of the Continent during the ascendancy of the Holy Alliance. The subjects of the great cities were little disposed to endure with patience a domination against which they had risen a century before, and from which they had been temporarily freed. The people of the cantons formed in 1803 kicked against the new masters, taken by chance from their own ranks, and claimed the exercise of their sovereign rights. The French Revolution of 1830, whilst it averted all danger of foreign intervention, determined the explosion of a mine which had long been laid. In the space of a few months, all the aristocracies, urban and rural, had been overthrown by popular movements, excepting only that of Geneva, where the rural districts are too insignificant to contend with the town, and where the Government, aristocratic in fact rather than in theory, carried on the administration with great wisdom and discretion. At Neuchâtel the Revolution was suppressed by the energy of the Prussian Government, supported by a considerable part of the population. At Bâle the struggle between town and country grew into a civil war, and the division of Bâle into two half-cantons. Everywhere else the revolution was accomplished without serious resistance. The old democratic cantons, with their *Landsgemeinden*, remained quiet in the midst of the disturbance—all except Schwytz, where the southern districts bordering on the lake of the four forest cantons governed those of



thing General Gordon says is, "You must listen to Power for giving you all the news." He alluded to Power's description of the conflict when the two Pachas were traitors.

Q. Your point is that General Gordon is in no apprehension as to his personal safety?

A. He under apprehension! Not the slightest. Talk of danger! Look at the story in Hill's work about Kolōkal, and when he marched into the camp of slave-dealers at Shakka. That was danger.

Q. What he is anxious for there is to provide a Government for the people?

A. That is the only question, and has been the only question all along. If he could issue a proclamation and say, "I will remain with you and I will form a Government," all would be well. I should not be the least surprised to see the veil lifted between Khartoum and Berber by a telegram coming from Gordon: "We are all right. I have formed a Government, and have put the Mahdi in charge of Khartoum." He does not care if he saves the people's lives and leaves a Government. He considers he has been abandoned because you won't tell him what to do. He wants to save the people's lives. How is he to do it?

Q. You say he does not want soldiers. Do you remember that in one of the latest despatches (April 3) he refers to the registration of slaves at Khartoum, and says that if Her Majesty's forces advance so far it would be desirable for them to take instructions as to the registration of slaves? Does not that imply a belief on his part that British troops are on the way?

A. Do you think that General Gordon, with all his experience, would not, if he had asked British troops to be sent, have stated what description of forces he wanted sent, their numbers, and their route? I cannot imagine it. I can't understand that telegram. There must be some mistake in it. What has the slave question to do with troops coming up?

Q. You do not think that a despatch might have been lost?

A. I do not believe he ever asked for a single British soldier to be sent. But as to the registration of slaves—on the 4th of August, 1877, a convention was signed between the British Government and Ismail Pacha, by which the traffic in slaves was to cease in Lower Egypt on August 4, 1884, and in 1889 in the Soudan. According to that, after the 4th of August this year, though you may have fifty slaves, you cannot sell one of them to anybody. You may keep them, but you cannot sell them. Do you mean to say that is not an interference with property? What right has England to do that? What right has England to interfere in Egypt? Look at what would take place. Without any proclamation to the people, do you think that on the 4th of August next you can carry that out? Would

Grand Council of Aargau thought fit, on its own responsibility, to suppress the convents of both sexes throughout its own territory. A rising of some Catholic districts served as a pretext for this *coup d'état*, though not a single monastery was proved to have taken part in the rising. The Catholic States appealed to the Diet, the other States of the Concordat sheltered their ally with the exception of Zurich, now one of their number, where the appeal of the celebrated Dr. Strauss to the Theological Faculty had brought about a conservative reaction. Zurich proposed a compromise which would have satisfied the moderate Catholics, but Berne sent emissaries to stir up the divided cantons, and the Diet ended by coming to a decision which, while reserving its own competence, practically ratified the *fait accompli*.\*

The suppression of the convents stirred up the Catholic party. Imprudently availing herself of an indisputable right, Lucerne, an entirely Catholic State, which had sometime before retired from the Concordat, committed the direction of her cantonal school to the Order of the Jesuits, who had long held undisputed sway over the then famous College of Fribourg. At this the ardent spirits of the neighbouring cantons took fire. Volunteer expeditions were organized against Lucerne, and neither their own responsible Governments nor the Federal authorities raised a finger to interfere. The Lucernese troops, however, with the aid of the small cantons, easily repelled the assault. The Radicals, eager to avenge the defeat of their champions, demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits by the Diet. Two cantonal revolutions, that of Vaud in 1845 and that of Geneva in 1846—secured the twelve Federal votes necessary to the carrying of this new Federal *coup d'état*. These two revolutions, with their extremely curious and unexpected interaction of cause and effect, deserve a momentary digression.

The Vaudois Government of 1815 had long been carrying on a positive persecution against certain Protestant pastors, who, following up a religious revival due to the influence of English evangelization, had started private religious meetings in the canton. In 1830 the Liberals and the Pietists together had signed petitions for a new constitution. Some of the Pietists had even joined the demonstration which came to Lausanne to back their demands by a show of force. But the instigators and leaders of the insurrection were men of a very different sort. What they wanted was power, or rather remunerative appointments, such as their merits would hardly have procured for them in quiet times. Their hopes were disappointed; the Grand Council convoked the whole mass of the citizens to elect a constituent assembly, and thus provided for the maintenance of a provisional Government until the new authorities should be installed. The Liberal minority of the Grand Council induced the mob which surrounded the Château to accept this arrangement, and thus averted any breach of legal order. The insurgents withdrew into obscurity. Public confidence

\* A curious incident, very characteristic of the general disorganization, happened on this occasion. The Grand Council of Vaud had adopted the Zurich proposal, which was supported by its first deputy, the leader of the Radical party. On the re-appearance of the question in the Council, the second deputy, who was supposed to represent moderate opinions, took the other side, carried the vote against his chief in the sense which ultimately prevailed, and, on the resignation of the latter, was charged with new instructions to the Diet.



rested rather with the men who had organized the legal agitation; and evangelicalism, which had spread more especially among the well-to-do classes, was strongly represented in the new distribution of power, and made itself felt in the exercise of the patronage of the Council of State. Nevertheless, the Evangelicals did not succeed in securing the admission of the principle of religious liberty into the Constitution; and it was not without difficulty that they carried the abrogation of the law of persecution itself. Moreover, whenever public opinion was stirred on some Catholic question, the revolutionists of 1830, who were only biding their time, struck up the cry of "No Popery," and with it an outcry against the "Mummers," or Evangelicals, whom they represented as a sort of Protestant Jesuits. When in 1845 the Vaudois Government, now largely Evangelical, had to prepare instructions for its deputies on the question of the right of the Diet to expel the Jesuits from Lucerne, it found itself in some difficulty between its own very sincere Protestant antipathies and its respect for the Federal Constitution, which did not absolutely authorize the intervention of the Diet in the internal affairs of a Sovereign State. It finally pronounced in accordance with law, and was at once overthrown by a popular movement which it had done nothing to avert. The Socialist movement, then setting in all the cities of Europe, supplemented their ranks with a strong contingent. This time the leaders of the reform, guided by experience, induced their motley following to refrain from the deposition of the authorities, and formed themselves into a provisional Government. The general refusal of the clergy to act as the instruments of the provisional Government, and the consequent absence of them from the popular assembly, dealt a new blow to religious liberty. The authorities set the religious meetings to the violence of the mob, and the result was a series of high passions. Yet the final result of it was the triumph of the free church on the Continent, and, in the Vaudois Government, a series of steps towards the National Vaudois autonomy. But the very success of the movement in the free church deprived the Evangelicals of their natural allies, the poorer classes, scarcely to be separated from the Catholic population by any political influence. It is curious that the popular movement, directed against the Jesuits, should at the same time have effected the political annihilation of the Evangelicals, their natural and consistent opponents.

The Vaudois Government is stranger still. Here the Vaudois Government has given place to a representation founded on the rivalry of the Vaudois with the town, and to a middle-class movement, which, in its tendencies, like that of the great Vaudois movement, which Geneva had imprudently annexed in 1800, was separated from it by French or Sardinian influences, were no better satisfied. So great was their distrust of the Government, that they refused to support it even in its defence of Catholic interests in Lucerne. Under the leadership of James Fazy, a man of ruined fortunes, but an able and unscrupulous man,\*

\* Fazy may be regarded as the founder of the New Geneva, where for many years he assumed almost royal powers.

they formally allied themselves with the equally discontented artisans of the town, and by their aid succeeded in overturning the Government. Every facility was now given to the Ultramontanes to instal themselves in full force in Geneva. By one and the same stroke, the very movement which supplied the twelfth Federal vote for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lucerne established them in the heart of the city of Calvin. Thus the Savoyard Catholics of rural Geneva freed themselves from pressure at home by the sacrifice of Swiss Catholicism. The whole incident affords a striking instance of the way in which Federal questions come to be decided by purely cantonal considerations.\*

The civilization of Geneva was drawn from sources too various and abundant for it to suffer as much from these events as that of the neighbouring canton. Nevertheless, it can hardly be said to have quite recovered its former level. The prohibition of the meetings of the Salvation Army, pronounced in defiance of the guarantees of religious liberty given by the Federal and Cantonal Constitutions, shows how foreign Liberal principles are to that Government. The example has been followed by Neuchâtel, Berne, and Vaud, cantons which are also under the sway of absolutist democracy (*démocratie autoritaire*), which goes in Switzerland by the name of Radicalism.† Tribunals and juries, however, do not lend themselves very readily to the execution of orders of this kind.

But to return to the central struggle. The Catholic cantons, seeing the storm thicken over them, prepared for resistance. They formed themselves into a defensive league, and opposed their own *Sonderbund* to the concordat of the seven cantons which now dominated Switzerland. But nothing short of a mobilizable army, such as it was impossible for them to create, could have given any practical value to this measure. As it was, it simply played into the hands of the aggressors, by enabling them to put forward a formally legal summons to the whole body of Catholics to dissolve their separate alliance and send back to the Diet the envoys they had withdrawn. The newly-formed Federal majority, strong in the eager support of Lord Palmerston, and heedless of continental opinion, called out the whole Federal force of more than 100,000 men. The ill-organized resistance of the *Sonderbund* had no chance against them, and the result of the conflict was a foregone conclusion. The Catholic cantons were forced to submit, the Jesuits were expelled, and the monasteries suppressed. The position of the cantonal minorities faithful to the Federal compact—especially those of the lately revolutionized cantons of Vaud and Geneva—during the struggle may be imagined.

The conflict ended in 1847. In 1848 the new Constitution was promulgated. The Federal Assembly was to comprise a National Council, consisting of deputies elected by universal suffrage, and in numbers proportionate to the population; and a Council of States, consisting of

\* The alliance of the artisans with the rural Catholics could only hold together in face of a common enemy. The aristocratic party once disposed of, the fear and hatred of Rome once more dominated every other idea in the Genevan mind. The existing Government—at present in a somewhat precarious position—owes its equilibrium to this passion of Protestantism and to the secret concurrence of a sufficient number of the old patricians.

† Radicals in the English sense of the word call themselves Liberals in Switzerland. Their opponents call them *doctrinaires*.



two deputies for each canton, chosen in whatever thought fit to adopt. An executive council nominally replaced the three ancient *Vororte*. The *Vororte*, the centre of the resistance, lost all power and became the capital of Switzerland. Zurich promised a Federal University—a promise not fulfilled. A federal tribunal was also constituted to decide disputes between canton and canton, and questions of public law and commercial barriers between the various cantons were abolished except the excise duty on wines, the abolition of which was postponed for a term now nearly expired. Freedoms were secured to Swiss subjects in all the cantons, political rights even in cantonal matters; and projects of less importance—such as the draining of marshes, the regulation of rivers and torrents, and the piercing of mountain passes—were undertaken either on behalf of the Confederation or for local purposes, but really in the interest of the tourist and to develop the industry of “mine host.” The construction of railways was facilitated by placing the power of granting concessions in the hands of the Federal Council.

Thus the first years of the new *régime* were marked by material progress. Switzerland was now a coherent nation, and of following a policy of its own. But the Radical Governments of the minorities hostile to the Church in the Ultramontane cantons practically directed the internal policy of the Confederation, more and more adverse to the Catholics—now a minority among the Federal authorities, though they form a majority in the nation. Although the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to them throughout the country, they are hampered by the interdict on all religious orders which it may be declared affiliated to the Jesuits. The Radicals have been favoured in every possible way, even in the division of the electoral areas expressly for their advantage. An obstacle has been put in the way of the representation of minorities in the Radical cantons. The non-Germans and generally the cantons at a distance from the centre have a slender share in the benefits of the new *régime*. The School of Engineers in Zurich (the Polytechnicum) has been a purely German school, though the French cantons contribute largely to its maintenance. The development of the railways has shown out very plainly the disadvantages under which the labouring classes labour. Railways had from the first been left to private initiative; but the Federal Assembly put a brake on those articles of the Constitution which define its powers over public works, and granted a subsidy of several millions to the Gothard Company—thus annihilating the scheme proposed by the Grisons for a tunnel which would have been constructed, and obliging that great mountain canton to an undertaking which not only destroys its hopes of a railway but paralyzes the traffic of its already numerous carriage roads. After the work had been going on for

discovered that the subsidies voted for the St. Gothard were not enough; and the Federal Council proposed a supplementary contribution. This was negatived by the Assembly; but a deputy belonging to the Catholic minority took the lead in proposing a compromise. The supplementary contribution was granted, with certain modifications, and subject to certain conditions, one of the most important of these being the promise of an equal sum to any company which should undertake to pierce the Alps at some other point. It was thus to the generosity of an adversary that the St. Gothard owed its completion. The Grisons seem to have entirely abandoned their own scheme; nor does the piercing of the Arlberg tunnel seem likely to lead to its revival, though that great line opens on their frontier. On the other hand, the Company of Western Switzerland, which serves at a loss the long gorge of the Valais as far as the foot of the Simplon, is inviting France to co-operate in piercing a tunnel there, at a much lower level than that of the St. Gothard, which will enable it to offer far more advantageous terms for traffic. If this arrangement, which was advocated by Gambetta, should be carried out, the Confederation must of course hold to its engagements, though the Federal Council, in the interest of the St. Gothard, will doubtless do its best to avert such a contingency. The Federal Assembly has secured the essential rights of the companies. It is clear, however, that in matters of economy as in matters of religion, the Federal authorities tend to take the part of certain cantons against certain others. This question of the passes of the Alps plays a part in Swiss politics scarcely second even to that of the religious question (*Cultur-Kampf*), and it has a very important bearing on our international relations.

Vaud and the Valais are the two cantons now menaced by the Federal policy. The Vaudois Government, though it owed its origin to a centralizing impulse, has long ago come back to cantonalism, as far as railways are concerned; while some of the party defeated in 1845 have been taking a leaf out of the enemy's book, and playing off the Federal Government against them. All this has led to an odd confusion of ideas. Thus we find the so-called Liberals, or Conservatives [*sic*], introducing the income tax, with its arbitrary mode of collection, and the Socialists resisting the taxation of persons and defending the taxation of things. In legislation, however, the Socialists have been Conservative enough; and their return to power did not involve the abolition of the income-tax. Their chief fault has been their inability to maintain order. Things have now come to such a pass that a plébiscite of the 16th of last December decided to apply the old remedy—a revision of the Cantonal Constitution—for the second time since 1845.

Aargau and Berne are also occupied in revising their Constitutions; Berne from motives analogous to those of Vaud, and Aargau because in that hearth and home of Rationalism and of the *Cultur-Kampf*, the machinery of government is absolutely at a stand-still.

Meanwhile the centralizing tendency gains strength. The cannon of 1847 broke down the barrier; the Federal Act of 1848 created the machinery of progress; but the state of public opinion did not then admit of its going very far. In the minds of the real authors of the revolution, 1848 was but a first stage. After sundry tentatives, a new



scheme of a frankly centralizing character, manufacturers of German Switzerland—then name of Federal barons—was adopted by the submitted to the judgment of the people, who first, to accept it at the instigation of an i a couple of years later, with a few purely which, under colour of moderation, only afforded interpretation. The full explanation of this would carry us too far into the details of p cantonal politics.

The Federal Constitution of 1874 was adopted against 178,000, and by fourteen and a half c a half. The centralization of justice, the cen and the introduction of the plébiscite in Feder characteristic features.

In 1848 military education had only been use of special arms was concerned; the infan cantons. In 1874, Switzerland, seeing all her, felt the need of a homogeneous army of d expert soldiers. The Confederation, which taxes, was well enough off; but the cantons, to direct taxation—the only form of taxat Radical theory—were already impoverished they still are. The Confederation therefore military organization; the schools, the exer manœuvres, were largely improved; the assimilated as far as possible to a regular efforts were to a considerable extent successful

As to the administration of justice, the au tribunals in criminal cases was restricted on pronounce sentence of death—a measure whi found necessary to repeal, in consequence of against the person. The civil jurisdiction wa ing the palpable inconveniences of such an ar canton and the Confederation. The administ family law, and of the law of landed property, w law of contract was centralized, in accordance w mercial community; and the Federal code on long and difficult process of elaboration, lately be order; but the contradictory views of the French the prosecution of debtors continue to hold each law on this subject is meanwhile cantonal. In reservations, the Federal Assembly has regulate a manner which, by leaving divorce to the disc by allowing the marriage of persons convicted increased the number of separations. Primary compulsory, was to be given in such a way exposed to the risk of hearing anything contras he was brought up; but this exemption has no respect to all the cantons, apparently for want the attempt to create a body of inspectors havi outset by the popular veto. On the other l

undertook the supervision of the factories, and maintains a staff of factory inspectors to secure the carrying out of a law against which many complaints have been made. It seems difficult to frame any useful legislation on this matter without the help of international conventions. Laws relating to patents and the sanitary police have also been passed, only to be annulled by the popular vote.

The spirit of the Federal Assembly—in which the Council of the State, having no instructions from the Cantons, and no responsibility to the Assembly, plays a very insignificant part—has been from the first that of a bureaucratic Jacobinism, more or less tinctured with Socialism. It seeks to regulate all the relations of life, and to carry State interference into everything. No opportunity is lost for multiplying public officials who may at the same time serve as electoral agents. In this respect the proposed purchase of the railways would be a decisive blow. These tendencies are, however, held in check by the power of some thousands of citizens to call a meeting of the primary assemblies, and take their vote, by ballot, for the adoption or rejection of bills prepared by the councils. Introduced into the Federal Constitution in consequence of its adoption in most of the cantons, the plébiscite—that invention of an advanced and centralizing democracy—has hitherto acted only at the call and in the interests of the Federalists or Conservatives. Nevertheless, it is a usurpation, because, in thus consulting the people, no account is taken of the cantons as such. But, as a matter of fact, the Catholics and the French-speaking population—who, with the addition of the Conservative minorities of the other cantons, form a majority of the whole—contrive to work to their own advantage, and with exemplary regularity, a machinery which its inventors have already found reason to curse. If the cantonal Governments, notwithstanding the union of their interests, are still separated by the recollection of their antecedents and by an instinct of false shame, the populations have already come to an understanding over their heads. It is something gained that the Confederation can no longer violate the rights of the cantons, that the Radicals can no longer impose their will on the country; but since the cantons are poor and the Confederation is rich, there is still some hope of buying them. “Largess” is the word. The Confederation is seeking whom to subsidize. If the cantons are poor, it is because they have for the most part retained the whole apparatus of autonomous States, though they have lost three-quarters of their prerogatives and a good part of their material resources; so that the tax-payer is actually maintaining two entire Governments, a somewhat heavy burden in the long run. For Democracy has no unpaid officials; and if the salaries are modest, the number of them passes imagination. All this cannot but produce a certain uneasiness in a country which has suffered not less than others from the depression of trade, and from bad harvests.

Meanwhile the intellectual life of the country shows no tendency to centralize at all. Catholics and Protestants, obeying opposite impulses, keep at a distance from each other, rarely read the same books, and mingle very little, except as they are drawn together by the historical and scientific associations. The three languages spoken in Switzerland attach Swiss thought to three distinct intellectual centres, all of them outside the country. The Tessin, for instance, from this point of



view, belongs altogether to Italy, where its artists, Vela and Maraini, make no mean figure; though, were it not for the difference of religion, it would lean towards French Switzerland. The Protestants and emancipated Catholics of the German cantons, notwithstanding their very pronounced national character, live entirely on German thought; and, in return, the very names of their writers—even of men so distinguished as Gottfried Keller of Zurich—are almost unknown in French Switzerland. Jeremias Gotthelf's\* vigorous delineations of Bernese life form perhaps the only exception to this rule since the days of Haller, Gessner, Lavater, and Pestalozzi. If some few works of real merit reach us, it is due to the celebrity they have first attained in Germany. This has been the case with the powerful studies of Jacques Burckhardt, of Bâle, on the Italian Renaissance. In the same way, though French is well known in German Switzerland, Berne and Bâle are the only cantons where our authors are read at all. Among French-speaking Protestants, German and English influences—especially the latter—counterbalance that of their neighbours beyond the Jura, from whom they are separated by their religious traditions and general culture. This equilibrium has enabled them to evolve at least a negative originality and an embryonic national literature. Not to speak of the Rousseaus, the La Harpes, the De Staels, the Benjamin Constants, who made their fame elsewhere, the names of Vinet and Töpfer shed some lustre on the first half of the century. Monneron, who died before he had attained his full stature, has left us some few poems so pure in tone and of so wide a range as almost to claim for him a place in the front rank of French lyrists. The dreamy songs of Juste Olivier—who, after an enthusiastic welcome from the youth of his own country, was driven with several of his compatriots to Paris by the revolution of 1845, and there lived forgotten—struck an original vein too peculiar either to be understood elsewhere than in Switzerland or to be fully appreciated by so small a public as ours, where mediocrity gives the law to opinion. Geneva had once loved the songs of her minstrels; she cared nothing for her constellation of romantic poets. Just lately a young girl of Neuchâtel, Alice de Chambrier, has proved herself, while yet almost a child, a born poet, by the simple loftiness of her thought and the magic of her style. When she contrasts the noisy railway train with the bird,

“ . . . Dont le vol se balance,  
Et qui, sans déchirer l'harmonieux silence,  
Traverse en un instant la bleue immensité,”

one thinks with regret that her own flight through our atmosphere has been almost as rapid.

Village stories and studies of life and manners we have in abundance. A surviving brother of Juste Olivier is making a study of our peasant proprietors over an area of five or six square miles. Every year he brings out a new story, interlarded with pious discourses, and always winding up by rewarding virtue with a competency; but this somewhat prosaic method, redeemed as it is by drawings from the life, does not prevent the circulation of these little books in the neighbouring provinces, in spite of the difference of religion—insomuch

\* Pastor Bitzius, now some years dead.



that the French Government has decked with its bit of red ribbon the buttonhole of the fortunate author. There is far more incident in the stories of Dubois-Melly, of Geneva, or of the late M. Sciobéret, of Fribourg; more poetry in the tales of the Vaudois Rambert, who knows the secret of the Alps as few men know it; more humour in those of Louis Favre and T. Combe, of Neuchâtel; more force in the romance of Bachelin; but, thanks to his very defects, Urbain Olivier remains the most popular of them all, and no rival has a chance against him.

Turning to criticism, we must again name Rambert, whose very thoughtful biographical studies trench on the domain of history. Here also laboured the fine and subtle mind of Louis Vuillemin, and before him, Merle d'Aubigné, whose fertility of imagination, breadth of exposition, and compact opinions have won him fuller sympathy abroad than in his own country. The patient and splendid labours of Herminjard on the correspondence of the Reformers are triumphs of erudition of which I shall not here attempt to speak. Nor shall I touch on science. In the domain of science, as in that of research, each has his own place assigned him by competent authority before the eyes of the whole world, and a second-hand judgment can have no value. In philosophy I must name Ernest Naville, the lucid and able defender of anti-materialist doctrines; and in theology the highly gifted Frédéric Godet, who was tutor to the Prince Imperial of Germany. The recent publication of extracts from the "*Journal Intime*," left by Professor Amiel of Geneva, has revealed to Europe a great writer and a genuine thinker in one whose previous works, published during his lifetime, seemed to have but little in them.

I have hardly space left to speak of the last Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition at Zurich, which is on all hands admitted to have been a complete success. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from mentioning one or two little paintings in the Fine Art Department, which left on me a singularly vivid impression. The "*Joie Maternelle*," of Conrad Grob, of Zurich, represents a young woman suckling her child near the house, while a little lad of five or six flings his arms about her neck. In the look and smile of this young mother there is an intensity of joy and tenderness such as I should have thought it beyond the power of the brush to depict. The other picture, by the Bernese Anker, was an old acquaintance. A woman clad in a coarse brown smock lies along the platform in front of a lake-dwelling, watching a canoe as it fades away into the distant palls of the morning. Her powerful womanly arms indicate an athletic race, and the look one divines in the averted profile searches the infinitude of the ages to come. It is a poetic effect of really extraordinary grandeur, obtained by the soberest imaginable means.

These few indications suffice to show that civilization is not quite extinct among us, little as it may be favoured by our political condition. Retarded by revolutions, some of which were openly directed against it, it has nevertheless held on its course. Our public education budget is a very considerable one. Zurich, Bâle, Berne, and Geneva have universities framed on the German pattern, and numbering many very distinguished professors. The Academy of Lausanne which has special schools of chemistry and engineering, might without



presumption assume the same title. The other important colleges ; grammar schools and industrial too numerous, and some of them are excellent. are taught with the greatest skill and precision gymnasia of German Switzerland, French Switzerland her well-endowed rival—and indeed most other her institutions for the education of girls, there are due to private initiative. Our young ( themselves, as well as many foreign girls, come the sake of their varied and intelligent teaching precious of all, the education of mind and heart coming to us from the best foreign schools, as frankest testimony to the superiority of ours.

supplemented by numerous private *pensions* choice is necessary, but a fair number of them :

The press has made a marvellous advance. There are simply innumerable, though the circulation population of five or six hundred thousand only small. Dogmatism is learning moderation ; more practical among us ; if we have not genius, we have abundance, and it is directed on the whole to wisdom.

To return to politics—which are, after all, the study—we are making full proof of the extension of suffrage. The masses no longer care to choose to show the way ; they seek out representatives to be the organs and instruments of their own passions that the levelling system does quite as much might rise as to raise those that are down. The past was a group of small sovereign republics ; the Switzerland of to-day is a country where institutions have been centralized, while insurmountable to prevent the unification of manners, tendencies success of the experiment is still doubtful. In must either recede or advance to a speedy completion condition in which we are at present struggling tolerable uncertainties, confusions, and expenditures remain so long as the elections continue to absolutism while the plébiscites are for federation of the plébiscite, which is becoming more and the Confederation and in the cantons, is a specimen highest degree of the attention of all civilized as they all are by the current of Democracy, Switzerland its most advanced form and its full

## CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

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### I.—APOLOGETIC THEOLOGY.

CONSIDERABLE portions of the new work of the Duke of Argyll\* appeared in our columns in a series of articles during the years 1882 and 1883. To these the noble author has made considerable additions, and the entire argument is now presented to the public in a complete form. We consider the work to be one of the most important defences of Theism which have been elicited by modern controversies. Its object is to prove that Nature constitutes a unity, the parts of which are united together by a mass of such complicated and delicate correlations, that it is irrational to believe that their origin can have been due to anything but a power possessed of intelligent volition.

It would be impossible in the space at our command, to give anything like an analysis of this important work. The utmost that we can do is to call the reader's attention to a few special points in the argument, and to ask those who have brought themselves to believe that the innumerable correlations with which the universe abounds have come into existence without the intervention of intelligence, carefully to consider them. Among these are the correlations which exist between the living and the non-living, between the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and between them all and man, every part of the universe being adjusted to every other part, and the whole of these complicated correlations being interwoven into an harmonious unity. These points are argued with great force. Equally striking is the author's treatment of animal instincts. Of these, several of the most remarkable are adduced, which render it certain that they cannot have resulted either from hereditary transmission, or the instruction of parents, but that they must be the effects of innate tendencies in the animal itself. In this respect the author points out that the animal is a living machine, in which is manifested the results of an intelligence external to itself, in a manner precisely similar to that in which machines destitute of life are manifestations of the intelligence of man. This portion of the argument seems to us to leave little to be desired; and we earnestly commend it to the attention of those who have brought themselves to believe that the existence of the universe can be accounted for without the intervention of intelligence.

Next follow a number of most important discussions respecting the nature and the trustworthiness of human knowledge. We think that these will greatly aid in dissipating the mist with which this subject has been obscured, by the introduction into its discussion of a number of abstract metaphysical speculations respecting the infinite and the

\* "The Unity of Nature." By the Duke of Argyll. London: A. Strahan. 1884.



absolute, by which it has been attempted to be proved that man's entire knowledge is merely relative. The treatment of anthropomorphism, and the exposure of the sophisms which are involved in the use of this term, is also extremely able. Next, the elementary constitution of matter in relation to the inorganic is discussed; and it is clearly proved that the only account of its correlations and adjustments which will stand the test of rational investigation, is that they have originated in the action of intelligent volition. A still more important service is rendered to the cause of Theism, by the discussion of the elementary constitution of matter in relation to the organic, where it is proved that the whole of organic structures are, to adopt a well known metaphor, "loaded"—*i.e.*, are loaded with mind, and proclaim the presence of intelligence.

The author then discusses a number of important questions respecting the moral nature of man, its bearing on the unity of Nature, and the value of the utilitarian system of philosophy, as affording a foundation on which it is possible to erect a system of moral obligation. But, perhaps, the most important portion of the chapter is that in which it is proved that man is the only exception to the unity of Nature; and that he is the only being who is capable of placing himself out of harmony with that unity. This possibly arises from his having been constituted a being capable of voluntary choice, or, in other words, a free agent; the importance of this point in its bearing on Materialistic, Pantheistic, Positivist, and Agnostic theories of evolution cannot be estimated.

On this follows an important chapter on "The Degradation of Man," in which it is proved, and we think conclusively, that primitive man cannot have been a being resembling the savage, as Atheistic theories of his origin are compelled to assume. Man stands in this position: while his faculties render him capable of an elevation almost godlike, their abuse is capable of sinking him to a moral level below that of the fiercest animal. In this respect, he is the single instance of a being included in Nature, who is capable of putting himself outside its harmonies. Every other being is so constituted that it cannot help realizing the end of its existence, because in whatever it does it is a necessary agent, governed solely by instincts, which it is incapable of disobeying; and although its actions may manifest intelligence, that intelligence is not its own; or, although it may make provision for the future, it does this without any sense of futurity. Man, however, not only may fail, but frequently does fail, to realize the end of his existence, because he alone is possessed of the power of self-determination. The gift of freedom is God's noblest gift, but it involves the necessary condition, that while it confers the power of choosing the right, it involves the possibility of choosing the wrong. This is involved in the very conception of free agency, which places an impassable gulf between man and the other animal races.

The final chapter is entitled "Recapitulations and Conclusions." In it the inconceivability of the first man having been brought into existence in a condition below that of the modern savage is pointed out. On the contrary, it is proved that the original condition of primeval man must have been one widely different from this, for wonderful as have been the inventions of the human intellect in these latter days, by means of which man's dominion over Nature has been acquired, the inventions

of primeval man must have been more wonderful still, although their use is now so common that we scarcely notice them. Among these are noted the discovery of the use of fire and the methods of kindling it, which man alone of animals has attained to; the domestication of wild animals; the processes by which the various cereals were first developed out of some wild grasses; the gradual development of language in all its complexity out of some simple forms; and the invention of writing. These, says the author, are all discoveries with which no subsequent discoveries can compare; and form an impassable barrier between man and the wisest brute. In the conclusion a most important theological question is discussed in the light thrown upon it by modern science—viz., the nature and origin of human corruption, or, in theological language, the doctrine of original sin. Science recognizes it as an unquestionable fact that qualities both good and bad are transmissible from ancestors to their descendants in conformity with some law as yet imperfectly understood. However, therefore, we may account for it, inherited evil, whether bodily or mental, is not a theory but a fact, the degradation of man's nature being the one great apparent anomaly in the universe, as far as science has yet succeeded in explaining its secrets. But while it is compelled to recognize this as a fact, it can give no account of its origination, and is powerless to provide a remedy for it.

One of the great merits of the work before us is, that while it is fully up to the level of the philosophical and scientific theories of the day, it deals with these various questions in a manner which is level to the comprehension of people of ordinary understanding. In this respect numerous writers on the present theistic controversy greatly err. Attempting, as they do, to penetrate into the profoundest depths of metaphysical and abstract thought, they are only capable of being appreciated by a very select class of readers. But this controversy is deeply stirring the minds of those men, who, being engaged in the active duties of life, have neither time, taste, nor ability for entering on such profound subjects of inquiry. Those, therefore, who are desirous of staying the progress of these Materialistic, Pantheistic, Positivist, and Agnostic forms of thought, now so widely prevalent, must condescend to address themselves to the capacities of ordinary men, and cease to aim at hitting the stars. To those persons profound metaphysics is cloudland, even if it is not so to philosophers themselves; and scientific terms formed by piling one word of Greek origin on another are destitute of meaning. We therefore feel deeply indebted to the noble author for having treated this subject in the language of common sense.

The next work\* forms a striking contrast to that which we have just noticed. It is an attempt to deal with some of the most abstract questions which underlie the Theistic controversy. As such, it is only suited to a select class of students. Consisting, as it does, of 564 very closely printed pages, it is impossible for us to set before our readers even an epitome of its contents. It will be sufficient to say that it deals throughout with questions of high philosophy; and to those of our

\* "The Philosophical Basis of Theism; an Examination of the Personality of Man to ascertain his Capacity to Know and Receive God, and the Validity of the Principles underlying the Defence of Theism." By G. S. Davies, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Department of Yale College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.



readers who are devoted to the study of al will doubtless prove extremely interesting. B exigencies of the present time imperatively dem of Theism should endeavour to erect it on a ph is capable of being grasped by ordinary thin controversy is no longer confined to the clos theologians. We greatly fear that the labours c lofty a region to exert much influence on the m however instructive and interesting they may be who are competent to grapple with questions w to the confines of the limitations of the human

Our next work\* is likewise by an Americ with an examination of the question wheth properly predicated of either God or man, discuss the nature and origin of religious bel proceeds to examine the various argumen adduced in proof of the existence of God, and conclusively, that even if evolution affords a tru in which the universe has been brought into utmost which it does is to explain how existing what they are, but that it leaves the argument touched. He then points out the distinction Supernatural Revelation, and draws attention tianity does not consist of a mass of dogmas, b on a body of historical facts. This portion of extremely able. The chapters on the authorshi and the trustworthiness of the Apostolic test the Synoptics are also well worth a careful then proceeds to treat of the ecclesiastical n evidence on which they rest with that for those r and the evidential value of the prophetic scrip the argument seems to us to leave much to concluding chapters deal with as many evidenti adaptability of Christianity to human nature, t doctrine, Christendom as the result of Christ compared with other religions, and the relation to the Christian faith. Some of these are al think less satisfactory. The concluding chap Congruity of the Natural Sciences with the C this portion of the work we feel that there is m taking the work as a whole, we think it de attention of our readers.

The next work† can hardly fail to recall to t readers some interesting reminiscences of a cont years ago deeply agitated the minds of English C of the Essays was the author of a work entit "Christian Church," which was condemned by

\* "The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief." By London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

† "Essays on the Philosophy of Theism." By W. G. W of Balliol College, Oxford, and Professor of Moral Philosop at Old Yale College, Ware. Reprinted from the *Dublin* Paul, Trench & Co. 1884.

Oxford Convocation, and for writing which he was deprived of his degree. Mr. Ward subsequently joined the Church of Rome, in the communion of which he has since died. The Essays before us were originally published in the *Dublin Review*. They have been edited in their present form by Mr. Wilfrid Ward. We mention this for the purpose of drawing attention to the fact that the author of the Essays is not responsible for the present form of the book. We think also that the editor has scarcely given a correct title to it. The Essays are not simply essays on Theism, but considerable portions of them are evidently intended to form a philosophical basis to bear the weight of some of the most startling positions of the theology of the Church of Rome. We deeply regret this, because we feel confident that it will greatly damage its usefulness in the eyes of all English readers, except those of the author's own communion, and destroy the effects which large portions of it are calculated to exert on Antitheists. Of these Mr. Mill is taken as the ideal representative; and we feel bound to express an opinion, that his anti-theistic philosophy of phenomenalism, with that of Mr. Bain, is demolished in a manner most crushing. We would draw attention to those Essays which deal with the denial of necessary truth, and among them especially to that which proves the intuitional character of the axioms of mathematics; those which treat of the foundations of morality, the denial of freewill, the proof of its existence, and the principle of causation. These subjects occupy nearly the whole of the first volume. On a few points connected with the action of the will we think that the author's positions are inaccurate; but this does not hinder him from giving the various theories of determinism an utter and hopeless demolition.

With respect to the eight Essays, which constitute the second volume, we must speak with bated breath. Large portions of them are written not for the purpose of proving theism, pure and simple, but to afford a standing-point for some of the most unbelievable dogmas of the author's own Church. Thus, his theory of miracles is erected on a foundation sufficiently broad not only to sustain the weight of the patristic and mediæval miracles, but even the modern miracles of the Church of Rome. The following passage is quoted from a work of Cardinal Newman, who is here and in many other places strangely designated F. Newman. "Putting aside the hypothesis of unknown laws of Nature (which is the evasion of the force of any proof), I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, and for the motion of the eyes of the Madonna in the Roman States. I see no reason to doubt the material of the Lombard crown at Monza; and I do not see why the holy coat at Treves may not be what it professes to be. I firmly believe that portions of the true Cross are at Rome, and elsewhere; that the crib of Bethlehem is at Rome, and . . . that the relics of the Saints are doing innumerable miracles and graces daily. . . . I firmly believe that saints in their lifetime have raised the dead to life, crossed the sea without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured innumerable diseases; and stopped the operation of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways." We need hardly add that among these marvels the doctrine of



transubstantiation is by no means forgotten. We are surprised to find the author affirming that the Church has always favoured the progress of philosophy and science. At the same time, he asserts that it was entirely justified in treating the subject of Prayer, and in asking the question, "When did the Church (by which he means the Catholic Church) ever pray against comets and eclipses?" He may fail us; but we think that we have read of a Pope who prayed for a comet. In a similar manner, in the chapter on "Implicit Thought," and on "Certitude in Religion," the author lays a foundation so wide, that the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the duty of its members, in all its utterances on religious, moral, and political questions, and all the consequences thence resulting, may be built upon. He tells us plainly that the Church claims to occupy the position of a Vice-Christ or an Antichrist. If this is so, we think that the testimony of unquestionable fact is against the latter. But space prevents us from entering into the positions laid down in the latter portion of this book. We express our wonder that a man of Dr. Ward's intellect should not have perceived the innumerable fallacies in his positions, and our regret that he should have dashed his powerful reasonings against the various forms of unbelief, by inviting his readers to accept positions which the members of his own communion, will be unable to support hopelessly untenable.

The next book\* travels over so vast a range of subjects, that it is difficult to write anything like an adequate notice of it. The work itself professes to give a summary of the logical speculations respecting the nature of God, and their mutual relations from the earliest times of human thought to the latest theories which have been advanced by German, French, and English philosophers and theologians on these subjects. Whether it is possible to treat these subjects within the limits of 397 pages, we must leave it to the reader. In this class of literature a matter of special study is required. For ourselves, we can only say that we believe that the speculations lie beyond the range of the human mind, and are impossible to realize them in definite thought; and that all reasonings on them are futile.

The author is what is designated a Christian Theist. He considers that he finds a more or less developed theism in all the ontological and theistic speculations of the various schools. His views on this subject are set before us in the first chapter. With the first line of it we cordially agree, when he says, "there is no systematic theology in the Scriptures." He says that God is never called a Person in the Bible. This affirmation, though literally true, is simply misleading. He is nowhere called a Person, he

\* "Panthéism and Christianity." By J. Hunt, D.D., Wm. Isbister. 1884.

exception spoken of as a Person. The author's idea is that God is *super-personal*. The following passage quoted from the last page will illustrate the breadth of the author's views: "The speculations which are called Pantheism are legitimate exercises of the human intellect. They are efforts to think and speak of God under the aspects in which God has appeared to different minds, or has been viewed under different relations. To call God, Being, Non-Being, Substance, Becoming, Nature, the Absolute, the Infinite I, the Thought of the Universe, or the Not Ourselves which works for Righteousness, is to speak of God with the imperfections of human thought and language; and yet such names are as legitimate as Creator, vast Designer, eternal Geometrician, or to those who can receive it (the italics are ours), *even as Lord, Supreme Ruler, or Father of men.*" On the contrary, we maintain that it is impossible to love a God who is not a Person, or a free moral agent, but an impersonal something, we know not what; and that the above abstractions are less worthy than the Sun of our loving adoration. From the Sun the benefits which we desire are great; but to feel gratitude to him for them is impossible; because he cannot help doing what he does. Yet the worshipper of the Sun is rational, compared with the worshipper of "the Absolute," or "the Infinite I," or "the Thought of the Universe," or even "the Not Ourselves, which works for righteousness"

We must now notice very briefly a few smaller publications.

The first work\* consists of twelve chapters, and is an examination from a scientific point of view of several important theological positions in their relation to modern thought, and which have hitherto attained a wide acceptance. Among them are the accounts of creation as given in the first and second chapters of Genesis, which are compared with the recently discovered Assyrian ones; the historical value of the narrative of the fall; the nature of original sin, of moral responsibility, and the Curse. The author next discusses several questions of a more purely theological character, such as the nature of salvation and damnation, the atonement, faith, and regeneration. He then enters on the inquiry, Who are Christians—the true nature of Christian Communion, and concludes with investigating what constitutes Christianity in contrast with that so-called Christian theology which has too often been substituted for it in the Christian Church. The reader will find these subjects discussed with great vigour and freshness by one who has been thoroughly trained in the methods of scientific investigation, and who, while he strongly adheres to the doctrines of evolution, is a firm believer in Christianity as a supernatural revelation.

The next is a most valuable little book;† or, to say the truth, to readers who have no time to study the larger works above referred to, it is invaluable as a demolition of the fundamental principles of the Agnostic philosophy. We particularly recommend to the consideration of our readers the chapter on "Personality, the Manifestations of it in History;" "Anthropomorphism;" "Dean Mansel and H. Spencer," and "Agnosticism in Science."

\* "Christian Beliefs considered in the Light of Modern Thought." By Rev. G. Henslow, M.A. F. Norgate. 1884.

† "Is God Knowable?" By the Rev. J. Iverach, M.A., Aberdeen. Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.





## II.—CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.

At the head of our list stand two books very opposite in character, pretensions, and appearance. We may take first Mr. Jebb's "Œdipus Rex" (Cambridge University Press), a book much expected by Cambridge people, much praised by many leading papers, and likely to maintain the estimation in which the Professor is held by his admirers, and by the classical public. There is a handsome text, with carefully selected critical and explanatory notes, and *en face* there is a translation, which is no doubt intended as the main thing, and is described by Mr. Jebb as "not only morally sensitive, but having also a scrupulously logical reach" (Pref. p. vii.). It carries out what he calls the first object for which he has striven—"the vivid exposition of my own mind in relation to Sophocles." This translation is accordingly very good, and often very felicitous; if it errs anywhere it is through pompousness, and a certain affectation of archaic English; sometimes too an odd rendering does not receive any explanation, in spite of the copiousness of the notes—e.g., 108, "where are they upon the earth" (ποῦ γῆς); 179, "by such deaths past numbering, the city perishes," (ὧν πόλις ἀνάρθρωτος ὄλλυται); 310, "voice of birds" (ἀπ' οἰωνῶν φάτιν); 367, "to what woe thou hast come" (ἴν' εἰ κακοῦ), and in some other places. We notice too a confusion of *only* and *alone* (p. 157), curious in so censorious a writer of English. If the notes have any other fault, it is that they are sometimes hazy, some very great subtlety being suggested, which turns out to be only confusion of thinking. But the reader can easily skip over these flaws. The greater question, how much new matter has been added in this edition, is carefully handled and settled in the scholarly review of the book which appeared in the *Academy* of April 26.

If it ever comes to a second edition, the editor might correct the painful *veçu* of p. xlv., *perditur* and *nemine* in his Latin notes, which are very *doggy*, and refrain from explaining *δυσάλητος* by *οὐκ ἐδάλητος*, which is a *vox nihili*, or contradiction in terms. But on the whole we may sincerely congratulate him on having maintained his reputation in his new work. We have doubted concerning a second edition, mainly on account of the exorbitant price of the book. Are Mr. Jebb's classes expected to pay 15s. per play for his views on Sophocles? Had the crib part, to speak profanely, and some of the best notes, been printed without the text and critical notes for about 3s. 6d., the classical public would have lost nothing, and gained a most useful and elegant book. For everybody has a text already, and the Professor's very few emendations would fit into a stray note.

Of a quite different character is Mr. Margoliouth's "Agamemno," (Macmillan), which gives a text and very short notes for 2s. 6d. Here is an editor who has indeed a right, nay is under a necessity, to print a text, for he has abolished many of those favourite high sounding lines in this famous play, which promised to occupy the learned for centuries to come. Every quality in this book has its opposite in Mr. Jebb's "Œdipus." Mr. Margoliouth's is original, trenchant, revolutionary; rejecting tradition too easily, and no doubt



emending where emendation might be spared. He pours out a flood of conjectures without caring to seek them in older commentators. But if he often coincides with them, we feel sure that it is no copying, but independent agreement.

The real value of the book is its suggestiveness, so that while Mr. Jebb's work should be given to schoolboys who want a careful and accurate account of what has been done, this "Agamemno" should be used by mature scholars, who in the very refuting of it, will learn a great deal they did not know before. The criticism of his best and worst emendations would occupy too much space for this notice, and must be reserved for another place. We need only add that as Mr. Jebb's book is sure to receive a chorus of eulogy from the English critics, who are generally scholars at second-hand afraid of change, so Mr. Margoliouth is sure to receive (indeed has received) very rough handling, even where he is right, from the same people, to whom clear thinking seems no necessity in explaining Greek authors, and who are satisfied with almost any nonsense as the rendering of a *textus receptus*.

Mr. Paley's "Supplices and Choephoroi"—a handsome book from the Cambridge Press—gives that veteran editor's maturest views on these difficult plays. The notes are very terse and neat, and we observe that he lays far more stress on the *scholia* than Mr. Margoliouth would sanction. But the present edition gives these *scholia* in an emended form, according to the tract published by Mr. Paley in 1878. This is the remarkable feature, and constitutes the independent value, of the present edition.

Turning to Latin, we have two excellent books from that recognized master of Ciceronian style—Mr. J. S. Reid. The first—vol. iii. of an edition of the "De Finibus," containing the translation—text and commentary to follow—is of value not only to classical readers, but to those who desire to study ancient ethics. Hence there is nothing absurd in issuing this volume independently, though it be called vol. iii.

The Cambridge Press has also issued his commentary on Cicero's speech "Pro Sulla," which is one of the best and most suggestive little books for school use published in these days. The English notes are full of valuable hints on uses of words and phrases in Cicero, and have therefore great value apart from the actual text they elucidate. We hesitate, however, about the translating of *mea causa* (§ 9) as "political circumstance;" of Virgil's *improbis anser* as the "immoderate goose;" and *insidias rei publicæ consilio investigasset* (§ 14) is strangely rendered "by his statesmanlike policy," taking *rei publicæ* with *consilio*! We may also notice that *unter den Linden* is no parallel (p. 125) for the streets called after the trades of the occupants; and when Mr. Reid says (p. 94) that only *pervelim* is used by Cicero, and the verb not at all by most authors, we call his attention to *percellem* in Cic. ad Att. xi. 14, 3. But these criticisms are in no way meant to detract from the unqualified praise the book deserves.

We next take up two translations of notable historical works from the German—the one notable from the great name of the author—Ranke's "Universal History" (Kegan Paul), the other from its treatment of a subject in which new evidence is daily accumulating—



Duncker's "History of Mythical and Early Greece" (Bentley). The great age of Leopold von Ranke makes this gigantic attempt very wonderful, but it is not to be expected that he, over the age of eighty, should accomplish what no living man in his prime would attempt to perform. The first volume, now published under the careful and competent editing of Mr. Prothero, is a disappointing book, and makes us sorry that so good and careful a scholar should have devoted his time to its translation. The account of early Egyptian history is so brief and sketchy as to be valueless, while the petty squabbles of the Hebrews are told with a detail quite unsuitable to a non-theological universal history. So also there is complete silence about the Indians, and their early culture, which supplements our knowledge of early Aryan civilization derived from the Zendavesta. The early civilizations of Asia Minor, especially that of the Hittites, receive no attention, and the details of Greek history are again disproportionately full. Mr. Prothero has no doubt done well to omit many notes, but he might have added a good many of his own, telling us where the author has found the many strange and wonderful things which he says. We cannot but think that the only feasible scheme of a universal history is that now being carried out in Germany, where a general editor supervises *Einzeldarstellungen* furnished by a number of specialists. Ranke's work will remain a monument of what a wonderful old man can do; there are many curious and suggestive points scattered through it—but more cannot be said in praise of it.

Very different is the solid and careful new edition of Duncker's first volume on Greek History, which utilizes all the recent researches into the prehistoric monuments, the writing, the religion, and the arts of the Greeks. The discoveries of Schliemann, the researches of Kirchhoff on the alphabet, and all the recent Homeric controversy, are carefully worked in. Perhaps too much weight is given to Bergk's views on Homer (in his *Lit. Gesch.*)—views which have not received any general assent, and are perhaps more capricious than those of most German speculators on Homer. So also Kirchhoff's hypotheses are perhaps too readily accepted. But on the whole the author stands on the modern and critical standpoint on the Homeric question—indeed this is true of the whole volume—and accordingly the work offers much new material to those who already know what Grote and Curtius had collected. Still there are evidences that in treating of Greek politics he is as yet on the level of the German professor, and far behind the English politician in insight. From this point of view Grote's "History of Greece" seems almost beyond the comprehension of the foreign philologist.

Another valuable addition to English books on Greek History is Mr. Chinnock's complete translation of Arrian (Hodder & Stoughton), with excellent notes both on the style of Arrian and on the parallel sources of our information. By means of this careful work he has given us a very complete and readable history of Alexander from the best authorities, and as classical scholars will not read Arrian for style, this English version is likely to take the place of the original in most libraries—if indeed most libraries possess any text of Arrian. The real danger which Greek studies run in this country arises from the stupid narrowness with which schools and universities confine



themselves to a small selection of authors, and only the form. Thus Arrian, Plutarch, Pausanias, and others, banished from our classical education, and the centuries of Hellenism ought to teach us are almost entirely forgotten. It is as a protest against this one-sidedness that Chinnock's book not only as a good piece of work, but also as a broader and more enlightened view of classical literature is only one grave omission in the book which will be remedied hereafter. There are no plans given of the life of Alexander, and still more, no proper account of his struggles in the East, ably treated in the special work of Rüstow, which is evidently unknown to Mr. Chinnock, and finally, the most interesting side of Alexander's life, the narrative of Arrian, no ordinary reader can get from any of the battles. The famous criticism of Polybius of the battle of Issus should also have been merely referred to.

Professor Church's handsome volume on "The Days of Cicero" (Seeley & Co.) gives a pleasant view of the manners and of men in that famous epoch, with illustrations from Cicero's letters and speeches. The author has illustrated his book with copies of busts, many of the leading men of Rome, though perhaps idealized now. But the book is well written, and very good for Roman history in intelligent schoolboys, and which is deterred by larger and drier books.

Two school editions of the privileged author, Professor Dougan's very careful and scholarly edition of Thucydides, and Mr. Merry's "Frogs" of Aristophanes, utilized carefully recent German editions; but in addition, a careful collation of the Cambridge edition, revised and verified from Shilleto's notes. If Mr. Merry should have omitted all description of, to, the metres of the "Frogs," or is the study of Greek from English classics? Mr. Jebb has introduced Schmidt into his "Œdipus," as if it were a study, wise, Mr. Merry's book is clear and convenient, and will lead to a more general reading of that inimitable Greek at schools.

Those who delight in mythological inquiries will find much to Mr. Brown's "Myth of Kirke" (Longman), an essay on some legends in Hesiod ("Pandore," *Nap. de l'Académie*). The latter is a learned study of this matter, wherein that on the Five Ages is also interesting.

The new volume (X.) of "Hermathena" will attract attention on account of its serious contributions, such as Mr. Palmer's "Emendations," and Mr. of Greek Geometry," which are the main articles, but on account of the lively polemic about the scattered through the contributions of Mr. Tyndale, Mr. Sayce. The assailants of the now no

thought they had so good a case that they spoiled it by over-eagerness and random assertion, so that the defenders were able to retort upon them with some effect. But when the noise and din of battle is over, calmer considerations will prevail, and most people will regard it as a pity that scholars—men of infallible instinct in Greek, and other respectable people whose claim to that great title is regarded as doubtful by the elect, should have spent their time in disputing about somebody else, instead of increasing the field of knowledge. Whenever this view prevails, it is the original assailant who will have to bear the brunt of a sober and permanent censure. The articles in "Hermathena" are always so various that no single man can even understand them, far less criticize them, so we may be content with calling attention to the studiously calm and scholarly criticism of Margoliouth's "Agamemno," by Mr. J. Sullivan, who contents himself with pointing out facts—facts which show diligent research—without flourishing any tomahawks over his author in asserting his instincts in Greek or anything else.

J. P. MAHAFFY.



## III.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

BIOGRAPHY.—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has secured excellent literary assistance for its new "People's Library" of books intended for the working classes. Mr. Grant Allen, for example, writes for this library a series of short lives of selected persons who have forced their way by hard work from a humble or adverse origin on to fame or fortune,\* and gives us a simple and sympathetic record of the interesting and useful careers he has chosen to describe. These are drawn from the most varied lines of life, comprising engineers like George Stephenson, sculptors like John Gibson, statesmen like President Garfield, and naturalists like Thomas Edward. But for the technical limitation of the term to manual labourers, Mr. Frederic Daly's work, "Henry Irving in England and America,"† might be also described as a biography of a working man, and offered as an encouragement to those who are prepared to take pains. Nature has undoubtedly endowed Mr. Irving with a rare imaginative sympathy and insight, but Nature's gift would not have carried him to the high success he has won but for the laborious study which has given him such a complete mastery of detail. His career is certainly an inspiring one, for it is full from first to last of high aims and a noble confidence in the public and in public opinion. Mr. Daly is a strong though by no means indiscriminating admirer of Mr. Irving, and his easy and well-written narrative gives a good idea of the popular actor's career down to the remarkable tour he has just finished in America. The etching of Mr. Irving that accompanies the book has the very primary fault of not being a good likeness.—Dr. Stoughton's biography of John Howard‡ is a more important literary work than either of the books already noticed. It is based on considerable personal research into original authorities of various kinds, and it will be found to throw more light than has hitherto been done upon Howard's religious peculiarities and ecclesiastical relations. His philanthropic work of course receives also full justice, and Dr. Stoughton brightens his account of it, and indeed of other passages in Howard's life as well, by reminiscences of his own personal visits to the places mentioned.—George Fox was so striking a character, and has had such enduring and important influence that, though his life has been frequently written, no justification is required for writing it afresh for a new generation; but Mr. Bickley offers a justification for his book,§ which the book itself hardly supports. He thinks none of the previous biographies of Fox brought out sufficiently that he was a great social reformer as well as a great religious teacher, and it is this social side of Fox's career that the present author proposes specially to describe, presenting him to us as "the grandest specimen of what we may term the seventeenth

\* "Biographies of Working Men." By Grant Allen, B.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

† London: T. Fisher Unwin.

‡ "Howard the Philanthropist and his Friends." By John Stoughton, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

§ "George Fox and the Early Quakers." By A. C. Bickley. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

century socialist." But in this respect the book is disappointing. It has nothing to tell us of the social side of Fox's life and work that was not quite well known before. In saying this, however, we recognize fully the evidences of careful and independent research which the book reveals, and the literary skill with which the narrative is woven together. It will be found a very instructive and interesting account of Fox and the primitive Quakers.—Miss Buckland's modest and graceful memoir of "Ellen Watson"\* has a touching, and in some ways novel, interest, partly as the life of a girl of unusual attainments prematurely cut off, and partly for the sake of the religious development she passed through from Agnosticism to Christian communion. The specimens of Miss Watson's essays which are given are not above mediocrity; but her letters are occasionally striking. Altogether it was well to put such a career upon permanent record, and Miss Buckland has done it with much felicity.—The Wycliffe Quincentenary has naturally evoked a number of short lives of the Reformer, of which Miss Holt's "John Wycliffe,"† is the fullest, and "The Life and Times of John Wycliffe," published by the Tract Society, is the cheapest.

TRAVEL.—A thorough book on Mexico has been long wanted, and Mr. Ober's new work‡ comes nearer supplying what is wanted than anything that has yet appeared. The author preserves for his work the readable form of a narrative of personal travel, but he aims at "conveying at the same time information of lasting value" on the history, condition, and resources of the country. And this he certainly does. The book is a very ample storehouse of facts about Mexico and things Mexican. The information about the institutions and public life of the country is indeed curiously feeble, but much is said about almost every other topic of interest, and it will be found to be an unusually instructive and varied work of travel.—The Misses Horner's "Walks in Florence and its Environs"§ is so well known as an admirable historical guide to that city that it is needless to do more than welcome the revised and enlarged edition of the work which is now before us. The revision is nothing less than "an entire recast," rendered necessary by the numerous changes which have taken place in Florence during the last few years; and the enlargement consists of the addition of a few chapters on the more interesting historical places in the neighbourhood.—Lady Martin's brief sketches of the Maoris,|| of whom she saw a great deal during a residence of thirty-four years in New Zealand, as wife of the first Chief Justice of the colony, are very interesting, and present that most improvable of savage races in a very pleasing and hopeful light. She gives some amusing descriptions of the minor troubles of colonial life in the early days before roads.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mr. Gomme continues his classified collection of

\* "A Record of Ellen Watson." Arranged and Edited by Anna Buckland. London: Macmillan & Co.

† London: John F. Shaw.

‡ "Travels in Mexico and Life among the Mexicans." By Frederick A. Ober. London: Trübner & Co.

§ London: Smith, Elder & Co.

|| "Our Maoris." By Lady Martin. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.



the contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and his new volume is devoted to "Dialect, Proverbs, and Word-lore,"\* and is as careful and valuable a piece of work as the previous one. In the preface he gives us some short notices of the writers whose contributions he makes use of, and we are glad to observe that he expects important help from an annotated copy of the magazine to the further identification of the initials that subscribe many of its articles.—Mr. Geldart's is the first collection we have had in English of the popular fairy tales of modern Greece.† He has translated them—all but three—from the Greek text published by Von Hahn, at Copenhagen. Many an old favourite of the nursery—such as Cinderella or Ali Baba—will be recognized here under a slight Greek disguise, and the book affords important materials for the problems of comparative mythology.—"High Life in France under the Republic"‡ is a very clever and entertaining series of social and satirical sketches, contributed by the late Mr. E. C. Grenville Murray to a London journal, and now republished after, it is said, considerable revision. They describe the most various phases of life both in Paris and the provinces, and are almost French in their point and vivacity.—Lieut.-Colonel Hennebert's "The English in Egypt," which has just been translated from the French by Bernard Pauncefoot, and published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., adopts an air of knowing more than it cares to divulge; but as a matter of fact it adds little to our knowledge of the Egyptian situation. Perhaps its most interesting parts are those bearing on the Mahdi, and his connection with the slave-traders.—No English actor has ever received so wide a recognition as Mr. Irving. When before has an actor passed through such a series of farewell banquets as those that preceded his departure for America, or had every step of his tour in that country telegraphed to the home papers as if it were a royal progress, or carried with him his own Boswell to chronicle every compliment paid him and every story he told? The reason is partly his own merits, but it is partly the remarkable decay in the social prejudice against the stage and the revived interest in the drama that mark our day. Of this many evidences appear in Mr. Hatton's chatty and readable pages.§ The book perhaps hardly answers its title, for it contains much more of America's impressions of Henry Irving than of Henry Irving's impressions of America. But it will remain valuable in the history of the stage as the contemporary record of a remarkable tour, and in the meantime it will while away an agreeable and not uninteresting hour, for frequently a suggestive and thoughtful remark drops from Mr. Irving on his own subject.

\* "The Gentleman's Magazine Library." Edited by George Lawrence Gomme, F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock.

† "Folklore of Modern Greece, the Tales of the Pacha." Edited by the Rev. E. M. Geldart, M.A. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

‡ London: Vizetelly & Co.

§ "Henry Irving's Impressions of America, narrated in a Series of Sketches, Chronicles, and Conversations." By Joseph Hatton. London: Sampson Low & Co.

END OF VOL. XLV.





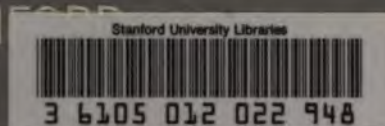








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